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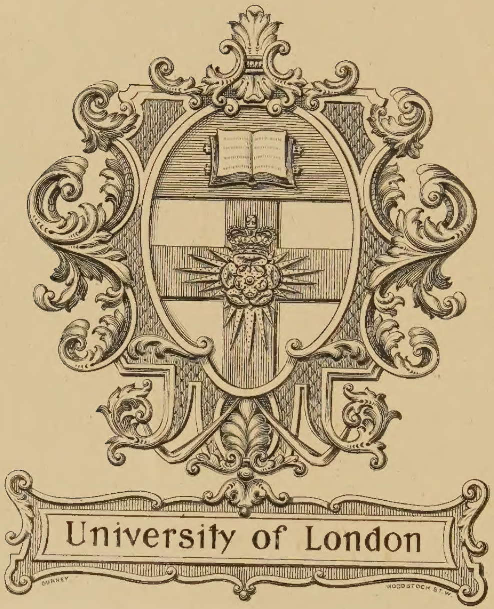

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HANSARD'S

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TO

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Royal Irish Constabulary—Death of Peter O'Gara in a Police Cell at Sligo—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 422

India—Defences of the North-West Frontier—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) .. 423

Egypt—Alleged Slavery — Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) 424

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Poisons Bill—Poisonous Patent Medicines—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) .. 428

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SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Army (Supplementary)—

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a further number of Land Forces, not exceeding 35,000 (all ranks), be maintained for the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, at Home and Abroad, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886" 437
After debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a further number of Land Forces, not exceeding 12,000, &c.,"—(*Mr. Rylands*:)—After further debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 12, Noes 98; Majority 86.—(Div. List, No. 220.)
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Army Estimates—

(2.) £606,000, Volunteer Corps.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 480
(3.) £384,500, Army Reserve Force.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 498
(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £464,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments, Wages, &c., which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886" 503
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £463,000, be granted, &c.,"—(*Dr. Cameron*:)—After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 48, Noes 121; Majority 73.—(Div. List No. 221.)
Original Question again proposed 546
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. M'Coan*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Original Question again proposed:—*Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. M'Coan*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Original Question again proposed:—Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

Bankruptcy (Office Accommodation) Bill [Bill 215]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Henry Holland*) 548
Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *committed* for *To-morrow.*

Polehampton Estates Bill [Bill 216]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Henry Holland*) 548
Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *committed* for *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY [8th July] REPORT—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment to Question [9th July,] "That the 14th Resolution be read a second time."
And which Amendment was, to leave out "£830,400," in order to insert "£830,120,"—(*Sir George Campbell,*)—instead thereof.
Question again proposed, "That '£830,400' stand part of the said Resolution:"—Debate *resumed* 548
After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 107, Noes 55; Majority 52.—(Div. List, No. 222.)
Moved, "That the House do agree with the Committee in the said Resolution:" — After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Causton*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill [Bill 184]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay*) 566
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned," — (*Mr. R. H. Paget*:)—After further short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 81, Noes 47; Majority 34.—(Div. List, No. 223.)
Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) Bill [Bill 180]—

Order for Committee read 572

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to insert an Amendment directing prisoners who propose to apply for a certiorari to be admitted to bail pending the decision of the High Court,"—(*Mr. Healy.*)

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*
Bill *considered* in Committee.
Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Bill [Bill 99]—

Order for Committee read 573

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to extend the Bill to the expenses of Returning Officers at Parliamentary Elections in Scotland," —(*Sir Farrer Herschell.*)

Question put, and *agreed to.*
Bill *considered* in Committee.
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Healy*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Labourers (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill [Bill 68]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir William Hart Dyke*) 574
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday.*

Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) Bill [Bill 231]—

Order for Second Reading read 575
After short debate, Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

MOTION.

—o—

Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill—
Motion for Leave (*Mr. Arthur Balfour*) 576
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Clare Read:*)—After further short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 5, Noes 33; Majority 28.—(Div. List, No. 224.)
Original Question again proposed:—After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Dalrymple*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 232.]

Criminal Law Amendment [Cost of Prosecutions]—
Considered in Committee 585
Resolution *agreed to;* to be reported *To-morrow.*
[3.15.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JULY 14.

Secretary for Scotland Bill (No. 117)—
House in Committee (according to order) 586
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 178.)

Archdeaconries Bill (No. 150)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*) 607
Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

The Wellington Statue—Re-Erection at Aldershot—Questions, Observations, Viscount Enfield, Lord de Ros, The Earl of Longford; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Viscount Bury).. .. 608

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Bill, as amended, *considered* 635
Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

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NAVY—ROYAL MARINES AND THE COMMISSARIAT STAFF—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) .. 653
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PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL—Questions, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. James Stuart; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 664

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL — Questions, Mr. Heneage, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), The Chancellor of the Exchequer 664

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(1.) £2,102,772, to complete the sum for Public Education.—After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to* 665

(2.) £311,573, to complete the sum for the Science and Art Department.

(3.) £280,174, to complete the sum for Public Education (Scotland).—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 734

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(4.) £9,530, to complete the sum for the Wreck Commission.

(5.) £366,087, to complete the sum for County Courts.

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,442, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Land Registry" .. 744

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,442, be granted, &c.," — (*Mr. Arthur Arnold*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 32, Noes 75; Majority 43.—(Div. List, No. 226.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(7.) £25,200, Revising Barristers (England.)

(8.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £10,320, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Police Courts of London and Sheerness" 754

After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 91, Noes 24; Majority 67.—(Div. List, No. 227.)

(9.) £294,840, to complete the sum for the Metropolitan Police.

(10.) £28,000, to complete the sum for Special Police.

(11.) £988,343, to complete the sum for Police—Counties and Boroughs (Great Britain).

(12.) £271,374, to complete the sum for Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 755

(13.) £351,930, to complete the sum for Prisons, England.

(14.) £142,915, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

(15.) £20,417, to complete the sum for the Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £39,093, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Lord Advocate's Department, and others, connected with Criminal Proceedings in Scotland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(16.) £48,510, to complete the sum for the Courts of Law and Justice, Scotland.

(17.) £26,472, to complete the sum for the Register House Department, Edinburgh.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 756

(18.) £77,501, to complete the sum for Prisons, Scotland.

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(19.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £230,710, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury" .. 758

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—*continued.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £220,710, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold*:)—After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Sexton*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £220,710, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold*:)—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 21, Noes 92; Majority 71.—(Div. List, No. 228.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Bill [Bill 99]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 775

After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill [Bill 26]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 784

Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time upon *Thursday.*

Public Health (Members and Officers) Bill [Bill 114]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 788

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Marriages (Saint John, Cowley) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 234] 798

[2.30.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 15.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £35,488, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Buildings of the Houses of Parliament,"—(*Mr. Plunket*) .. 799

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £27,488, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Mitchell Henry*:)—After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 42, Noes 196; Majority 154.—(Div. List, No. 231.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(2.) £9,600, to complete the sum for the Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.
(3.) £478,500, Pauper Lunatics, England.
(4.) £69,500, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Scotland.
(5.) £51,021, Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Deficiency.
(6.) £1,751, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(7.) £6,464, to complete the sum for the National Gallery.
(8.) £1,630, to complete the sum for the National Portrait Gallery.
(9.) £13,900, to complete the sum for Learned Societies and Scientific Investigation.
(10.) £8,484, to complete the sum for the London University.
(11.) £10,500, University Colleges, Wales.
(12.) £3,627, to complete the sum for the Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report).

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Friday.*

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SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [14th July] *reported* 879
First Eighteen Resolutions *agreed to* :—Nineteenth Resolution *postponed.*
Postponed Resolution to be considered upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

ADMIRALTY (EXPENDITURE AND LIABILITIES)—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That a Select Committee be *appointed*, "to inquire into and report upon the circumstances under which the Expenditure and Liabilities incurred by the Admiralty under the recent Vote of Credit have exceeded the revised Estimate stated to the House by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 5th June 1885."—Committee to consist of Seven Members, to be nominated by the Committee of Selection; Three to be the quorum:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records,—(*Lord George Hamilton*) 881
After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

School Boards Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Arthur Balfour*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 235] 881

QUESTION.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—REPORTED RUSSIAN ADVANCE—Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) 882

Oaths Bill [Bill 62]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 882
Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.* [5.45.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 16.

Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill (No. 65)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee,"—(*The Earl Spencer*) 883
Amendment *moved*,
To leave out all the words after ("That") and insert ("the Order of Monday last for committing the Bill to a Committee of the Whole House be discharged,")—(*The Earl of Limerick.*)
After short debate, on Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion?"—*Resolved* in the *affirmative.*
House in Committee accordingly 888
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow.*

Housing of the Working Classes (England) Bill (No. 177)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*) .. 889
Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

Secretary for Scotland Bill (No. 178)—
Order of the Day for the Report of Amendments to be received, read .. 897
After short debate, Amendments *reported* accordingly; and Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow.* [6.15.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 16.

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Post Office—The Committee on Postage Stamps—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord John Manners) .. 905
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Law and Justice—Case of David Bradley, M.D. — Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) 907
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High Court of Justice—Return of Causes — Question, Mr. Ince; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) 911
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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2) Bill [Bill 223]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 928

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in view of the rapid extension of local rating and of the continuous imposition of the Income Tax, it is desirable that the province of Local Rating and of Imperial Taxation be severally readjusted and defined, and that a common authority and common measure be provided for the levy of both rates and taxes so as to regulate their incidence upon the principle of assessing the rate or tax upon the real, that is, upon the net annual value,"—(*Mr. J. G. Hubbard,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 962

After short debate, Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

National Debt Bill [Bill 172]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 964

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill [Bill 232]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Arthur Balfour*) 964

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the relief of destitute paupers out of any Poor Rate, this House declines to draw a distinction in favour of enfranchising those who obtain it in the form of medical treatment and those who are compelled to accept it in the form of bread,"—(*Mr. Pell,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Courtney*:)—After further short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 279, Noes 20; Majority 259.—(Div. List, No. 232.)

Main Question again proposed 1010

After short debate, Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* next.

BANKRUPTCY (OFFICE ACCOMMODATION) [PAYMENT OF DEFICIENCY]—

Matter *considered* in Committee 1011

Resolution *agreed to*; to be reported *To-morrow.*

Bankruptcy (Office Accommodation) Bill [Bill 215]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 1011

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee:—After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) Bill [Bill 214]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 1013

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sexton*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee:—Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Honorary Freedom of Boroughs Bill—

Lords' Reason for disagreeing to the Amendment made by the Commons *considered* 1015

After short debate, *Moved*, "That this House doth insist upon the Amendment to which the Lords have disagreed,"—(*Mr. H. H. Fowler*:)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 35, Noes 40; Majority 5.—(Div. List, No. 233.)

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill [Bill 26]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Waugh*) .. 1016

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the words "Bill be" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "re-committed in respect of a new Clause,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 42, Noes 24; Majority 18.—(Div. List, No. 234.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.* [2.15.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 17.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BOARD SCHOOLS (METROPOLIS)—Motion for a Return, Lord Norton 1020

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Return ordered to be laid before the House.

DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE—DEFENCE OF COMMERCIAL PORTS AND SEASIDE TOWNS — Question, Observations, Earl Cowper; Reply, The Lord Privy Seal (The Earl of Harrowby):—Short debate thereon .. 1028

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, LEASING PERPETUITY ACT, 1851 — Withdrawal of Notice, Observations, The Earl of Leitrim 1040

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill—

Bill to provide greater facilities for the sale of land to occupying tenants in Ireland—*Presented* (*The Lord Ashbourne*) 1040

After short debate, Bill read 1ª (No. 184.)

Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) Bill (No. 65)—

Amendments *reported* (according to Order) 1051

After short debate, Bill to be read 3ª on *Monday* next. [8.0.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JULY 17.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Rathmines and Rathgar Township Bill [*Lords*]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time" 1053

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with Amendments.

QUESTIONS.

NATIONAL EDUCATION—A ROYAL COMMISSION—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1053

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—PROMOTION—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1054

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LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—PROTECTION AT CLADYMORE—Question, Mr. Small; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1064

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

MAAMTRASNA, &c. MURDERS—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the Government to institute

Supply—Order for Committee read—*continued.*

strict inquiry into the evidence and convictions in the Maamtrasna, Barbavilla, Crossmaglen, and Castleisland cases, the case of the brothers Delahunty, and, generally, all cases in which witnesses examined in the trials now declare that they committed perjury, or in which proof of the innocence of the accused is tendered by credible persons, and that such inquiries, with a view to the full discovery of truth and the relief of innocent persons, should be held in the manner most favourable to the reception of all available evidence,"—(*Mr. Parnell,*)—instead thereof .. 1064

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Committee upon *Monday* next.

Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) Bill [Bill 180]

Bill *considered* in Committee 1150

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next, and to be *printed* [Bill 236.] [1.30.]

LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 20.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^a" 1152

After short debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the *affirmative;* Bill read 3^a accordingly; and *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

Coast Defences and Naval Volunteer Corps—Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, The Lord Privy Seal (The Earl of Harrowby) 1153

The Financial Reform Association Almanac—Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley 1155

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill (No. 176)—

Amendments *reported* (according to order).. 1160

Further Amendment made; Bill to be read 3^a *To-morrow.*

Protection of Young Girls—A Royal Commission—Question, Observations, Lord Mount-Temple; Reply, The Paymaster General (Earl Beauchamp) 1161

Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment Bill (No. 102)—

House in Committee (according to order) 1164

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow;* and Bill to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 192.)

Housing of the Working Classes (England) Bill (No. 177)—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee on the said Bill,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 1169

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—House in Committee accordingly. Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow.*

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill (No. 184)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland*) 1178

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.* [8.15.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 20.

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Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 233]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1184
After short debate, Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

QUESTIONS.

PUBLIC HEALTH — SMALL-POX—THE "CASTALIA" HOSPITAL SHIP—VACCINATION OF AN INFANT AT BIRTH, AND AGAIN THREE DAYS AFTER—Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1185
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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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(In the Committee.)

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(1.) £161,784, to complete the sum for Public Buildings, Ireland.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* 1214

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(2.) £119,978, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board, Ireland.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* 1264
(3.) £36,111, to complete the sum for the Public Works Office, Ireland.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1301

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(4.) £66,222, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1315
(5.) £7,500, to complete the sum for the Court of Bankruptcy, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1317
(6.) £785, to complete the sum for the Admiralty Court Registry, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1318
(7.) £12,510, to complete the sum for the Registry of Deeds, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1320
(8.) £1,538, to complete the sum for the Registry of Judgments, Ireland.
(9.) £90,817, to complete the sum for the Dublin Metropolitan Police.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1321
(10.) £4,347, to complete the sum for Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Ireland.

Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art.

(11.) £1,213, to complete the sum for the Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1324
(12.) £470, to complete the sum for the Endowed Schools Commissioners, Ireland.
(13.) £1,701, to complete the sum for the National Gallery of Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1325
(14.) £1,000, to complete the sum for the Royal Irish Academy.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1330

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

Supply—Report—Postponed Resolution [14th July] *considered* .. 1332

(19.) "That a sum, not exceeding £230,710, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury."

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to,*

Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) Bill [Bill 214]—
Bill *considered* in Committee 1334
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Sexton* :)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to* :—Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices) Bill [Bill 148]—
Bill *considered* in Committee 1337
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.* [1.30.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JULY 21.

Housing of the Working Classes (England) Bill (No. 177)—
Amendments *reported* (according to order) 1338
Further Amendments made; Bill to be read 3ª on *Friday* next; and to be *printed,* as amended (No. 196.)

Marriages (Saint John, Cowley) Bill (No. 187)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Earl Beauchamp*) .. 1342
After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read 3ª, and *passed.*

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill (No. 184)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee,"—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland*) 1342
After debate, Motion *agreed to* :—House in Committee accordingly.
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed,* as amended (No. 197.)

Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) Bill (No. 65)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Earl Spencer*) .. 1370
Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months,")—(*The Earl of Redesdale.*)
On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 29, Not-Contents 17; Majority 12.—*Resolved* in the *affirmative.*
Bill read 3ª accordingly; an Amendment made; Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

Secretary for Scotland Bill (No. 178)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Earl of Rosebery*) .. 1371
Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read 3ª accordingly.
On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"
Amendment *moved,* in Title, page 1, to leave out the word ("Vice") before the word ("President,")—(*The Earl of Minto.*)
After debate, Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*
Amendments made; Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons. [8.30.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JULY 21.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill [*Lords*]—
Moved, "That, in the case of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill [*Lords*], Standing Order 235 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1381
After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 71, Noes 119; Majority 48.—(Div. List, No. 235.)

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QUESTIONS.

MINES REGULATION ACT—CLIFTON HALL COLLIERY EXPLOSION—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) 1393

GENERAL GORDON—Question, Mr. Raikes; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) 1395

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—CASE OF DAVID BRADLEY, M.D.—Questions, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) 1396

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LUNACY ACTS AMENDMENT—PAUPER LUNATICS—Question, Lord Algernon Percy; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1397

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—APPOINTMENT OF SCHOOLMISTRESS AT ASHBOCKING, SUFFOLK—Question, Mr. Jesse Collings; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1398

SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND—METHUEN'S HORSE—Question, Viscount Ebrington; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Colonel Stanley) 1398

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN BOARD SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1399

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—REMOVAL OF PAUPERS FROM SCOTLAND TO IRELAND—CASES OF ANN MAGEE AND THOMAS CARLIN—Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, The Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Dalrymple) 1399

SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND—Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Colonel Stanley) .. 1400

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CHANCERY DIVISION, HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—CONTEMPT OF COURT—MR. O'BRIEN, M.P.—Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Speaker, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir William Hart Dyke) 1401

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT—THE WRECK REGISTER, 1883-4—Question, Mr. Atkinson; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 1402

REGISTRATION ACT, 1843—APPOINTMENT OF REVISING BARRISTERS—Question, Mr. J. W. Lowther; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) 1402

NAVY—NAVAL ACCOUNTANT AND ENGINEER OFFICERS—Question, Mr. Gabbett; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) .. 1403

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—ALLEGED CASE OF ABDUCTION—Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) 1403

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER—Questions, Mr. Morgan Lloyd; Answers, The Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) 1404

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—SIR HERBERT STEWART'S FORCE—Question, General Owen Williams; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1404

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1405

IRELAND—THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPALIAN CHURCH OF IRELAND—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1405

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS—Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1406

THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS—MEDLEY'S CHARITY—Question, Mr. Jesse Collings; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1406

IRELAND—FAILURE OF THE MUNSTER BANK—Questions, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Gray; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1407

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL—Questions, Mr. Pell, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Causton; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour).. 1408

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—SALE OF OBSCENE LITERATURE—Questions, Mr. Staveley Hill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross); Question, Mr. Onslow [no reply] 1408

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1409

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill [Bill 232]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 1411

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House cannot approve of a measure which removes an incentive to independence, and fundamentally changes the principle of the Poor Law under which pauperism has steadily diminished since 1834,"—(*Mr. Courtney,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 226, Noes 22; Majority 204.—(Div. List, No. 236.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee 1474

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday.*

County Officers and Courts (Ireland) Pensions Bill [Bill 112]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*) 1511

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday.*

Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) Bill [Bill 110]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 1512

Amendments made; Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) 1512

MOTIONS.

—o—

Moveable Dwellings Bill—

Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to provide for the registration and regulation of Travelling Vans, and other vehicles used as temporary abodes,"—(*Mr. Digby*) 1512

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Digby, Mr. Elton, Mr. Burt, Mr. Warton, Mr. Broadhurst*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 239.]

Moved, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Thursday,"—(*Mr. Digby:*)—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn:*—Bill to be read a second time upon *Monday* next.

Patent Law Amendment Bill—
Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend 'The Patents, Designs, and Trademarks Act, 1883,'"—(*Sir Farrer Herschell*) 1513
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* (*Sir Farrer Herschell*, *Mr. Holms*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 240.]

Greenwich Hospital Bill—
Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to make provisions in the Bill for extending the eligibility of persons for appointments as Naval Knights of Windsor,—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett*) 1514
Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

Revising Barristers Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Attorney General*, *Secretary Sir R. Assheton Cross*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 237] 1514

Evidence by Commission Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Attorney General*, *Lord Randolph Churchill*, *Mr. Secretary Stanley*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 238] .. 1514
[3.45.]

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22.

The House met—and the Royal Assent having been given, by COMMISSION, to several Bills [House adjourned] [4.45.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22.

QUESTIONS.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—DISTRIBUTION—Questions, Mr. Deasy, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1515
LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND AND WALES) — OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) 1516
NAVY—COLLISION WITH H.M.S. "HECLA"—Questions, Mr. Onslow; Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) 1516
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Monk; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) 1517
EGYPT—THE SOUDAN—REPORTED FIGHTING AT KASSALA—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) 1518

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) £39,206, to complete the sum for Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* 1518
(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £53,677, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Irish Land Commission" 1575
After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(3.) £60, to complete the sum for the Transit of Venus.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Friday*; Committee to sit again upon *Friday*.

Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) Bill (*changed from* **Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill**)—

Moved, "That the Bill be read the first time" 1593
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read the first time [Bill 243.]

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT (THE SOUDAN)—REPORTED DEATH OF THE MAHDI—Question, Sir Robert Fowler; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 1594

EGYPT (THE SOUDAN)—REPORTED FIGHTING AT KASSALA—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 1594

EGYPT—M. OLIVIER PAIN—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1594

Lunacy Acts Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 244] 1594

[5.50.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 23.

Worcester Extension Bill—

Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments:—*Moved*, "That the Bill do pass" .. 1595
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

River Thames (No. 2) Bill (No. 171)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Mount-Temple*) .. 1597
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

Submarine Telegraph Cables Bill (No. 104)—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee" .. 1600
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—House in Committee accordingly.
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow*; and Bill to be *printed* as amended (No. 203.)

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill (No. 197)—

Moved, "That the Report of the Amendments be received,"—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland*) 1606
Motion *agreed to*; further Amendments made; Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow*; and to be *printed* as amended (Nos. 204 and 205.)

HARBOUR ACCOMMODATION—Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, The President of the Board of Trade (The Duke of Richmond) 1608

[7.15.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 23.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill [*Lords*]—

Moved, "That, in the case of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill [*Lords*], Standing Order 204 be dispensed with,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1610
After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 76, Noes 53; Majority 23.—(Div. List, No. 240.)

QUESTIONS.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — STEWARTSTOWN PETTY SESSIONS — PARTY PROCESSIONS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir William Hart Dyke) 1615
FISHERIES (IRELAND)—MUSSEL FISHERIES—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir William Hart Dyke) .. 1616
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CAVAN GRAND JURY—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir William Hart Dyke) .. 1616
SEA FISHERIES (IRELAND)—THE RIVERS BOYLE AND BANN—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1617
THE LIGHTHOUSE COMMISSION—PROFESSOR TYNDALL—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 1617
LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ABSTRACTION OF CATTLE, CO. LEITRIM—Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1617
INDIA—NATIVE STATES—EXPULSION OF A FRENCH CITIZEN FROM TRAVANCORE—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) 1618
THE LUNACY REPORTS (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND)—Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) 1619
THE UNITED STATES—BOUNTY ON SUGAR EXPORTATION—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 1619
HARBOUR ACCOMMODATION—NATIONAL HARBOURS OF REFUGE—Question, Mr. Charles Ross; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 1620
ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—DISTRICT INSPECTOR GIBBONS—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1620
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—EXPENSES OF WITNESSES—MRS. MARGARET RAFTERY—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1621
EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE SUAKIN AND RED SEA FORCE—THE INDIAN CONTINGENT—Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1621
ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MILITIA—Question, Mr. Richard Power; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1622
POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS AT ARKLOW—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord John Manners) 1622
EDUCATION (IRELAND)—NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS' RESIDENCES—Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) 1623
TRAMWAYS (IRELAND)—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1623
LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL—Question, Mr. Small; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1624
FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—THE GREYSTONES HARBOUR—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) 1624
INSPECTORS OF LUNACY (IRELAND)—THE REPORT—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1624
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—EDUCATION OF THE DEAF—A ROYAL COMMISSION—Question, Mr. Ackers; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1625
EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—MEDICAL OFFICERS—Question, Mr. Beresford; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1625

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HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN SCOTLAND — Question, Mr. C. S. Parker; Answers, The Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Dalrymple), The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) 1626
CHINA—NAVIGATION OF SHANGHAI RIVER—Question, Mr. Sutherland; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) .. 1627
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS) BILL—Question, Mr. Freshfield; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) .. 1628
IMPERIAL DEFENCES—DEFENCE OF LONDONDERRY HARBOUR—Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1628
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOL GRANTS—VICAR OF ST. MARK'S, SOUTH SHIELDS—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1629
THE NEW EGYPTIAN LOAN (£9,000,000)—Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Ruston; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke).. 1630
LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY—Question, Sir Harry Verney; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) 1631
EGYPT—SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION—Questions, Mr. M'Laren; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1632
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Captain Aylmer, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) .. 1632
COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURE — Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Chaplin) .. 1633
EGYPT—THE SOUDAN—REPORTED DEATH OF THE MAHDI—Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) 1634
CHINA—THE OPIUM TRADE—THE TREATY—Question, Mr. Cropper; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) .. 1634

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS—R. A. GOSSET, ESQ., SERJEANT-AT-ARMS—
Moved, "That the letter of Mr. Gosset be read by the Clerk at the Table,"—(*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*:)—Motion *agreed to*.
Letter read 1635
Moved, "That Mr. Speaker be requested to acquaint Ralph Allen Gosset, esquire, that this House entertains a just sense of the exemplary manner in which he has uniformly discharged the duties of the office of Serjeant-at-Arms, and has devoted himself to the service of the House for a period of nearly fifty years,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill [Bill 232]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 1637
After debate, *Moved*, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of an Amendment to Clause 2,"—(*Mr. Ramsay*:)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.
Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee .. 1659
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, without Amendment.
Moved, "That the Bill be read the third time To-morrow,"—(*Mr. Jesse Collings*) 1673

Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill—continued.

After short debate, *Moved*, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Heneage:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2) Bill [Bill 223]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Lands held in Mortmain—Resolution—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the proposed exemption of lands held in mortmain from the charge to be imposed on corporate property in lieu of Death Duties is inexpedient and unjust,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold,*)—instead thereof 1679

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 94, Noes 38; Majority 56.—(Div. List, No. 243.)

Main Question again proposed 1694

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *considered* in Committee .. 1698

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Parliament—Business of the House—Question, Mr. H. H. Fowler; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1729

Revising Barristers Bill [Bill 237]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*) 1730

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Morgan Lloyd:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Police Enfranchisement Extension Bill [Bill 219]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Coleridge Kennard*) 1731

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Thorold Rogers:*)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 59, Noes 48; Majority 11.—(Div. List, No. 245.)—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Pluralities (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 241]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 1734

Motion *agreed to:*—Bill *considered* in Committee; Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

Educational Endowment (Scotland) Commission—Heriot's Hospital—Motion for an Address—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her consent to the Scheme of the Educational Endowment (Scotland) Commission now lying upon the Table of the House, for the management of the Endowments of Heriot's Hospital,"—(*Mr. Buchanan*) 1734

After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 15, Noes 49; Majority 34.—(Div. List, No. 246.)

CROWN LANDS BILL—

Order for Committee *To-morrow*, read and *discharged.*
Ordered, That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House and Two by the Committee of Selection.
Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented two clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard against the Bill, and Counsel heard in support of the Bill,
Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.
Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

Metropolitan Police Staff Superannuation Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Sir Henry Holland*) 1757

[3.15.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 24.

Giant's Causeway, Portrush, and Bush Valley Railway and Tramways Bill—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª" 1758
Moved, "That so much of Standing Order No. 116 be suspended as requires the insertion in the Bill of provisions forfeiting in certain contingencies to the Crown money deposited under the Standing Orders,"—(*The Lord Ventry.*)
After short debate, Further debate *adjourned* to *Monday* next.

Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment Bill (No. 127)—
House in Committee (according to order) 1763
After short debate, Bill *reported*, without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

Housing of the Working Classes (England) Bill (No. 177)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*) .. 1769
Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 3ª; Amendments made,
Moved, "That the Bill do pass?"—After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) Bill (No. 182)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee,"—(*The Marquess of Waterford*) 1772
Motion *agreed to*:—House in Committee accordingly; Bill *reported*, without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Tuesday* next.

THE LUNACY LAWS—Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) 1772

Submarine Telegraph Cables Bill (No. 203)—
Order of the Day for the Consideration of the Report of Amendments read 1774
After short debate, Amendments *reported*; Bill to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill (Nos. 204-205)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Lord Ashbourne*) 1775
After short debate, the Queen's Consent signified; Bill read 3ª; Amendments made; Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons [7.0.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JULY 24.

QUESTIONS.

DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE—COALING STATIONS—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Guy Dawnay) 1777

Mercantile Marine Fund—Question, Mr. Atkinson; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 1778

Custom House Records—Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) 1779

Fisheries (Ireland) Act, 1842—Obstruction of Fisheries—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1779

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Duke of Abercorn's Estate—Bryan Molloy—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1780

Fishery Piers and Harbours (Ireland)—Piers at Balderrig, Killerduff, and Pul-Na-Muck, Co. Mayo—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) 1781

Landlord and Tenant (Ireland)—Mr. Sandford Wills—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1782

Law and Police (Ireland)—Killing of Thomas M'Grath's Geese at Cahir, Co. Roscommon—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) 1782

Defences of the Empire—Works at Singapore—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Guy Dawnay) .. 1782

North Sea Fisheries—"Coopering"—Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) .. 1783

Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill—Questions, Mr. Heneage; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1783

Allotments Extension Act, 1882—Charity Lands in the Isle of Ely—Question, Mr. Jesse Collings; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1784

Navy—Range for Torpedo Practice—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) 1785

Navy—Haulbowline Works, Queenstown—Questions, Mr. Deasy; Answers, The Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) .. 1785

Parliament—Business of the House—Question, Sir William Harcourt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1786

Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry—Representation of Agriculture—Question, Mr. Storer; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1787

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Supply—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry—Representation of Agriculture—Observations, Mr. Storer, Mr. J. Lowther 1788

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole—Resolution—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the oppressive character of Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole's relations with his own tenantry, and the general public distrust justly inspired by his decisions, render it undesirable that he should continue to be intrusted with the administration of the Land Law (Ireland) Act,"—(*Mr. O'Brien,*)—instead thereof 1789

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the general public distrust inspired by the decisions of Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole renders it desirable that further in-

Supply—Order for Committee read—*continued.*

quiry should be made into his administration of the Land Law (Ireland) Act,"—(*Mr. O'Brien,*)—instead thereof.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 123, Noes 32; Majority 91.—(Div. List, No. 247.)

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Law and Justice (Scotland)—Procurators Fiscal—Observations, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. J. B. Balfour; Reply, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) 1800

Trade and Commerce—Depression of Trade—The Appreciation of Gold—Observations, Mr. Samuel Smith 1805

Lunatic Asylums (Ireland)—Cork Lunatic Asylum — Observations, Mr. Deasy 1807

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Custody of Prisoners in Ireland—Observations, Mr. Sexton; Reply, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes:)—Short debate thereon 1808

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(1.) £69,316 (including a Supplementary sum of £3,000), to complete the sum for County Court Officers, Ireland.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1814

(2.) £880,091, to complete the sum for the Constabulary, Ireland. — After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1829

(3.) £56,150, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1853

Class VI.—Non-Effective and Charitable Services.

(4.) £13,200, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Ireland.

(5.) £12,747, to complete the sum for Hospitals and Infirmaries, Ireland.

(6.) £2,371, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous, Charitable, and other Allowances, Ireland.

Class VII.—Miscellaneous.

(7.) £15,000, to complete the sum for the Registration of Voters, Ireland.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) Bill [Bill 214]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 20*th July*] 1857

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

Secretary for Scotland Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 242]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross*) 1860

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Lyon Playfair:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Wednesday* next.

Patent Law Amendment Bill [Bill 240]—

Order for Second Reading read 1864

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday.*

Oaths Bill [Bill 62]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [15th July], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1865
Moved, "That the Order be discharged,"—(*Mr. Newdegate*:)—Debate *further adjourned* till *Wednesday* next.

Police Enfranchisement Extension Bill [Bill 269]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [23rd July], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1865
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Morgan Lloyd*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Original Question again proposed.
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Ramsay*.)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

Pluralities (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 241]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1869
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Expiring Laws Continuance Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Herbert, Sir Henry Holland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 247] 1872

[12.45.]

LORDS.

NEW PEERS.

THURSDAY, JULY 9.

Sir Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild, Baronet, created Baron Rothschild of Tring in the county of Hertford.

MONDAY, JULY 13.

Mervyn Edward, Viscount Powerscourt in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland, K.P., created Baron Powerscourt, of Powerscourt in the county of Wicklow.

Anthony Henley, Baron Henley in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland, created Baron Northington, of Watford in the county of Northampton.

The Right Honourable Sir Arthur Hobhouse, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, created Baron Hobhouse, of Hadspen in the county of Somerset.

TUESDAY, JULY 14.

Gavin, Lord Breadalbane (Earl of Breadalbane in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland), created Earl of Ormelie in the county of Caithness, and Marquess of Breadalbane.

SAT FIRST.

FRIDAY, JULY 24.

The Earl of Aylesford, after the death of his brother.

COMMONS.

NEW WRIT ISSUED.

THURSDAY, JULY 9.

For *Horsham*, *v.* Sir Henry Fletcher, baronet, Groom in Waiting.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

FRIDAY, JULY 10.

Brighton—Right Hon. William Thackeray Marriott.

MONDAY, JULY 13.

Chatham—John Eldon Gorst, esquire.
Lincoln County (*Northern Division*)—Henry John Atkinson, esquire.

TUESDAY, JULY 14.

County of Down—Lord Arthur Hill.

THURSDAY, JULY 16.

Horsham—Sir Henry Fletcher, baronet.

MONDAY, JULY 20.

Aylesbury—Ferdinand James de Rothschild, commonly called Baron Ferdinand James de Rothschild.

HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

Sixth Session of the *Twenty-Second Parliament* of the
United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*
appointed to meet 29 April, 1880, in the Forty-third
Year of the Reign of

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

SEVENTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1884-5.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 8*th July*, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 8*th July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee — Forestry, *nominated.*

Supply—*considered in Committee*—Navy Estimates—Votes 3 to 17

Resolutions [July 7] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Police Enfranchisement Extension * [219]; Conveyancing (Scotland) Act (1874) Amendment * [220]; Vacating of Seats * [221]; Greenwich Hospital * [222].

First Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 2) * [212]; Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) * [214]; Bankruptcy (Office Accommodation) * [215]; Polehampton Estates * [216]; Artillery and Rifle Ranges * [217]; Turnpike Acts Continuance * [218].

Second Reading—Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices) * [148].

Committee – Report – Third Reading—Tithe Rent Charge Redemption * [181], and *passed.*

Considered as amended—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 5) * [186].

Third Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders * [182]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) * [201]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) * [198]; East India Loan (£10,000,000) * [109], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) * [29]; Corn Sales * [57]; Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry) * [179].

QUESTION.

NAVY—REINSTATEMENT OF HOBART PASHA.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, On what ground ex-Captain the Hon. A. C. Hobart-Hampden, who has been twice struck off the Royal Navy for causes deemed sufficient by the Governments of the day, has now been, for the second time, restored, with the increased rank of Vice-Admiral; whether, during the last twenty-five years, that officer has ever been employed in the active service of Her Majesty; and, if so, for how long, and in what capacities; and, whether during the greater part of that time he has been engaged in other pursuits, some of them in contravention of the Laws of this Country and of the Laws of Nations?

The FIRST LORD: Captain the Hon. A. C. Hobart's name was removed from the list of officers of the Royal Navy in 1868, in consequence of his having accepted an appointment in the Turkish Service without the permission of the Board of Admiralty. In 1874 he was reinstated. The Papers connected with this transaction were presented to Parliament in 1877. In 1877 his name was removed from the list when war broke out between Turkey and Russia. But the late Government, after fully inquiring into his case, were pleased to accede to Admiral Hobart's request to be restored to the list of retired naval officers, and he resumed the place on the list as if he had not been removed. (Order in Council, June 24, 1885.) Vice-Admiral Hobart-Hampden was not employed as a Captain. His last service afloat was as Commander of Her Majesty's ship *Foxhound* from August, 1861, to March, 1863. His pay as a retired Vice-Admiral is the same as that which he received as a Rear-Admiral. As regards the last part of the Question, I have no evidence before me to favour that assumption.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether it was not perfectly well known to the Admiralty that this Vice-Admiral had been engaged for several years in blockade-running in America, and that he had been engaged in naval warlike operations against Russia at a time when Russia and this country were at peace?

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked whether he was to understand that Vice-Admiral Hobart-Hampden received pay from the British Government while in the Turkish Service?

The FIRST LORD: I cannot answer that Question. The case was gone thoroughly into by my Predecessor (the Earl of Northbrook), who, as far as I am able to judge, arrived at a very just conclusion. My impression is that Vice Admiral Hobart-Hampden has not received pay from the English Exchequer while in the Turkish Service.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: What is the rate of pay?

The FIRST LORD: £1 a-day.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £194,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Admiralty Office, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."

Sir JOHN HAY said, he was anxious to say a few words which he might fairly say on this Vote, and at the present moment, because he observed that the Second Naval Lord, Admiral Hoskins, was now absent from the Admiralty, having been sent in command of the Squadron at present carrying on certain evolutionary proceedings in Bantry Bay, Blacksod Bay, or somewhere on the Coast of Ireland. He was anxious at that moment to congratulate his noble Friend sitting below him (Lord George Hamilton) and the Admiralty on having secured the assistance of such men as Admiral Hoskins and Admiral Hood—than whom no one could be more capable—and Captain Codrington. They were all men most capable of fulfilling the duties of their posts. The absence of Admiral Hoskins with the Evolutionary Squadron enabled them to direct attention to the services which that gallant officer had recently performed. He (Sir John Hay) was the more induced to call attention to those services, because he found that the late Civil Lord of the Admiralty the Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) who was not now in the House, but who, he believed, would be in his place very shortly—[Mr. CAINE here resumed his seat]—had made a statement which had been reported in the newspapers to this effect—

> "Our Navy was stronger than that of any two Powers combined. When the shipbuilding programme of the Government was complete it would be as strong as the Navies of any three Powers of Europe. We could take every ship in the French Fleet and lay alongside her as strong a ship as hers, and find ourselves at the end with a reserve Fleet equal to that of any other Power."

He should like to refer the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Caine) to an hon. Friend who was sitting behind him (Sir Edward J. Reed), and who had a Notice on the very subject to which the late Civil Lord of the Admiralty had alluded in those very misleading terms. In the first place, it was not correct to say—as shown by the Evolutionary Squadron — that they had anything like an efficient supply of ships to perform such special duty, although the hon. Member said—

> "We could take every ship in the French Fleet and lay alongside her as strong a ship as hers, and find ourselves at the end with a reserve Fleet equal to that of any other Power."

The whole reserve Fleet in Blacksod Bay, that the Second Naval Lord of the Admiralty was in command of, consisted of 13 iron-clads, and of those only five, including the *Ajax*, could steam 14 knots, and he would appeal to the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed) whether six of them were fit to go to sea at all? Of those six ships, there were none sufficiently armoured, and there were some whose boilers were in such a condition that they could not steam nine knots an hour. Of the remaining ships he would venture to say—and the hon. Member for Cardiff would confirm him in saying—that only three of them were reliable in the sense in which the hon. Member for Scarborough had dared to tell the country that it was defended. The fact was that the *Ajax*, the most powerful ship of the Squadron, would not steer. It was impossible to steer her in a seaway; and he was sure that when Admiral Hoskins returned to his duty at the Admiralty as Second Naval Lord he would confirm this statement—that the *Ajax* was a vessel which could not be relied on to go alongside a French ship at all. She could not steer more than nine knots to overtake a French ship, and if she did overtake one she would not be able to steer alongside it. There were only three ships in the Squadron—including the *Ajax*—sufficiently armoured to be reliable. And that was the Squadron which was paraded before the country by the hon. Gentleman the late Civil Lord of the Admiralty and other authorities as an example of the efficiency of the Fleet of England; and he thought it was due to his noble Friend below him (Lord George Hamilton), and those who were associated with him, to point out, on the first legitimate opportunity, —and this was a legitimate opportunity, when the Second Naval Lord of the Admiralty was himself in command of a Fleet — the entire insufficiency of the naval strength on which the country relied. The hon. Gentleman the late Civil Lord of the Admiralty had gone on to say, in the speech from which he had read an extract—

> "We had shown that at a week or two's notice we could sweep the seas with merchant cruisers, and could build more ships of war, from an iron-clad to a torpedo boat, in a given time, than all the nations of the world put together. Until the spread of Christianity and common sense reached the Governments of Europe we must maintain our supremacy on the seas, and this was the view taken by the Ministry."

He (Sir John Hay) had in his hand a Return as to the fittings of those ships moved for by the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith). That was not the time to allude to it, but that Return would show that those 16 cruisers under Admiral Hoskins were not sufficiently armed—or at least only one was sufficiently armed—to perform the duties they were intended to perform. It was no use pretending to the country that the noble Earl the late First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook) and his friends had left the Fleet in an efficient condition, and that his (Sir John Hay's) noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton) and those below him had succeeded to an efficient Fleet, when it was proved beyond doubt that the Evolutionary Squadron in Blacksod Bay was thoroughly inefficient. It would be soon proved beyond doubt by the Report of the Second Naval Lord of the Admiralty, who had been in command of the Fleet—

which Report, he trusted, would be in the hands of his noble Friend very shortly—that a more misleading and fallacious attempt to gammon the country into believing that it had an efficient Naval Force had never been perpetrated by persons in authority than the attempt of the late Civil Lord. He trusted to hear from his noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton) that there would be no relaxation in the attitude which was taken up by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith), when he acknowledged his short-comings, and pointed out to the late officials of the Admiralty in the House that he himself had not done sufficient for the defence of the country. That was not the time to raise a naval debate of the character which was necessary, and he did not wish to forestall the Notice of Motion which he saw still stood on the Paper in the name of his hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed), and which he trusted the hon. Member would bring on in the House. But he had thought that with this statement of a late official of the Admiralty to which he had referred before the country, and with the facts now apparent in Blacksod Bay of the total insufficiency of the only Fleet available for special service—for there were no reserve ships to be sent to it—it was necessary to say a word or two to prevent the public from being misled. He did not know whether his noble Friend could confirm the statement, or whether or not it was correct; but he had seen it asserted since the noble Lord took Office at the Admiralty that the order for the construction of the boilers which were required for the *Minotaur* and her two sister ships, the *Northumberland* and the *Agincourt*, had been suspended or stayed. There might be good reasons for it. No doubt it would be far better to build efficient ships than to refit those old ones; that he fully acknowledged; but unless some large addition were made to the shipbuilding programme, he ventured to say that this country at the beginning of next year would be in a most desperately defenceless condition that a country could be in. He hoped the Second Naval Lord of the Admiralty when he returned from Blacksod Bay fresh for his official duties would point out that what the present Government ought to do, seeing that their tenure of Office might or might not be long, was to take care and expend the extra Vote they had in hand, not in building as fast as possible a certain number of ships, but in committing the country to the building of at least 13 iron-clad ships on the 13 vacant mercantile slips of the country, so that whoever might be in authority hereafter might be compelled to complete the programme. Anxious as he had been to see ships completed as fast as possible, yet looking at the fact that a considerable sum of money was in the hands of the Admiralty not yet appropriated, he should like to see 13 iron-clads laid down on the 13 vacant mercantile slips on the Tyne, the Clyde, the Mersey, the Humber, and the Thames. He apologized to the Committee for raising this question; but it was one of such vital importance to the country, and it was so prejudicial to the national interests that hon. Members who had held Office for a short time should make statements of such a misleading character as those of the hon. Member for Scarborough, that he had thought it but right to call the attention of the Committee to the subject with which he had dealt.

Sir EDWARD J. REED said, there were one or two points connected with the constitution of the Board of Admiralty that he would like to advert to, with a view to eliciting some explanation from the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton). The Committee was, of course, aware that there had been all but a total change in the constitution of the Board since the Navy Estimates were last before the House; but one point to which he wished to draw attention was the exclusion from the present Board of a Civil member of the late Board in the person of Mr. Rendel. He confessed he could never quite understand how it was that that gentleman, whose function it was to look after the minor, or secondary, details in connection with Her Majesty's ships, should become a Lord of the Admiralty, while the designers of the Fleet had not a position on the Board. Still, Mr. Rendel was put on the late Board, and as he was put there with the assent—which, of course, was not necessary, but still it must be regarded as valuable to the late Administration—of the present Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith), the Committee perhaps would be glad to know how it was that no corresponding member occupied a seat at the new Board. Of course, if the answer was that Mr. Rendel declined to go on, and had resigned his office, then he should like to know whether the re-appointment of such an officer was contemplated? If the Board of Admiralty had been completely and totally changed, he should have felt a little better satisfied than he did at the moment. [An hon. MEMBER: It has been.] No; there was certainly one member of the Board who had occupied the same position on the late Board. He referred to that very able and distinguished officer, Admiral Brandreth, Controller of the Navy. He (Sir Edward J. Reed) was quite sure that no one would suppose he had a word to say or suggest, still less to insinuate, against that gallant officer; but what he was afraid of was that the continuance on the present Board of a member of the late Board might actually carry with it a greater continuance of the policy of the late Board than, in his opinion, would be beneficial to the country. The Committee were well aware that there were questions of most vital importance concerning the well-being of the Navy resting with the Department of which Admiral Brandreth was the head; and he thought the Committee would understand that the prolongation of the engagement, or the re-appointment on the Board of the Controller, who was the most responsible of all the members of the late Board for their shipbuilding policy, made men like himself anxious as to the future policy of the Board. He did not hesitate to say that, in his opinion, a great deal more than the successful administration of the Navy for the time depended on the policy of the new Board; for, in his humble opinion, if this Board of Admiralty did not avail itself of its present somewhat unexpected opportunity of rendering the State some service in connection with the Navy, it was likely to be the last Board of Admiralty that would have the same opportunity of neglecting the interests of the country; for he hoped and trusted that England would find a class of politicians who would insist on a greater economy and efficiency in the Naval Service than they had ever known, and who would insist upon the necessary steps being taken to bring about those consequences. He felt sure the new Board had a very great opportunity, and upon the Shipbuilding Vote he proposed to advert to some points well deserving consideration. He must say he looked to the new Board with a considerable amount of confidence, seeing the men of whom it was composed. The right hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay), who had just spoken, had remarked upon the composition of Sir Anthony Hoskins's Squadron; and he must say that with those remarks he sympathized in the largest and deepest manner. It was represented to the country that that Particular Service Squadron, or that Special Service Squadron, and to the command of which Sir Anthony Hoskins was appointed, was originally collected, scraped together, he might almost say, to form a Baltic Fleet. Now, if the whole ingenuity of man had been exercised to get together as a Baltic Fleet, or if the absolute and total ignorance of man had been exercised to get together a set of ships least likely to do the service required of them, the result could not have been more successful than the collection of that Squadron—a collection of the most diverse character, and in every respect, and under all circumstances, eminently unsuitable for Baltic service. But he did not propose to consider the Evolutionary Fleet in the character of a Baltic Squadron; he would take it only as a Special Service Squadron—as being, from a point of view, the best and the only Squadron of iron-clads that could be taken from the ports, independent of the Squadrons at home and abroad. He would even go further, and say that this Squadron could not be collected without almost breaking up the Channel Fleet. Several ships had been taken from the Channel Squadron. In pursuance of the statement made by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir John Hay) there was a word or two to be said which he would put from a financial point of view, because this Vote justified financial references as regarded the action of successive Boards of Admiralty. He did not wish, of course, to bear with undue severity on the late Board; but he did wish to bear with considerable severity on many previous Boards, because they were, more or less, responsible for the figures he was going to mention. Of course, he did feel somewhat severe towards the last Board. The reason why he condemned it was because that Board was collected from a party that pretended, and professed all through the country, to aim at and to be willing to make sacrifices for efficiency and economy in public Departments. In his humble opinion there had never been less efficiency and economy. There had never been more insensibility to instigation to economy and efficiency than the late Board of Admiralty had displayed throughout its career. But, to return to the Particular Service Squadron. Since 1870, taking that date, if he might be allowed to do so, as a point of departure, the year in which he left the Admiralty, there had been expended by successive Boards of Admiralty £24,500,000 on new ships of all kinds. Now, with the expenditure of such a sum as that it might have been expected that when, in 1885, 15 years after that expenditure commenced, a special and particular Squadron had to be got together for the defence of the country, under particular circumstances, to perform special services, that out of that £24,500,000 there would have been provided some ships which would form part of the Squadron. He knew, of course, part of the amount expended on ships dated from the period of his own service under the Admiralty. Still, £24,500,000 was so large a sum, and the interval of years so long, that it might well be supposed that some of the ships resulting would be found in the Squadron. And so there were. Three vessels laid down during the time mentioned were to be found in the Squadron —three iron-clads, for he was speaking of only armour-clad vessels. There were three ships, of which two certainly had some armour; but the third he was doubtful whether he ought to call armour-clad at all, and the doubt was shared by the Admiralty itself, for the ship as often appeared among the unarmoured class as among the armoured vessels; the fact being she carried only 3-inch armour, and no heavy guns. He alluded to the ram *Polyphemus*, about which so much had been said in the Press as to its being a typical kind of ship, because when no gun was fired at her—and she was incapable of giving or receiving serious fire — she broke through a boom and a couple of hawsers. Well, the *Polyphemus*, with 3-inch armour and no considerable guns, was one of the ships produced out of the £24,500,000 spent. Another ship in the Squadron due to that expenditure was the *Shannon*, and a remarkable thing about that vessel was that she never had been in the list of unarmoured ships. Though, however, she was in the list as an armoured ship, she was not really an armoured ship, except that she had a belt of armour and a bulkhead not protected by armour. The whole of the guns of the *Shannon* were exposed to destruction from the tiniest machine gun afloat in any Navy, and it had always puzzled him to know how she could be put forward as an armoured ship. But she was one of the ships called armoured—the product of the £24,500,000. The other vessel was the *Ajax*, to which the right hon. and gallant Admiral had referred—a vessel which, from wildness of temperament or something else, had a little uncertainty of behaviour. Touching the fearfully defective steering of the *Agamemnon* and the *Ajax*, it was only right to say, in justice to the designer of those vessels, that it was within his (Sir Edward J. Reed's) own experience that a considerable amount of wildness of steering had been found to exist in twin-screw vessels after changes were effected in the original design. He did not believe that any blame was attributable to the designer of the *Ajax* and *Agamemnon* for defective steering in the first instance; but what he did think was that blame attached to those who allowed the ships to remain just nominally complete for a couple of years, when it was shown all the time they were incapable of steering properly, and nothing was done to remedy this defect, and the *Ajax* was left to join the Squadron with all the risk attending this wildness of steering. That did seem to reflect very little credit indeed on any branch of the Admiralty Service. He could not understand how the Controller, the Naval Lords, or anybody connected with the Board, could possibly have sent the *Agamemnon* away to China, knowing she was incapable of steering, or could have left the *Ajax* doing nothing, knowing her defect was perfectly remediable. No doubt, after considerable scandal and discredit had been brought down upon the Department, the remedy would be applied; but it was a great pity the remedy was not applied as soon as the defect was discovered. Such was the state of things. Out of £24,500,000 spent on new ships since 1870—the Particular Service Squadron had the *Ajax*, the *Shannon*, with her unprotected battery, and the *Polyphemus*, with her 3-inch armour and no considerable guns. And how was the rest of the Squadron made up? In the first place, there was a couple of old wooden ships, which the hon. Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey)—who, he trusted, was more pleasantly occupied that pleasant July day than in discussing Navy Estimates—described three years ago as the last remnants of obsolete plated wooden ships. Three years ago they were the last remnants of obsolete, unprotected ships, and those ships, forsooth! were brought out by the late Board, and paraded before the world in the Special Service Squadron. He must say he agreed with the right hon. and gallant Admiral in thinking that, in justice to the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) and his Colleagues in the Admiralty, it should be known that they had succeeded to the control of the Navy in the condition he was describing, and not a Navy which the heated imagination and unrestrained desire of the hon. Member below (Mr. Caine) led him to describe. Besides those two old wooden ships, condemned by the hon. Member (Sir Thomas Brassey) three years ago as obsolete, there were two iron-clads from the Channel Squadron, which he was told, would be paraded for admiration before Her Majesty and the country in the naval display which was soon to take place—the *Agincourt* and the *Minotaur*—which, three years ago, the hon. Member (Sir Thomas Brassey) told the country were wanting in some of the first elements of ships of war, owing to their antiquity—nothing else. Those two ships had been trotted out into the Special Service Squadron, and the rest of the Squadron consisted of ships, some of them, he was proud to believe, notwithstanding the lapse of time, efficient ships designed by himself more than 15 years ago. But, he asked, would the present Admiralty Board go on in the same way, and show such a miserable, discreditable result after spending millions of the people's money, a result that showed not one modern and efficient iron-clad? No, not one. Not a single iron-clad ship of which it could be said she was at once modern and efficient. Would the present Board go on spending money, holding out expectations to the House of Commons and the people of the country that were never realized? He must say, from his knowledge of the noble Lord now presiding over the Board of Admiralty, from the known and understood character of the present Secretary to the Board (Mr. Ritchie), that he did not believe the present Board would act as their Predecessors had done; and he would add this belief—that the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) would bring to the Office to which he had been appointed considerable ability and zeal, and that he was one of those from whom good service might be expected. There were some other points to which he wished to advert, but they would be more applicable to the Shipbuilding Vote. In the meantime, he hoped the noble Lord would render some explanation of the policy of the new Board, and the intention as to an appointment such as that held by Mr. Rendel upon the new Board in the future; and that he would give some assurance that the fact of the Controller of the Navy sitting both on the late and the present Board would not be treated by his Colleagues at the present Board as a reason why the just expectations and requirements of the House and the country, in regard to shipbuilding, should not be realized.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) said, he rose for two purposes. In the first place, he wished to draw attention to the nature of the Vote under discussion—the Admiralty Vote. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down was aware that the conversation was somewhat trenching on a subsequent Vote; and it must be evident that if it went on in that way they would drift into a conversation not altogether germane to the Vote before them. He desired to thank both the hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the Committee (Sir Edward J. Reed) and the right hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay) for the kindly manner in which they had spoken of the new Board of Admiralty. The Naval Lords were gentlemen all of administrative experience and thorough knowledge of the various branches of the Department which would be brought under their supervision. He was satisfied to find, on both sides of the House, an opinion that the combination of officials whom he had been fortunate enough to secure for the purpose of co-operating with the Representatives of the Navy on the Board was satisfactory. As to the exclusion from the Board of Mr. Rendel, and the inclusion of the Controller of the Navy of the late Board, the facts were very simple. Admiral Brandreth, as Controller, held a five years' appointment, and the Controller had recently, by an Order in Council, been added to the Admiralty. Admiral Brandreth was an old officer, who enjoyed the respect of all who knew him; and it would have been most improper if he (Lord George Hamilton) at the commencement of his tenure of Office had made an innovation according to which officers appointed to a post for a term of five years would be changed whenever a fresh Board of Admiralty was constituted. As Admiral Brandreth had been willing to continue his services, he (Lord George Hamilton) had been glad to avail himself of them. As to Mr. Rendel, who had been added to the Admiralty as Civil Lord by the late First Lord, he was an engineer of great skill, and, in the capacity in which he had served, had rendered great and valuable service to the Admiralty. But, unfortunately, some time back some members of Mr. Rendel's family had been in delicate health, and he had been compelled to spend a great part of his time abroad. He felt that he was hardly able satisfactorily to perform his duties, and he more than once intimated to the late Board that if any change took place at the Admiralty he should cease his connection with it. It had been necessary to constitute the new Board of Admiralty as speedily as possible. It had been so constituted, and even then had only been able to sit for the first time on Saturday last. Letters had been put in his (Lord George Hamilton's) possession, by the late First Lord, which showed that Mr. Rendel had definitely made up his mind to retire. He had telegraphed to Mr. Rendel, on communicating the names of the Members of the new Board to Her Majesty, stating that the Admiralty would be glad to avail themselves of his services, and urging him to remain at his post. Mr. Rendel replied that it was impossible for him to do so; but he expressed a hope that the Admiralty would so far avail itself of any service he might be able to do them by submitting to him any matters which it might be thought useful to refer to him. Thus, then, the new Board of Admiralty would have the advantage of valuable outside opinion on important matters affecting shipbuilding. Various suggestions had been made as to the policy to be pursued by the Admiralty. He could assure the Committee that the new Board deeply felt the responsibilities entailed on them in accepting Office at this critical time; but their present duty was to give effect to the Estimates of their Predecessors, and if he passed by many of the recommendations made, it must not, therefore, be assumed, from his silence, that he either assented to or dissented from any of the suggestions which had been offered. The Government would do their best to consider all the recommendations which had been made. Their only object was to place the Navy in as efficient a condition as possible; and, above all, to make such financial arrangements at the Admiralty as would ensure that the nation got the full worth of the money expended. Further than that he did not expect the Committee would wish him to go. He would postpone any remarks as to shipbuilding until the Vote for the administration of the Admiralty Office was reached.

Mr. CAINE said, that in reply to the remarks which had been made by the right hon. and gallant Member for the Wigtown Burghs (Sir John Hay), he had no intention of entering into any vindication of the statement he had made at a public meeting some time ago; because the statement which he had then made was almost identical with a speech he had delivered in that House, on the 20th of April, a report of which he had now before him. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman would find full details in *Hansard* of that date, and he (Mr. Caine) saw no object in continuing the subject now.

Mr. PULESTON said, he had no wish to continue the discussion; but he desired to congratulate his noble Friend the First Lord on the position he now occupied. He thought they were very fortunate in having a Civil Lord and a Secretary to the Admiralty in the two hon. Gentlemen who now occupied those positions (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett and

Mr. Ritchie). The industry of the Civil Lord was indomitable, and he was quite sure that what his hon. Friend did not know about the Navy now he would learn in a very short time; and he was satisfied that both of the hon. Members to whom he had referred would discharge their duties with ability and efficiency. He had risen now for the purpose of asking a question upon a matter which might appear to be somewhat small—namely, the employment of temporary clerks and copyists. Those temporary clerks were really permanent officers, and many of the persons styled "copyists" were, in fact, clerks. The system obtained throughout all branches of the Civil Service; and the question might as well be raised in respect to the Admiralty as to any other branch of the Public Service. He strongly objected to the practice of employing permanent officials; because, practically, to all intents and purposes, those individuals were permanent clerks, although called "temporary"—in doing the work of clerks. He thought the Government ought to take steps to remedy the great injustice which was done to a respectable body of servants who were still called "copyists," although in reality clerks, who were styled temporary when really permanent, and only received remuneration at the rate of 10*d.* per hour.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. RITCHIE) said, with reference to the question which had just been put to him by his hon. Friend the Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston), he wished to explain that in the Civil Service there were two classes of clerks, one of which was permanent, while the other was only temporary; one was borne on the Establishment, while the other, although employed continuously, was not on the Establishment. The permanent officials who were on the Establishment possessed rights and advantages which did not belong to the temporary clerks. He was sure that his hon. Friend would not expect, on the question of the employment of clerks in the Admiralty, that the Admiralty would consent to introduce so serious a modification in existing arrangements. The suggestion of his hon. Friend would, if carried out, effect a complete change.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, that before the discussion closed there was a question which he wished to address to the Government—namely, whether they contemplated any alteration of a most extraordinary Minute drawn up, he believed, by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers), which had the effect of relieving the Lords of the Admiralty of responsibility, and of throwing the whole responsibility upon the First Lord. He was of opinion that the Minute to which he referred was the most mischievous Minute which had been issued for many years. During the time he had had the honour of a seat in the House he had heard on several occasions the statements made on behalf of new Boards of Admiralty, and the excuses of those who had left Office. They all desired and hoped that the new Board of Admiralty would act like a new broom, and do much better service than their Predecessors. He wished, however, to know how it was they found that the most creditable and powerful ships of war were turned out, not by the Board of Admiralty, but by the private shipbuilders of the country? He could not but regret to see in the present Exhibition at South Kensington how much more satisfactory were the designs of the private shipbuilders than those of the Board. He hoped that some Member of the Board would go there, and see the designs of some of the ships which had been turned out for the Chilian Government.

MR. PULESTON said, he did not wish to interrupt his hon. Friend, and would not have risen except upon a point of Order. His hon. Friend was now speaking on the Shipbuilding Vote, and certainly that was a Vote upon which he (Mr. Puleston) would have a few words to say when the question was legitimately before the Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he thought it would be more convenient and more in Order if the hon. Member deferred his remarks upon this subject until the Shipbuilding Vote was reached. He conceived that the hon. Member desired to speak upon the policy of the Board of Admiralty in regard to shipbuilding. He would take that opportunity of saying that, with a view of securing the order of debate, it seemed to him indispensable that hon. Members should confine their remarks to the various Votes before them. It was always allowed, no doubt, that the question of general policy should be discussed on one Vote; but in this case that had already been done, and after a lapse of time, having reached a second Vote, the question of general policy was again being raised. He did not think that that was a convenient course; and he would, therefore, request hon. Members to defer any remarks they might have to make on the subject of shipbuilding until the Vote for that purpose, which would come on presently, was reached.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he bowed to the decision of the Chair, and would do what the right hon. Gentleman desired. He was, however, on the point of concluding his remarks when the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) interposed; and if he had referred for a moment to a question of general policy, it was only in order that he might express a hope that the Board of Admiralty would avail themselves of the talent which was to be found in private shipbuilding yards.

MR. PULESTON said, he was sorry to interrupt his hon. Friend again; but the observations he was making did raise a very large question, and one that would require careful ventilation. He did not object to going on with it if it were to be understood that the discussion would be general.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he had not interrupted the hon. Member, because he had intimated that he had brought his remarks to a close.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he would prefer to defer the observations he desired to make until the Committee came to the Shipbuilding Vote.

DR. CAMERON said, he wished to address the Committee upon a matter which was strictly germane to the Vote now under the consideration of the Committee—namely, the deficiencies of the Marine Transport Department, and the extraordinary manner in which transports had recently gone to the bad. He should feel compelled to move the reduction of the Vote by the amount of the salary of the Assistant Director of Transports, who was responsible, he believed, for the circumstances to which it would be his duty to refer. Before, however, he proceeded to the specific case in connection with which he proposed to move the reduction of the Vote, he proposed to mention one or two instances in order to show the manner in which the Transport Service had been conducted in regard to the recent war. According to a statement published in *Truth*, on the 10th of June, 1855, the hired transport, *Lydian Monarch*, was detained in Suez Harbour for three days, waiting for an ass which had been presented by somebody to the Queen, orders having been received that the beast was to be conveyed to England in that vessel; but the animal did not arrive on the appointed day, so the ship was kept till it turned up, to the indignation of her officers, as she was full of invalids and horses, and the detention must have involved considerable expense to the public. A point which must have struck everyone in connection with the Transport Service and the recent war was the extraordinary number of vessels which were disabled. Every second day they heard of some accident to a transport ship. On the 11th of April a Report appeared in *The Admiralty and Horse Guards Gazette*, in which several cases were referred to. The Report said that—

> "The transport ships which were hurriedly despatched to Egypt have not been an unqualified success. One of the first came to grief off the Coast of Portugal, striking on a rock, and some of those on board her came back to England, and started by the overland route, rather than go by a second hired transport. The *Arafat* is reported by Commodore Molyneux at Suakin on Saturday last to be 'full of water; over upper deck. Nobody seen.' All on board escaped so soon as she was hard and fast, whereupon the Arabs promptly put off and began to plunder the ship. On Tuesday Lloyd's Agent at Ismailia telegraphed that the transport *Ashington*, bound from Hull to Suakin, had grounded in the Canal, and had to lighten to get off; and the same day a telegram from Gibraltar announced that the machinery of the storeship *Somerset* was out of order, and must be repaired to enable her to proceed. We hope this may be the concluding misadventure to the Transport Service for some little time at least."

That did not exhaust the list of cases. He had a copy of *The United Service Magazine* for the present month, in which very strong language was used as to the character of the vessels employed. The article said—

> "Taking the first 30 vessels on the list of transports, it will be found that no class is provided by Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping for one-half the number of these specimens of 'slopwork,' so that our troops, seamen, and stores are subjected to far greater risks in being sent across the sea in

'iron crates,' unworthy of the lowest class at Lloyd's, than might be anticipated as the result of war and climatic casualties. Several of these vessels bear such a notoriously bad character that no one will employ them when they can get any other. Some of the rattle-traps have been the cause of extensive litigation between owners and builders on account of the inferior material and workmanship embodied in their construction; others were a short time back offered for sale at the price of old iron; and, again, vessels only valued at a charter price of 9*s.* per ton in the mercantile world have been eagerly taken up by our Government at 19*s.* per ton. The 15 unclassed ships of the first 30 taken up for transport service were chartered at a period when the shipping trade of the United Kingdom was in a very depressed condition, and whilst scores of thoroughly sound ships, classed 100 A-1 at Lloyd's, were laid up for want of a freight. In addition to taking up vessels structurally defective to a notorious extent, the Transport Department of the Admiralty made many other arrangements of a most unbusinesslike character. In one case a charter was made for a small vessel, by which the owner received £500 per month for the hire of his ship, he being required merely to find the crew, provisions and stores, the Government being responsible for coal and port charges. This owner engaged the services of a Commander for the transport at the rate of £3 10*s.* per week, out of which the said Captain was to find himself in provisions, &c., and purchase a chronometer for navigating purposes. A small crew was also engaged on extremely low terms, and as the owner had no stevedore's bills to pay, his heaviest outlay per month, inclusive of about £50 for insurance, would amount all to about £100. It is generally under the poor pay system that the greatest casualties occur in the Merchant Navy, so it is not surprising that after this craft put to sea some alarm was caused because she was not sighted in due time from different signalling stations, &c., which she should have reached, and it was quite a relief to many to find that, after considerable delay, she turned up at Malta, with nothing worse than her machinery and steering gear out of order. Another slop craft whose name stood out at Lloyd's as 'not yet heard of' for some time, put into Gibraltar with machinery so disarranged and smashed up that it became necessary to refer her cargo to other vessels. This unclassed iron pot was previously put up for sale at the price of old iron. The Suez Canal has several times been blocked by the break-down of different jerry transports lately chartered by the Government, and various total losses or damage to vessels and stores occurred amongst other slop transports in different parts of the world. Again, the minimum rate of speed required of transports was 10 knots per hour, and a specified coal bunker capacity for several hundred tons of coal. Some of the transports do not possess the necessary bunkers' capacity by some 50 tons, although accepted by the Transport Department as equal to every requirement, the consequence being that every voyage made puts the Government to the expense of a considerable sum in excess of the actual cost of coal, which finds its way into the pockets of the owners, and, in the case of speed, at least one vessel at her best never reached the lowest limit of 10 knots per hour. This brief review of the first 30 vessels on the list of chartered Government transports might be continued throughout the whole fleet (about 150) lately taken up for national purposes, and from beginning to end the Transport Department of the Admiralty show themselves to be most unbusinesslike and extravagant, their dealings being seriously detrimental to home preparations for foreign wars, and fraught with danger to life and limb."

Those statements showed the extremely slipshod way in which the business of hiring transports in many instances proceeded. They were, however, all taken from newspaper reports; and he did not wish to occupy the time of the Committee in basing his claim for a reduction of the Vote upon anything which had not been proved and admitted by the Representatives of the Admiralty. In the case of the *Notting Hill*, a transport employed in carrying mules from the Cape to Egypt in connection with the Egyptian Campaign of 1882, the facts of the case had been arrived at from the evidence of a number of witnesses before a Committee which sat upstairs to inquire into the Transport Service during the Egyptian War. He should not have considered it necessary to bring that case again under the notice of the Committee if it had not been for the fact that on a previous occasion, when he had referred to it, among several others, he was replied to by the Representative of the Admiralty, and was debarred from returning an answer to the statement that was then officially made. The statement of the then Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Caine) was a most extraordinary one, and it showed how, in a very short time, even a most advanced Member of the House, when he took his seat on the Front Bench, became imbued with the official atmosphere in which he lived, and was found to be even more of an Admiralty man than the Admiralty officials themselves. He ventured to say that the officers of the Admiralty, if they had had a similar duty thrown upon them upon that occasion, would have freely admitted that if the same circumstances were to occur again very different and much more rational arrangements ought to be made. His hon. Friend, however, went so far as to say that if the circumstance were to occur again it would probably be dealt with in precisely the same manner.

Now his (Dr. Cameron's) opinion was that if, after having made that extraordinary fiasco in 1882, any official of the Admiralty was prepared to repeat it in future, the sooner that official was got rid of the better for the country. The *Notting Hill* was a vessel of 4,000 tons, chartered on behalf of the Admiralty by the gentleman whose salary he proposed to reduce. There were a number of superfluous mules belonging to the Government at Port Durban (Natal). They were being sold off at that time, and the War Office telegraphed out to stop the sales and send on the mules to Egypt for service in the Egyptian War. The Admiralty were asked to provide transport, and instructions to that effect were given by the War Office to the Admiralty on the 24th of July, 1882. On that date there was abundant transport on the spot. That was proved before the Committee by the ordinary naval agent at Natal, who was also the Commissariat Officer in charge of the mules. It was also proved by a telegram from the Admiral commanding at Cape Town. The arrangement was made by the Assistant Director of Transports. It was said that the Director of Transports was incapable of attending to the work at the time, and the arrangement was therefore made by the Assistant Director. Although there were vessels on the spot, an arrangement was made by the Admiralty in this country by which a vessel lying at the time 500 miles away from Natal, laden with cotton, and altogether unfit for the work upon which it was proposed to employ her, was chartered. Time was given to enable the owners of the *Notting Hill* to get rid of the cargo. The broker who conducted the negotiations went first to one line of steamers engaged in the Cape trade, and then to another line, and asked if they would take the cargo, so as to allow her to ship the mules. These at first refused, because the *Notting Hill* had gone to the Cape, and the regular traders had filled up with wool, and they were not particularly anxious to oblige her owners. It was suspected from the pertinacity with which the matter was urged that the owners of the *Notting Hill* had a better thing in reserve, and therefore the Steam Companies to whom the offer was made refused to entertain it, and to take her cargo. There was at the time a vessel belonging to one of these regular lines lying at Durban, which was quite ready to perform the transport work required by the Admiralty. She was offered for the conveyance of the mules, but her services were declined, on the ground that the vessel was too small. Nevertheless, she was precisely the kind of vessel which had previously been employed in transporting mules, while the *Notting Hill* was a vessel of a class which was of inconvenient size. In the course of a few days it became evident to the owners of the other Cape steamers that they had no chance of getting the conveyance of the mules into their own hands. They therefore did the next best thing they could, and allowed themselves to be bribed into taking off the wool with which the *Notting Hill* was laden. The Castle Line of steamers was, he believed, induced to relieve the *Notting Hill* of her cargo in consideration of the payment of £2,000. Having made that arrangement with the Castle Line, the owners of the *Notting Hill* went to the Admiralty and completed a contract, by which they were to receive £3,000 in consideration of the expense of transferring the cargo, and the vessel was then chartered at the rate of £1,000 a-week, the Government allowing the owners a week for the purpose of discharging the cargo. Therefore, although the Government had everything ready at hand that was necessary to be employed in the service, they took a vessel such as had never been so employed before. Moreover, the arrangements were made at an absolutely needless expense of £3,000 to cover the expense incurred by the owners of the *Notting Hill* in transferring the cargo, with an additional £1,000 to cover the time taken up in transferring it. In the end the cargo was transferred into a vessel belonging to the Castle Line, which vessel would have been available for the service of the Government, and the vessel actually steamed backwards and forwards between England and the Cape three times before the *Notting Hill* arrived in Egypt. It was agreed in the charter that the *Notting Hill* should be fitted out at Simon's Bay, and it took three weeks in the Government Dockyard there to have her fitted up. By that time the War Office were becoming impatient, and the ship proceeded to Cape Town to take forage for mules on board. But at Cape Town was small-pox, and on her arrival at Natal she found herself in quarantine, the result of which was that another delay occurred. Notwithstanding all the elaborate equipments with which she was provided at Simon's Bay, it was found that the vessel could not take the number of mules she was required to carry by 200, and in a number of cases the mangers for the mules were placed not at the heads of their stalls but behind their tails. After all this chapter of catastrophes the vessel got under weigh, and ultimately arrived at Suez just a week after the fall of Tel-el-Kebir and Cairo, and the termination of the Egyptian War of 1882. Thus the whole expense incurred in this matter was absolutely lost, and the service of the Army for which the mules were intended suffered great detriment. The vessel was sent on to Bombay, and the mules disposed of there; but it was then necessary to bring back the drivers who had been taken along with the mules from the Cape. Those operations cost this country at least £25,000, and probably £30,000, because the Government had to pay for coal, as well as hire and other expenses. The mules were sold to the Indian Government at such a price that it would have been infinitely better to have slaughtered them at Durban and to have sold the hoofs and hides. He knew that it might be considered invidious on his part to bring forward a Motion of this personal character, and it might be suggested that he could have raised the question upon another Vote, and in another way. He had always, however, found by experience in connection with the Estimates that the best course for a Member to pursue was to take the first opportunity he could get; and, therefore, although he had originally intended to avail himself of another opportunity he had changed his intention. It might be said that it would be hard to deprive an official of his salary of £800 a-year; but in consequence of the blundering of this officer the country would have to pay an annuity larger than his salary. Why, then, should they continue the services of the Director General of Transports? The hon. Gentleman who had given what he was pleased to consider an explanation of the matter on a previous occasion (Mr. Caine) had given what amounted to no explanation at all. He had admitted all the facts, and yet, at the same time, he told the House that if similar circumstances occurred again he would do the same thing. To his (Dr. Cameron's) mind that was an aggravation of the offence; and, under the circumstances, he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the salary of the Assistant Director of the Transports —namely, £831.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £193,469, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Admiralty Office, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886." — (*Dr. Cameron.*)

MR. CAINE said, that his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had delivered a speech which was identical, and almost word for word, the same as the one he had delivered in the House of Commons on the 16th of March last. [Dr. CAMERON: No, no!] There was only this difference—that on the previous occasion his hon. Friend had mentioned the shipbroker by name; whereas on this occasion he had wisely abstained from importing personalities into his speech. No doubt the House never tired of listening to speeches from his hon. Friend; but, unfortunately, he could not claim the same indulgence for himself; and, therefore, he would refer hon. Members to the pages of *Hansard* for the reply which he had made to the accusations of the hon. Member when they were first preferred. On that occasion the Motion made by the hon. Member was—

> "The system of chartering and managing hired transports pursued by the Admiralty officials is unbusinesslike, extravagant, and detrimental to the satisfactory working of home preparations for foreign wars."

On that occasion the case of the *Notting Hill* was referred to by his hon. Friend; but the course pursued by the Government in reference to that vessel was defended, not only by himself, but by the hon. Member for Greenock (Mr. Sutherland), who had had a large experience in connection with such matters as Chairman of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and also by the Members for Falmouth (Mr. D. Jenkins) and Southampton (Mr. Giles). He (Mr. Caine) was quite prepared to stand by everything he had said in March in defence of the Admiralty. He did not think that it was possible to get better men to do the work, or to do the work better than it was actually done for the transport service in connection with the Egyptian War. It was quite true that there were one or two unsatisfactory points connected with the *Notting Hill;* but they were matters which were entirely unavoidable, and in no way attributable to neglect or incompetence on the part of Admiralty officials. He would remind the Committee that when the question was discussed in March his hon. Friend did that which he had seldom done before—namely, refused, at the close of the debate, to go to a division. He thought that in taking that course his hon. Friend had acted very wisely, and he would also display wisdom if he took a similar course today.

Dr. CAMERON wished to explain that the speech he had delivered to-day was not at all the same as that which he had delivered in March. On the former occasion he went over a wide field of subjects, and moved the Resolution which his hon. Friend had referred to. He had alluded to-day to a great number of points which he had not touched upon before, and he had confined himself to-day to one specific point. His hon. Friend had referred to the opinion expressed by the hon. Member for Greenock (Mr. Sutherland). Now, the hon. Member for Greenock had not said one word in approval of the *Notting Hill*, but had simply defended the general policy of the Government, which was very natural on the part of a Gentleman whose steamers had been largely employed.

Mr. MACLIVER said, it was gratifying to find on both sides of the Committee a perfect willingness to afford a fair opportunity for new officials to take Office under a new Administration. He thought the Government would find quite enough to do in conducting the affairs of the Department without devoting their time to an inquiry as to what had been neglected by their Predecessors, or done in excess. Unfortunately it was the system, and not the recent Administration, that had been in fault in this matter. The present system of administration in the Admiralty was slow, cumbrous, and inefficient, and would be tolerated nowhere except in an Administration which followed routine, and in which true responsibility was very seldom found. He complained not only of the slowness of the Board of Admiralty in introducing measures, but of the contemptuous manner in which, during the last five or six years, Memorials presented from the Dockyards to the Admiralty had been treated. The result was that many persons naturally felt aggrieved, and great discontent existed in the Dockyards, the real cause being the very inefficient way in which the affairs of the Admiralty were administered. Such a state of things could not be beneficial to the Service. He believed that a change was inevitable; and he hoped it would be such a change as would make the future administration more in accordance with the wants and wishes of the country.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH desired to say a few words in the interests of the taxpayers of the country. It was a patent fact that gentlemen selected for appointments connected with the administration of the Admiralty knew nothing of the kind of work they were called upon to perform, and, in a very short time, the country would find that there was no improvement upon the previous condition of things. He believed it would be found that they had merely stimulated other countries, and had done nothing for themselves. He believed that the money spent at the Admiralty had never been worth more than 10*s.* in the pound at the outside; and, therefore, he had suffered very little disappointment from the various confessions, admissions, and reproaches indulged in by the two sides of the House, depending upon which Party happened to be in power. It was a melancholy reflection that even if they were to get the finest Government in the world, fully adequate to sustain the dignity and the requirements of the country, all they would have done would have been to stimulate other nations to increase their own weapons of mischief. As a matter of fact, we were continually rolling up the hill this tremendous load. He had an immense admiration for the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed); but the hon. Member undoubtedly lent himself to this scare by indulging in unnecessary criticism as to what had been, or rather what had not been, done in the way of naval expenditure. He would only point out that the enormous total of £24,250,000 had been spent on shipbuilding alone since the year 1870, that having been the period when, unfortunately, a great change came over the minds of a good many persons in regard to the administration of the Admiralty. In 1870 there was the same complaint and outcry as at present, and he was afraid it would be so to the crack of doom. Although they were constantly inventing new engines and improving the machinery of war, it was folly to suppose that they would ever get beyond experiments, and be able to arrive at perfection. There must always be in every vessel constructed something new, unless they were altogether to discard the progress of invention. Therefore, in criticising the performances of the Admiralty there was nothing easier than to say that one vessel was not so capable, and so well fitted for the purposes for which she was designed, as another. He believed that no improvement would take place in the proceedings of the Board of Admiralty under the present system, and that it was hopeless to expect any. He was satisfied that they were only, by their criticisms, helping to maintain a state of things by which other nations were led into the same miserable policy of unduly increasing their outlay instead of restricting it within rational limits.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, that on page 17 of the Votes there was an item of £500 for services in connection with the Intelligence Department. He wished to know whether that item covered the whole of the money which had been expended under that head ?

THE CHAIRMAN said, he thought the hon. and gallant Member had better reserve his remarks upon that item until they came to the Vote for the Intelligence Department.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY said, he had no wish to enter into any question of controversy between the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) and the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron); but as coming from one recently connected with the Department, and an able business man, the hon. Member for Scarborough's (Mr. Caine's) argument must be accepted. However, for some time past the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had been dissatisfied with the Transport Service, and he had brought forward certain cases in which he believed there had been considerable waste of money. He said at once, in common with his Colleagues, that there was no doubt there had been an enormous expenditure unnecessarily incurred by the Transport Department; and he said frankly that he had looked into that expenditure, and he was very much dissatisfied with the present system of financial control exercised over the Transport Service. Therefore, he did not wish that the criticisms of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) should pass by without comment, lest it might be assumed that, in his opinion, the Transport Service was satisfactory. He certainly intended to substitute some more efficient check than at present existed. He thought, however, that the proposal was invidious; and perhaps, after the statement now made by the hon. Member, the hon. Member would not divide the Committee. Unfortunately, whenever any hon. Member was dissatisfied with any item which appeared in the Votes, and wished to censure the Department, the course he took to evince his dissatisfaction was to move the reduction of the salary of some one connected with the Department. He thought that was a very unpleasant way of calling attention to a grievance; because whatever the views of the hon. Gentleman might be, he could not deny that the knowledge, zeal, and ability of the Assistant Director General of Transports, and the assiduity with which he had discharged his duties, entitled him to remuneration. He promised to have a thorough investigation made into the administration of the Transport Department; and, under those circumstances, he hoped the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) would withdraw the Amendment.

DR. CAMERON said, the noble Lord appeared to think that because the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) had been connected with the Department his hon. Friend must be right and he (Dr. Cameron) must be wrong. He certainly failed to see the force of the argument. Like the cuttle fish trick of obscuring the water when endeavouring to escape from a position of danger, those who were responsible for the waste of public money which he had pointed out attempted to get out of the difficulty under cover of a cloud of darkness. The noble Lord said he thought that everything was right; but, at the same time, the proposal of the noble Lord to institute a thorough investigation into the matter seemed to indicate the notion that there was a great deal that was wrong. He had moved the disallowance of the salary of the Assistant Director of Transports because the action of that officer in relation to the Transport Service had lost to the country more than the capitalized value of the salary, and he was, therefore, a gentleman whose services might be retained at too great a price. In any private business it was a matter of moral certainty that a servant who had been guilty of such blundering would be got rid of. No business man would attempt to retain in his employment a servant who had cost him so large a sum of money. However, the statement made by the noble Lord was much more encouraging than the defiant assurance of the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine), that if he had to do it over again he would do the same thing. The whole question of the Transport Service in connection with the Admiralty was of the highest importance. It was a subject which appeared to have escaped attention; and if the noble Lord would carry on an investigation in a thoroughly efficient manner he could not fail to do great good to the country, and he would certainly save a much larger sum than would be gained by the reduction of the Vote he (Dr. Cameron) had proposed. Therefore, he thought he was warranted in departing from his original purpose of dividing the Committee. He could only express a hope that the question would be dealt with in a businesslike manner, and he withdrew the Amendment because he was satisfied with the important undertaking the noble Lord had given upon what he considered to be a most important matter.

Mr. CAINE asked whether the statement of the noble Lord was based upon the management of the Transport Service in the Egyptian War? That was all that he cared specially to defend.

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY declined to enter into the controversy between the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) and the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron). He had only said that he believed, from his official connection with the Department, the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) was the most likely to be right.

Mr. CAINE remarked that it was only a matter of assertion on the part of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron).

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY said, he had to deal with things as he found them; and he found that there was a large—indeed, an enormous—expenditure incurred for the Transport Service, and he was not satisfied with the financial check. He did not wish to blame any individual; but certainly, so far as he had been able to go, he was thoroughly dissatisfied with the system of check.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR took advantage of the salary of the Director of Transports being in this Vote to raise the objection to the large expenditure in Vote 17 on Sea Transports for the Army being debited to the Naval Estimates, instead of being included in the Army Charges. He also objected to the cost of the guns and ammunition for the Navy being debited to the Army instead of the Navy; but of that item he should not at present make more mention. He had had some experience in India about transports, and when in the War Office he watched the action of the Transport Service, from which he was justified in asserting that by making the Naval Estimates bear the money charges created by the requisitions of the War Office for ship transport they opened the door to waste, extravagance, and inefficient control. It might be likened to the old saying of riding another man's horse with your own spurs, a practice certain to take all out of the animal. The curious part of this sea transport system was that the charges for vessels conveying troops and stores along the coast were charges on the Army Votes; whereas the charges for foreign transports were, as he had said, included in the Naval Estimates. The result of that bad system was that the financial control, which could alone be made to be felt by the party knowing the cost of an order, was entirely lost. The idea of the audit of that expenditure proving a check on the orders issued from the War Office was futile. The examination to which transport charges could now be subjected was thereby arithmetical. The best and most effective kind of audit, that of the propriety or necessity of the order, was lost. On those grounds, he urged that the present defective system be promptly altered by transferring the cost of Sea Transport to the Army Estimates.

COLONEL NOLAN said, there was no doubt that this question must be taken up as a whole. He did not think that a mere Departmental Committee would be sufficient; because, as far as he could judge, the Heads of the Departments of the War Office, whose action might be touched on by the Committee, would be present the whole time, listening to what was said by the various witnesses called. That was the case on a Committee within his knowledge; the Heads of the Departments used to attend throughout the sittings, and watch the witnesses as a cat would watch a mouse. Now, he asked how they could expect a satisfactory result in cases of that kind—how could they expect witnesses to come forward from the various Departments of the War Office, knowing that their superiors were watching them, and waiting to note every word they uttered? He thought the first campaign had been planned and managed extremely well by Lord Wolseley; but it seemed to him (Colonel Nolan) that both the sea and land Transport Service was in a state of inextricable confusion. What had happened? Since then they had had three campaigns—two on the Red Sea, and one in the Soudan; and although the troops fought splendidly, there had been no result but complete failure, and in all cases for the same reason—they were too late. Had they been begun earlier, he had no doubt that they would all have been successful.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the observations of the hon. and gallant Gentleman appeared to him to have no connection with the Transport Service and to be inapplicable to the Vote before the Committee.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he was pointing out that the Marine Transport was not very efficient. He had had ample opportunities of judging of the efficiency of the Marine Transport Service, and as he thought it had not been satisfactory, he was of opinion that a grave Inquiry should be held with regard to it, and that the Inquiry ought, in his opinion, to be Parliamentary and not Departmental. He hoped that when the next Parliament met he believed it would be for the interest of the Service and the country that the whole question of the Egyptian Campaigns should be made the subject of inquiry; and he should advise that the question of Transport should be taken up. He repeated that there should be a Parliamentary and not a Departmental investigation; because it was, in this case, necessary to find fault with so many of the Departments of the War Office. No doubt, the officials at the War Office were good men in their various capacities; but, as a general rule, they were good friends among themselves, and he did not think them qualified to carry out an inquiry of this kind satisfactorily.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he gathered from the remarks of the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty that he did not intend to make any imputation against the officials employed at the Admiralty. So far as the questions raised by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) were concerned, he understood him to concur in the main with what had fallen from the late Civil Lord (Mr. Caine), and to say that, after the few days he had been at the Admiralty, he did not think there was a sufficient financial check upon the Transport Department, and that the subject required to be investigated. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) believed he was right in saying that the Transport Department followed the directions of the War Office, that they received orders from that Office and carried them out in the best manner they could. Whether an insufficient financial check arose from the want of supervision at the War Office or otherwise, he was unable to say; but for many years past he knew that the administration of the Transport Department of the Navy had been under the supervision of one of the most efficient and energetic of officers, Admiral Sir William Mends. Further, his recollection of the Assistant Director of Transport was that he was a man of great competence, and that he had the confidence of the authorities under whom he served. Of course, it might be that the control exercised over the Department at the Admiralty or War Office required supervision, and he should be glad to hear what were the noble Lord's views on that matter; and he would add that, perhaps, it might be found that the noble Lord's want of confidence in the financial check on the Transport Department after so short an experience was not well founded.

Sir JOHN HAY said, that having held the position of Lord of the Admiralty, he felt it his duty to make a few remarks upon the subject of the supervision of the Transport Department. With regard to the Office of Director he hoped it would not be supposed that the present holder of the Office, Admiral Sir Francis Sullivan, was not also an officer of very great merit. The gallant Admiral had been selected for the post from a number of other officers in consequence of the special knowledge of the business of the Transport Department which he possessed, and he (Sir John Hay) was sure that Sir William Mends would be the last person to wish his character for competency to be advanced at the expense of his successor's character in that respect.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE agreed with the right hon. and gallant Baronet in that remark; but he might say that he had not that personal knowledge of the gallant officer now presiding over the Transport Department, which he had of Sir William Monds, although he was glad to hear the tribute paid to him by the right hon. and gallant Baronet.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR submitted to the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) that the proposals made failed in one essential of that strict financial check which was desired. He meant that the propriety or necessity, of taking up a transport for the movement of troops or Army stores, could only be judged of by and in the War Office. Then the requirements for Sea Transport, though issued from one branch of the War Office, yet the right and duty to examine the order and its financial effects would rest with another branch, which had access to all the information. His own experience enabled him to assert that this independent or separate inquiry was very fairly exercised. Then there was the check of the Secretary of State, who, if held responsible for the Transport charges, might and would on many occasions desire movements of stores and of men to be lessened. In this form the economies would be considerable. At present, he agreed with the noble Lord that financial check over Sea Transport was wholly deficient, except of the simple and weak kind resulting from mere arithmetical calculation.

Mr. PULESTON said, he hoped the noble Lord who presided over the Admiralty Department would take notice of what had been said by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), and the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just spoken. It was clear that the action of the Admiralty was hampered by the War Office, and the War Office by the Admiralty, in respect of the Transport Service. He reminded the Committee that when he seconded the Motion of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), for inquiry by Select Committee into this matter, he had taken up the gronnd that the only efficient way of controlling the Transport Department, was by forming it into an independent Department. What had fallen from the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardine (Sir George Balfour) and the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) fully bore out the view which he had expressed.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Captain PRICE said, he had a question to ask with regard to an item on page 17 of the Estimates, Vote 3. He referred to the charge of £500 for a captain of the Royal Navy for service in the Intelligence Department of the Admiralty. He wished to know whether that sum represented the whole of the salaries of the Foreign Intelligence Department? He presumed that it did so from the footnote, which stated that the Foreign Intelligence Committee consisted of one Captain of the Royal Navy and one Lieutenant of the Royal Marine Artillery with full pay and subsistence allowance, as shown on the page he had indicated. Were the Committee to understand that the officers who used to serve the Department on the Continent and in America had been withdrawn; was the gallant officer who superintended the Intelligence Department at the Admiralty—the only officer they had now to collect information relating to the Navies of Foreign countries throughout the world? He hoped that was not the case; it was his opinion that it would be a great mistake to withdraw those officers, and, on the contrary, he thought their number ought to be increased. Every Foreign Power had a Naval Representative in this country, who gathered information and sent it to the respective Embassies, and their system of obtaining intelligence was very excellent and complete. He hardly thought that was the case with the system of this country; because, although he was quite aware that the officer presiding over the Intelligence Department at the Admiralty was an exceedingly able man, and that no one was better qualified than he to discharge the duties of the office, yet it must be impossible for him to get all the necessary information without competent assistance on the Continent. He considered it a very desirable and necessary thing that they should obtain this intelligence respecting the naval position of foreign countries, for one reason, because he believe it would put a stop to the wild and extravagant speeches that were sometime made both inside and outside the House by ex-Lords of the Admiralty. There had been extravagant and misleading statements made in that House and elsewhere; and, as an instance of it, he would refer to the time when the Navy Estimates were last before the Committee. The hon. Member for Hastings (SIR. Thomas Brassey) then said on the subject of torpedo boats, that of these France had 10, Italy 12, and Austria 4; but the right hon. Gentleman the present Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) rose immediately the hon. Gentleman sat down, and having a considerable amount of information and knowledge in those matters, he pointed that France had 56 and Russia 115. There was a most extraordinary discrepancy between those two statements, and that, he thought, constituted one reason why they ought to have the very best information obtainable with reference to the naval affairs of Foreign Powers. He had to make another suggestion to the noble Lord—namely, that he should take into his most earnest consideration the question of having on the Board of Admiralty a General Officer of Marines. He was aware that there was a Department of the Admiralty presided over by a General Officer; but that officer had not the power he would have if he were on the Board of Admiralty, and he knew that suggestion after suggestion and recommendation after recommendation was made by the gallant officer referred to, but his letters were treated as waste paper; they were pigeon-holed, and nothing resulted from them. That would not be the case if an officer of Marines had a seat on the Board of Admiralty. Before sitting down he desired to add his congratulations to those which the noble Lord and his Colleagues at the Admiralty had already received, and to assure him that the Service had the most perfect confidence in the noble Lord's ability, and in the Naval Lords by whom he was advised. He hoped that those Naval Lords, having tendered their advice on matters of supreme importance as regarded the strength of the Navy, and therefore as regarded the safety of the Empire, would, as honourable Gentlemen ought to do if their advice was not received and acted upon, resign their offices.

MR. BIGGAR said, he hoped the noble Lord would give some attention to the subject of contracts for stores. He believed it was the custom at the Admiralty not to allow the general public or persons in the various trades to know the prices at which contracts were taken, and that he held to be a very injudicious mode of procedure. If it became the custom only to contract with a few people engaged in the manufacture of a particular article, the result would be that those engaged in the manufacture would enter into a combination in order to get the highest price for that article. On the other hand, if other persons in the trade were allowed to know what price was paid, the result would be a larger number of tenders and less opportunity of particular persons getting an unfair price. He had a very clear recollection of what occurred in the time of the Crimean War. At that time there was a large and constant demand for provisions for the Navy, and an enormous profit was made by the contractors owing to the price not being known; but after the public got to know what was paid, the Government succeeded in obtaining the supplies at a fair price. It should be borne in mind that the goods of manufacturers had various degrees of trade merit; for instance, one manufacturer notoriously supplied an excellent and genuine article; another was known necessarily to supply one less perfect, and a third a less perfect article still. But he did not mean to argue that the Government ought either to accept the highest tender, or to allow the article to fall off in quality; all he was asking for was that the public should be allowed to know the price at which tenders were made, and particularly the price at which tenders were accepted. In that way they would obtain better value for the money spent; whereas, under the system which at present existed, there was more opportunity for contractors getting unfair prices and entering into unfair combinations. In making those observations he was not speaking in the interest of any class of manufacturers, but of all, and he maintained that the system which he advocated would be beneficial to the country, and that it ought to be adopted.

SIR JOHN HAY said, with reference to what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Gentleman behind him (Captain Price) he would remind the noble Lord that within the last 10 years, or less, the number of officers employed in the Intelligence Department of the Admiralty had very considerably diminished. Down to 1881 there was a naval officer attached to all the Embassies abroad, which communicated information of the greatest possible value to the Government; but he believed that, solely for the sake of economy, the number had been diminished, and that now only one officer was employed. That officer was, he believed, occasionally admitted to foreign Courts, but he had not the influence of a resident officer speaking the language of the country, and associated with the members of the various Embassies. He thought the present system would, if it were allowed to continue, prove a source of weakness to the country, without resulting in the saving of any considerable amount of money; because while the former system allowed the acquisition of information which could be utilized on subsequent occasions, the salaries of the officers employed in the service was only at the half-pay rate. He, therefore, hoped that the First Lord of the Admiralty after being a little longer in Office, and after consultation with his Colleagues, would be able to see his way to the extension of this Service as one which could not but be very useful to the State. As he had already pointed out, Foreign Powers were represented in this way, and, if for no other reason, we ought to have similar representation abroad. With reference to the question to which his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Devonport (Captain Price) had referred, it was now 23 years since he (Sir John Hay) first made a Motion for the Marine Corps being represented by an officer on the Board of Admiralty, and he believed he had urged the point on several subsequent occasions in that House, seeing that one-third of their Naval Force was represented by the Marines, whose number he hoped would be augmented; he believed that the presence of a General Officer of Marines on the Board of Admiralty would be of the greatest advantage to the Service. But, on every occasion when this subject was referred to, he had to express regret that nothing had been done; and he would again express the hope that when a vacancy occurred on the Board it might be filled up in this way.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY said, in reply to the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), who wished, as much as possible to increase the competition for the Admiralty Contracts, in order that the best article might be obtained for the service of the country, that he believed a very large proportion of the stores required by the Department were publicly advertised for, and that a certain proportion was not so publicly advertised. The latter were, he believed, goods of a special character; and with regard to them, so far as the Admiralty were aware, no other manufacturers than those who now supplied them could compete. He quite agreed with the hon. Member that when tenders were invited there should be, as far as possible, *bonâ fide* competition. In reply to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) he could only reply that the first act of the new Board, of which he was the Head, was to pass an Order distributing the business, as far as it could be distributed, amongst the Members of the Board. By that Order each Member of the Board would be able to administer the affairs of his own special Department, being of course subject to the First Lord; and would also have the advantage of seeing personally that not only the officers connected with the Department, but also the officers of the Dockyard, performed their duties in an efficient manner. His hon. and gallant

Friend the Member for Devonport (Captain Price) had asked him about the Intelligence Department at the Admiralty, and upon that subject he might say that his Predecessor in Office attached considerable importance to it; and, as he (Lord George Hamilton) believed that all military nations derived the greatest advantage from their Intelligence systems, it seemed to him that the Admiralty also ought to develope their Intelligence Department.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he hoped the noble Lord would appoint a Select Committee to consider and report upon the matter before he decided upon what course he would follow.

MR. BIGGAR said, he had not raised any question particularly with reference to the special contracts of which the noble Lord had spoken. His contention was, that the prices and qualities of the different contracts should be announced in the newspapers, so that they might become public property; and, then, at any future time, if persons wanted to offer for similar contracts, they would be in a position to do so on intelligible grounds.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER said, that from his own experience he could say that the Intelligence Department was not sufficiently attended to by the authorities. He hoped that in future more men of experience would be appointed, and that a larger amount of money would be expended in the development of this very important Department.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £203,800, Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he had to ask a question of his noble Friend upon a subject connected with the Royal Naval Reserve. The original number of men contemplated was 30,000; for that number a grant in aid was made on the recommendation of a Royal Commission; that number of men were receiving the amount due to them, and an excellent force they were; besides them there was the Volunteer movement under which a number of men had been enrolled with great advantage to the country. But there was an amphibious body of men in the country who were neither employed at sea, nor on land. He alluded to the pilots, watermen, and others of similar calling, who were at that moment willing to come forward and give their services on the same terms as the men of the Royal Naval Reserve for the defence of the estuaries and harbours of the country. They all knew that lately the defence of the harbours and estuaries on the coast had exercised the mind of the country. The noble Lord would, no doubt, be aware of that, because many of those who had taken part in the movement were his own constituents; he would know with what loyalty those he had referred to came forward to defend the estuaries and harbours on the Thames. Similarly, on the Clyde, it was within his own knowledge that the men of this class had tendered their services for the same purposes. It was not necessary for him to discuss at that moment with what it would be necessary to provide this class of men; but it would include torpedo boats and materials necessary for the defence of rivers. He believed the people of the country were bent upon having the estuaries on the coast defended; and for that purpose he believed that no more efficient means could be provided than the enrolment of those men as a portion of the Naval Reserve Force of the country, giving them the pay and the same amount of subsidy as was given to the men of the Royal Naval Reserve, as well as efficient training for the purposes he had indicated. He trusted the First Lord would look into that question, and that he would see that the Vote which the Committee were now discussing was applied hereafter in part to the subsidising of this valuable and patriotic body of men who were ready to place their services in readiness for the defence of the country.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY said, he thought he could give a reply on this subject which would be satisfactory to the right hon. and gallant Baronet (Sir John Hay). The late Board of Admiralty had appointed a Committee, over which Admiral Vesey Hamilton presided, to investigate the subject of the defence of harbours and ports, and to report on the best means for the purpose. Admiral Vesey Hamilton had inspected several ports, and found the authorities there most anxious to assist in providing means of defence. It was evident that if those places were to be defended it must be by means of voluntary aid which should be obtained from the various local bodies, and everyone likely to render assistance. He had not had time fully to go into this question; but it was his personal impression that, if the Volunteer movement had been beneficial in aid of the Military Force of the country, and had become more and more efficient, it was a question well worthy of the consideration of the Admiralty whether similar benefit might not be derived from a Volunteer movement for the defence of the ports, and whether a somewhat similar course should not be taken with regard to it as had been taken in the case of the Royal Naval Reserve.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER said, that offers had been made to engage officers and men in various ports, and he would urge upon the noble Lord the consideration of the question whether their services should not be accepted. He had to point out that those offers had been systematically refused, and as he considered that very unwise on the part of the Admiralty, he trusted that in future another course would be taken.

Mr. E. W. HARCOURT said, that as far back as the year 1860 he had endeavoured to establish such a corps as the hon. Gentleman opposite had alluded to, under the sanction of the Admiralty and the War Office. He had the authority of the Admiralty to establish such corps all round the coasts of Great Britain. The Admiralty, however, declined to furnish gunboats for the instruction of the men. The consequence was that, after a few years trial, he found it was wasting the money of the country to draw a capitation grant for men who had no sea legs. Since then, he believed that the hon. Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey) had taken up the matter. However, he wished to say that, after the experience he had had of the men along the South Coast, he had come to the conclusion that men of the class found there—that was to say, beachmen, were utterly useless for the purpose in view, unless they had a proper amount of sea training. Therefore, he said it was quite impossible that the ratepayers should pay money year after year for men who, when an emergency arose, would be perfectly useless to the country. He hoped the noble Lord would take that matter into consideration; because, if the Admiralty could not give the use of a gunboat for the purpose of training those men at sea, he was convinced that they would in time of need be of no service whatever.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £112,100, Scientific Branch.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he did not know whether any Member of the Committee wished to call attention to any items of the Vote before page 34, because he wished to ask a question with regard to the extra pay of surveyors on foreign stations. His object in doing so, was because he saw that there was no special provision for the further examination of the coasts of the China Seas, and he was induced to ask a question on the subject, because when he had had the honour of serving in those seas in 1845 a survey was made of Port Hamilton which was now a place of considerable interest to the people of this country. He was not one of those who approved of many of the acts of the late Government; but the acquisition of Port Hamilton was, in his opinion, of the greatest possible value to the interests of the country for the protection of their trade eastward of Singapore, and he was therefore anxious to know whether the survey made in 1845 was to be extended and repeated in reference to their recent acquisition. Port Hamilton was formed by three islands and many islets, lying off the southern point of the Corea, 534 miles south of Vladivostock, and commanding the entrance to the sea of Japan. He wished to urge upon Her Majesty's Government, and upon his noble Friend, the great importance of this place as a naval coaling station which would allow them in time of war to keep those seas. He thought the survey of the port should be completed; and he asked, whether the item for extra pay of surveyors included the pay of surveyors engaged in surveying Port Hamilton?

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY said, he was unable to answer the question of the right hon. and gallant Baronet (Sir John Hay) at that moment, but the matter should be inquired into.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, he understood three weeks ago, that the country had not acquired Port Hamilton, and he now asked whether that statement was accurate?

MR. HALSEY asked for information as to the recent outbreak of scarlatina on board the Training Ship *Britannia?*

MR. CAINE said, he was not in a position to state the details; but the result of the inquiry was that no serious blame attached to anyone in the matter.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £1,639,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the indulgence of the Committee, while he made a few observations upon this very important Vote. He desired to preface the remarks he had to make by expressing the very great regret which he was sure they all felt at the loss the country had sustained in the death of Rear Admiral Wilson, who was lately the Admiral Superintendent of the Devonport Dockyard. He had the pleasure of Rear Admiral Wilson's acquaintance for a great many years, and he felt sure that by that officer's death the country had sustained a serious loss. He also had the honour, some years ago, of serving with Rear Admiral Wilson on expeditions in Central Africa, and he could bear witness not only to Rear Admiral Wilson's courage, but to his great ability and incessant activity. He had made those observations, because he thought it was right that some notice should be taken of the sad event. Now, he had entertained the hope that the Committee would hear a statement from his noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) as to the future policy of the Admiralty in the matter of shipbuilding in the Dockyards. They were promised, some time ago, a Paper on the subject, a Paper which purported to give information to the House upon the action which the Government intended to take upon the Report of the Earl of Ravensworth's Committee. He was rather puzzled to think what action could be taken upon such an insufficient and incomplete Report. He said it was an insufficient and incomplete Report, because they had as much acknowledged in the Report itself. Several Memoranda were appended to the Report; one by Captain Codrington, who was at present at the Admiralty, and another by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood). In his Memorandum the hon. Member for Hull used very strong expressions, for he said—

> "Whilst concurring generally with the Report, I desire to record my opinion that the important questions under our consideration require a more thorough investigation than is possible within the narrow terms of the Reference to the Committee. It appears to me that an exhaustive examination into the system adopted in the construction, repair, and refit of Her Majesty's ships would necessitate an inquiry on the spot into the details of Dockyard expenditure, management, and control."

He (Captain Price) thought the Committee were entitled to ask why an inquiry on the spot into those details had not been made, and whether it was the intention of the present Board of Admiralty to make such an inquiry? The Memorandum appended by Captain Codrington was very much to the same effect; and, in the body of the Report itself, the Committee, referring to the incidental expenses of shipbuilding, which it was well known formed a large item, said—

> "The evidence given by the Accountant General of the Navy is sufficient to show that the whole question of incidental charges is so obscure as to render unreliable any comparison between the cost of shipbuilding in public and private yards."

Now, if that was the case, if the evidence so tendered was so thoroughly unreliable as to make a comparison impossible between the cost of shipbuilding in public and private yards, he was at a loss to know how any action could be taken on the Report, unless it be in the direction of re-opening the inquiry. It was commonly believed that their ships could be built more cheaply and more quickly in private than in public yards. He maintained that the whole evidence given before the Earl of Ravensworth's Committee tended to show that the matter was still in very great donbt; indeed, it was not as yet known how the matter really stood. The main conclusion which appeared to be drawn from the Report, and which was eagerly taken up by so-called Economists in the House, was that the Government ought to build all ships of war in the private yards of the country, and to leave to the Royal Dockyards the repair and refitting of ships alone. Such a policy as that would, in his opinion, be one fraught with the greatest danger to the country, and for various reasons. In the first place, as he had shown before, they would, by the adoption of such a policy, create nothing more or less than unprotected arsenals all over the country. It would be absolutely necessary that the private shipbuilding yards should be protected, and they could only be protected at very great expense. In the Royal Dockyards, however, they had protected arsenals where ships of war could be built in any number. Then there was the question of time. It was attempted to be shown that their ships could be built far more quickly in private yards than in the Royal Dockyards; but the matter had never been thoroughly tested. The ships built by contract were, to a great extent, completed off-hand. It was true they were delayed from time to time; but the delay which occurred in making alterations in ships built by contract was nothing like the delay which took place in the building of ships in the Royal Dockyards. The only test that could be applied in this matter would be to have two ships, exactly similar, laid down, one by contract in a private yard, and another in a Royal Dockyard. It would then be seen which ship could be built first, and which at the less cost. Whatever alterations were made in one ship would, of course, have to be made in the other, the object being that the two vessels should be quite similar. It was only by an experiment such as this that a just conclusion in the matter could be arrived at. As was shown by the Report of the Committee, and by the evidence tendered to the Committee, there was great difficulty in arriving at the comparative cost of building ships of war in private and public yards, and that difficulty arose from the impossibility of ascertaining what were called the incidental, or Establishment charges. No one had as yet ever given a definition of Establishment charges. On the last occasion that the Naval Estimates were before the Committee the hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), who, unfortunately, was not now in his place, made a long speech on the subject. The hon. Gentleman said they must recollect that in the Royal Dockyards, there was not only the cost of material and the amount of wages, but there were very large incidental charges, and he talked about the large salaries and allowances which amounted in the Naval Yards to a sum of £224,000 per annum. But the hon. Gentleman never attempted to say how much of those salaries and allowances ought to be apportioned to the building of ships, and how much to the hundred other duties which their Dockyards had to perform. Let him (Captain Price) reduce the thing to an absurdity. The salaries and allowances at the Devonport Yard, which was not, strictly speaking, a building yard—in which very few ships were built—amounted to £48,000; but the salaries and allowances at the Chatham Yard, which was essentially a shipbuilding yard, were only £38,000; so that if they were to apportion the salaries and allowances at Devonport to the few ships built there, the apportionment would, of course, be something enormous—10 or 20 times the apportionment in the Chatham Yard. The same might be said of the other expenses which the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) referred to, such as the charge for police. Of course, that was a large charge; but if they added it to the cost of shipbuilding, the apportionment would be very large in one case—in the case of Devonport — and very small in the case of Chatham and Portsmouth. There was one argument which was very often used in favour of building ships in private yards, and that was, that the men of private yards could acquire a familiarity with the work of building ships of war; that the more they increased the building of war ships in private yards the more experience was gained by the builders. But hon. Members must remember that whilst that familiarity was being increased in private yards, the more it was being decreased in the Royal Dockyards. If they ceased to build ships in the Royal Dockyards, and a naval war was waged against them, in which their private yards would very likely be destroyed or shut up, and they had to fall back on the Royal Dockyards, they would probably find that the plant had been neglected, or it might be sent elsewhere, and that the men who were formerly engaged in building ships had lost their experience, or, perhaps, were no longer at the yards. It might be said it would be very easy to transport the men from the private yards which were being bombarded, or destroyed, or shut up, to the Royal Dockyards; but they had some experience in the last great war of such things as strikes. Hon. Members would remember that during the Crimean War, when the Admiralty wanted ships building, the men of one or two private yards, notably of that of Mr. Scott Russell, struck work, and said they would not return unless they were paid exorbitant wages. That was a matter which was altogether left out of consideration by some Members of the Committee. He must make a remark upon the constitution of the Earl of Ravensworth's Committee. That Committee seemed to him to have been most extraordinarily constituted. It was a Committee called together to decide whether it was better to build ships in private yards instead of in the Royal Dockyards, and nearly every Member of it was a gentleman who had had something to do, commercially, with private yards. He did not wish to cast any reflection upon the Members of the Committee; he was sure they did their best, and that they served their country on the Committee faithfully and honourably; but still the constitution of the Committee was such as to give rise to some suspicion. There was only one Gentleman on the Committee who had any experience whatever of the building of ships in the Royal Dockyards, and that was Captain Codrington, and he dissented from the Report of the Committee, and said sufficient evidence had not been tendered. He (Captain Price) hoped they would hear something that afternoon from the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) as to the intention of the Government in this matter. He looked upon it as a very great mistake to transfer the building of ships from the protected yards to the yards which might at any time be destroyed or shut up. He also wished to call attention to a question affecting the *personnel* of the Dockyards. That was a question which had been brought before the Committee previously; but he thought that, considering the altered circumstances, it was well to mention it again. It was felt that the compensation given to men who were discharged from service in the Dockyards was much too small. There were two classes of men employed in the Dockyards. The class of men who were on the Establishlishment of the Yards served at a certain rate of pay, and at a certain age were discharged with a pension. The other class were men who were taken from time to time, as they were wanted; they were called hired men. Those hired men very often served quite as long and quite as regularly as the men who were on the Establishment. They got a slightly higher rate of wage; but at the age of 60 they were compulsorily retired, and got what was really a very small gratuity—a sum of money which was hardly enough to keep body and soul together for a twelvemonth. It might be thought, perhaps, that if they had liked to have been put on the Establishment they might have been, and thus secured to themselves a pension. But that was not so, because only a certain number of men were allowed on the Establishment. He was in hope his hon Friend the Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) would turn his attention to that matter. If the hon. Gentleman did so, he would find there was a very serious disproportion between the two classes of men who really did exactly the same amount of work. He (Captain Price) believed he was correct in saying that the Superintendents of the Dockyards had reported that the disproportion was too great, and ought to be rectified. It had been suggested that those men, many of whom at 60 years of age were at the prime of life, should be allowed to serve in the Dockyards five years longer, and that, on coming in, they should either receive a higher gratuity or some kind of pension. In conclusion, he hoped that the subjects to which he had called attention would receive serious consideration at the hands of the authorities.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER said, that the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) had taken up some subjects which were of great importance and which he (Mr. Stewart Macliver) hoped would be recognized as such by the new Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett). There was now an opportunity for the new occupants of the Admiralty to show their gratitude to the Dockyard constituencies who had been faithful to them for a long series of years. There were certain points he wished to bring before the Committee, points which were pertinent to the Vote, and which he was persuaded the present Board of Admiralty would recognize and appreciate. One of those points had been referred to by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Devonport—namely, the scale of retiring pensions. At present a man who had served 30 years did not get any more than a man who had served 25 years. He certainly thought that a man who served 30 years was entitled to a greater retiring allowance than a man who had served only 20 or 25 years. It was very necessary that the attention of the Admiralty authorities should be directed to that point. It was clear that as much attention should be paid to the interests of the men who built the ships as to those of the men who sailed the ships. Something was done by the late Adminstration in that direction, but it was not enough. For instance, the late Administration appointed Inspectors of Shipwrights. That was a very good move indeed in the right direction; but it had given dissatisfaction because it had been unaccompanied by a similar move in regard to other classes of men in the Dockyards. The leading men of the joiners and of the engineers were entitled to the same consideration as the shipwrights, and to the claims of both of those classes he hoped attention would be given. Then, again, for some time past, hon. Members had drawn attention to the position of the chief engineers. For five or six years the Admiralty had had under consideration the question of the rank of those men; but as yet it was undecided whether the men should wear an extra bit of lace on their sleeve. He trusted the new Board would show its gratitude to the Dockyard constituencies by conceding this point. It was a matter which involved no expense; it simply meant that the chief engineer should rank with a lieutenant. This concession, in point of rank, would give great satisfaction to this very important body of men. The naval artificers, too, had their complaints, and they asked that consideration should be given to their complaints. For many years past they had petitioned the Admiralty in vain; indeed, it was one of the defects of the present system of administration, that Memorials addressed to the Admiralty received no attention until they were dragged before the House by some hon. Member. There was plenty of scope for the energies of the Members of the new Naval Administration in the direction which the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport and himself had pointed out.

Sir EDWARD J. REED said, that while he very strongly sympathized with the two classes of Dockyard *employés* to whom his hon. Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. Macliver) referred, he wished to take exception to his conclusions. One of the most injurious things which could happen to Dockyard officials, or to naval officials, was to set up claims on behalf of one class simply because some other class had been benefited. He was sure that every Member of the House who had served on the Board of Admiralty must be aware of cases in which legitimate and reasonable claims had been put forward—claims which the Board of Admiralty would have been glad to meet had they been able to deal with them on their merits. The Board had often been deterred from meeting claims put forward, by the consideration that no sooner did they do an act of justice to a limited class of persons than there sprang up claims by other classes, who, somehow or other, persuaded themselves they were unjustly treated. The truth of the matter was, that it was in the interest of the men of the Dockyards that they should refrain as much as possible from the system of starting a new set of demands every time the Admiralty made a concession. The setting up of these demands was most fatal to the whole Service; because, in times like the present, there did arise special claims. Special services had to be performed; and if the Admiralty could not do clear and simple justice in cases as they arose, without raising the spectre of applications from every quarter, he saw great injury to the Service. He felt it would be very unfair and very futile to ask the Board of Admiralty what their intentions were in regard to shipbuilding. It was perfectly obvious that in the circumstances under which the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) and his Colleagues occupied the Treasury Bench, it was impossible that they could have even begun to settle the question of shipbuilding. He should not attempt to set up any claim upon them; but he should like to say a word or two upon some points which he regarded as of very great importance to the Dockyards, and which, he hoped, they would now consider, as it were, from a new point of view. The Committee was well aware that he had been most reluctant at all times to admit that the time had arrived, or begun to approach, when this country could afford to do away with armoured ships. It was quite clear that unarmoured ships must be the scene of bloodshed and slaughter in action which would be perfectly unendurable to the moral sense of mankind. It was impossible for this country, with its vast naval interests, to think of abandoning armoured ships, and yet he was bound to say that, after inspecting the recently constructed iron-clads, and reflecting upon those now about to be constructed, he believed it would be better for them to give up building armour-clads altogether, and to trust to the chances of what they might be able to do without them, rather than to spend such enormovs sums of money upon such an extraordinary construction of ships as was now laid down. There were now in the Royal Dockyards of the country a number of ships of the *Admiral* class, though none of them were approaching completion. Those ships were of very large construction—they were of 10,000 tons, and of course their *raison d'être*, or their whole object, was that they should go and fight in action. It seemed to him that one of the first requirements of such a construction was, that it should be able to receive some blows as well as to give some, without being rendered *hors de combat.* He had stated at length his views as to this line of ships, and he would not repeat them; but he wished to call the attention of the Admiralty to the almost absolute certainty of those ships being put *hors de combat* by reason of the exposure of the only important guns they carried. Instead of being held by the old trunnions, they were held solely and only by a couple of straps, themselves exposed to a direct blow. Altogether, those ships seemed to him to be productions eminently interesting as articles for exhibition; but what could be their efficiency in war, he really was at a loss to understand. He did not say that by way of complaint, but simply laid stress upon the point as one of first-class importance attaching to their position as a naval country. Anyone who took an interest in this question must be desirous that their ships should be able to show something like fight; and what he wished the Admiralty to consider was, whether it was not possible to give to the armaments of those vessels some additional protection against injury from the multiplicity of small guns by which they would be attacked. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Devonport (Captain Price) had raised the vexed question of building men-of-war in the Royal Dockyards and private yards. Now, those of them who were favourable to the construction of ships of war in private yards were so favourable, not because they doubted the efficiency of the Dockyards, or their capability to produce ships, but because they doubted whether the Admiralty and all the Royal Yards could produce ships quickly. There were three right hon. and hon. Gentlemen, Members of the late Board of Admiralty, present, every one of whom in his turn had told the House that it was the special intention and act of the late Board of Admiralty to build ships quickly, and get them out of hand as soon as possible. At Chatham, the other day, he noticed a ship, the *Hero*, which, after the laying of her keel, was brought very rapidly into an extremely forward state. He did not hesitate to say it could have been completed as quickly as it could in any private establishment in the country; but the work had been totally suspended, and there was no knowing when the vessel would be finished. Again, at Portsmouth Dockyard, he noticed that all work on the *Camperdown* had been stopped; although the House had received the positive assurances of the Admiralty that the ship would be completed as soon as possible. And this was in the face of probable war! In this Vote there was no provision for any improvement in the future; and, therefore, the present Board of Admiralty would do well to consider whether part of the Vote of Credit which they had the option of spending should not be spent in advancing the ships he had mentioned. The Dockyard system itself prevented the rapid completion of iron-clads. There was certainly a deficiency of plant in some of the Royal Dockyards ; but it was a libel upon the workmen of those establishments to suppose that they could not produce as good and as quick work as any other establishment in the Kingdom. But they were not allowed to do it. The fact was, there were too many cooks, and, as a consequence, the broth was spoiled. Personally, he expected some advantage from the change which had taken place at the Admiralty ; because he believed the First Lord (Lord George Hamilton) and the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) would not be satisfied with any inefficient arrangements. He thought there would be an attempt, at least, to conduct the naval business of the country upon a sound principle ; but, under the circumstances, the Committee could not, as he said, expect from the Government a statement of policy now upon the shipbuilding question. Although hon. Members did not press for such a statement, it must not be inferred that they were any less anxious on the point than they had hitherto been.

Sir JOHN HAY desired to join his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Devonport (Captain Price) in expressing the deep regret which he was sure they all felt at the loss by death of Rear Admiral Wilson. That gallant officer was an unfortunate victim of the terrible explosion on board the *Thunderer*. He never recovered from the effects of the accident; but, in spite of the suffering from his wounds, he continued to give most efficient and valuable service to the country. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Devonport and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed), he (Sir John Hay) wished to say two or three words. The question of building ships in the Royal Dockyards and in private yards had been constantly brought before Parliament; but the Committee must remember that the building in the Dockyards could not be as rapid as the building in private yards. Private yards had nothing to do but to build; but the Dockyards ought not to be increased in the number of the men they employed, beyond what was necessary for repairing a Fleet if it came there to be repaired. It was idle to compare public and private yards. The Establishment charges were, after all, only a blind. It was necessary they should have Dockyards; it was necessary they should have docks to which a disabled Fleet might come for repair, and it was necessary Establishment men should be employed for the purpose of making any repairs to a ship which were required. During the time the men were not engaged in repairing the Fleet it was desirable they should be employed in the practice of their profession by building ships. He had always been averse to increasing the amount of shipbuilding in the Dockyards beyond that which would give due and proper employment to the number of hands which ought to be employed there for the paramount object of repairing ships. He was sorry to think that the number of vessels forming their Fleet had been so reduced that there was ample room for the employment of both public and private yards in the building of iron-clads. On reference to page 196 of the Estimates it would be found that, although the country was under the impression that a very considerable addition was being made to their shipbuilding, the number of men to be employed was reduced. Last year 8,823 men were employed in the Dockyards; but this year the number was to be diminished by 419. Looking to the number of ships which were given in the Estimate for building, and to the number of ships which were known to be owned by Foreign Powers, the amount of building now going on in the Dockyards was the very lowest that might be expected. At that moment they had five first-class iron-clads—the *Inflexible*, the *Edinburgh*, the *Dreadnought*, the *Thunderer*, and the *Devastation*—and the French had three. Of the second class, they had nine ships, and the French had nine. They had, therefore, 14 efficient sea-going ships, capable of steaming 14 knots against the French 12. Building and fitting they had 27 ships against the French 30. If it were necessary to have twice as many ships as France, which they always had up to 1850, they must build 33 new iron-clads. They would then have an efficient and sufficient Navy. He agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cardiff (Sir

Edward J. Reed), on the question of giving some protection to the water line of vessels of the *Admiral* class. Looking to the fact that, in the Estimate which was now under discussion, there was not sufficient provision, by any means, for the increase of the Navy, he would again urge upon the Admiralty to compel the Treasury to do that which was done in the case of the Fortification Vote in 1860—to take the sum of money which might be necessary in order to complete the Navy, so that his gallant Friend (Admiral Hood), who was responsible for the defence of the country, might, should war break out, be able to defend all the lines of commerce, all the great ports, and all the Colonies, which it was the duty of the Navy to defend.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY said, he was sure that those who represented the Admiralty in the House would join most cordially in what had been said by his right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay) and his hon. and gallant Friend (Captain Price) as to the loss the country had sustained by the death of Rear Admiral Wilson, a most valuable and efficient public servant. His hon. and gallant Friend (Captain Price) commenced his remarks by suggesting that his noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) should make a statement as to the policy of the Government in regard to shipbuilding in the Royal Dockyards. He thought his hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed) showed a greater appreciation of the position in which the present Government stood, when he said that, looking to the extremely short space of time that the Government had held Office, a statement of policy from the Representatives of the Admiralty was hardly to be expected. With reference to the questions concerning the Dockyards which had been referred to by the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Captain Price,) he (Mr. Ritchie) might say that the Report of the Earl of Ravensworth's Committee had been referred to a Committee for consideration, with a view of seeing how far it could be acted upon. When he said that the Chairman of the Committee was Captain Codrington, now one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and that on the Committee was Lord Walter Kerr, who was now Secretary to the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty, hon. Members would see that there was every probability, under the present Administration, of such conclusions as the Committee might arrive at on the Report of the Earl of Ravensworth's Committee being carried into effect. He hardly thought it was necessary to refer at length to the observations which had been made, and the comparisons which had been drawn in reference to the building in private yards as against the public yards, because that, of course, was the great issue which was before the Committee just appointed. But in regard to the question of time, he agreed with what had been said—that there seemed no reason at all why, if the same arrangements could be made in the Dockyards of the country as in private yards, and if definite conclusions as to what was to be done could be arrived at, ships could not be turned out in the same time in the Royal Dockyards as they could in the private yards. It was needless for him to refer to the reasons which had prevented ships being turned out of the Royal Dockyards as rapidly as could have been desired; but he was sure he was speaking for his noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton), when he said that one great object which the present Administration would have before it, was to quicken the building and equipment of ships for the Navy, not only in private yards, but also in the Dockyards of the country. Something had been said by his hon. and gallant Friend (Captain Price) with reference to the Establishment charges referred to in the Report of the Earl of Ravensworth's Committee. It must be evident to every one, that it was altogether unfair to take the Establishment charges of the Dockyards, and assume that they must be distributed over the ships built in the yards, because there was a large number of works which the Dockyards had to do, and which ought to bear their share of the Establishment charges. As to the *personnel* of the Dockyards, the Board of Admiralty entirely agreed with what had been said by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Devonport (Captain Price), and by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Stewart Macliver). The Board appreciated the great value and excellence of the work performed by the men employed in the

Dockyards, and everthing they could do to render the employment of the men satisfactory to themselves, and beneficial to the Public Service, the Board would regard it as their duty to do. But he must remind his hon. Friends and the Committee generally, that the Admiralty were bound to consider all those questions from a commercial point of view. If the Admiralty had nothing else to consider but the convenience and wishes of those they employed, they would, he was sure, be only too glad to concede, with no stinted hand, that which the men had so often asked; but they were bound, in spending the money which was entrusted to them by Parliament, to act upon commercial principles. He did not say that the fact of their being able to get far more men than they required, when vacancies occurred, was in itself an indication that the position of the men was everything that could be desired; but he maintained it was an important element in the consideration of the question. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Plymouth (Mr. Stewart Macliver) had referred to the question of superannuation. That was by no means the first time that the question of superannuation had been brought before the Committee of the House of Commons by the hon. Gentleman himself and by others, but when he (Mr. Ritchie) said that the scale of superannuation allowances which at present existed was similar to the scale which existed in the highest classes of the Civil Service, the Committee would see that it was hardly possible for the Admiralty to promise compliance with the demands which had been made on behalf of the men. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stewart Macliver) had spoken of several classes of *employés* in the Dockyards who had grievances. He (Mr. Ritchie) could only say that everything that had fallen from the hon. Member would be considered by the Board of Admiralty in a full and frank manner, and if they found there was any way in which they could meet the wishes of the hon. Gentleman and those whom he represented, without detriment to the Public Service, it would give them pleasure to avail themselves of it. He had now dealt with most of the matters which had been referred to in connection with the Naval Dockyards. [Mr. STEWART MACLIVER: The engineers.] The complaint of the engineers simply concerned their rank, and he had it in mind when he said the Board would be pleased to give earnest consideration to the suggestions the hon. Gentleman had made. He had now dealt with all the questions put in connection with employment in the Dockyards, and with reference to the Earl of Ravensworth's Committee. Matters of policy had been referred to by the different Members who had addressed the Committee, and those he thought had better be dealt with by his noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton).

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF wished to bring before the Committee one or two points which had been brought forward on former occasions. One or two Petitions which had been presented by various classes of the Dockyard workmen had not yet received an answer from the Admiralty itself, and others had not received a reply from the circumstance that the Treasury had not confirmed the decision of the Admiralty. He trusted that his noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton) would endeavour to expedite the decisions, whatever they were to be; because the length of time taken in the promulgation of decisions gave rise to great anxiety on the part of the workmen. Various classes of men in the Dockyards had grievances which were more or less well founded, and which, therefore, required attention. The point mentioned by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Plymouth (Mr. Stewart Macliver) concerning the engineers certainly required the earnest consideration of the Admiralty. The question of rank and distinctive mark was one which the engineers felt very deeply, and one which he trusted would be decided in their favour. He hoped the new Board of Admiralty would take the different representations made to them into serious consideration, and endeavour to spread as far as possible a spirit of contentment amongst the different classes of workmen.

MR. PULESTON expressed a hope that the present holders of Office so far as the Admiralty was concerned would occupy their positions for a long time to come. The difficulty in regard to the various classes in the Dockyards, he wished to point out, arose not so much in relation to wages, as to the discrepancies in ranking between one and the other. The shipwright, for example, complained that he worked more hours and got less pay than men who did a similar class of work in other Departments, and all he (Mr. Puleston) wished to impress on the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) was that there was nothing easier than to obviate the large number of just grievances that constantly came to the Admiralty from the Dockyards. It could be done by setting to work on reorganization, so as to put the various classes on terms of equality. They had got rid of wooden ships, and yet they retained various distinctions amongst the classes of workmen, as though those ships were still being built. The need for revision had been recognized in the case of the engineers, and he hoped that what had been done in the case of those men would be done in the case of others. Some progress had been made, and he hoped that the Admiralty would not fail, now that they had a good opportunity, to put the finishing touch to the work, and give the various classes of Dockyard *employés* what they were justly entitled to. Some years ago, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the position and the wishes of the engineers. Yet, though many years had passed since that Committee had held its inquiry, it was not until the present day that the suggestions of the Committee with reference to the engineers had been acted upon. He wished also to draw the attention of the noble Lord to the question of the Establishments. He was sure that nothing would conduce more to the efficiency of the Dockyards than the judicious increasing and strenghtening of the Establishments. In that way great satisfaction would be given to the men employed and the work would be done at much less cost than was the case when the Departments had to make large calls upon hired labour. The case of the hired men was very hard. Their employment was nominally of a temporary character; but, as a matter of fact, it was permanent. When, however, those men ceased to work, they were not pensioned like their fellow-workmen on the Establishment. They received a bonus of some £20 or £30—a total sum no more than the amount paid annually in the form of pension to the men who had been on the Establishment. Anomalies of that kind were to be found from one end to the other of the Dockyards, and he would say to the Civil Lord of the Admiralty that, if he would take the question seriously into his consideration, he would find that an enormous amount of trouble would be saved in the Admiralty, and that a great deal of satisfaction would be given, and grievance removed, by reducing the organization of the Dockyards to some system. The organization which was required it would not be difficult to effect, if taken in hand and carried out vigorously and systematically, but to be constantly making spasmodic efforts—at one time, increasing the pay of one class, leaving others alone; and at another time, increasing the pay of another class, leaving other classes alone—although they might effect amelioration in some quarters, they produced new grievances in others. It would be far better to abandon that piecemeal work and take in hand the work of thoroughly reorganizing the Dockyards. The question was a most important one, as was also that of the position of the naval school teachers. There was no more just complaint than that of the naval teachers, that they were not on terms of equality with teachers doing similar work outside the Navy. There was no reason why they should not enjoy, with their brethren in the Army, and in the Marine Corps, equality. As a matter of fact, this dissatisfaction ran through all classes employed, more or less, in the Dockyards — those anomalies and discrepancies were existing everywhere, and were constantly giving rise to Memorials and complaints at the Admiralty. And on the subject of Memorials, he should like to say that there was room for great improvement in the manner in which these were dealt with at the Admiralty. The sending of replies should be facilitated, and answers should be framed on the principle that "a soft word turneth away wrath." Memorials were sent one after another to those who represented Dockyard constituencies, urging them to worry the Admiralty constantly on this subject. All that would be avoided by the adoption of the system he had proposed. He did not wish unnecessarily to occupy the time of the Committee, and he had only one other word to say. It was not, perhaps, necessary to refer to the question of Government work in private yards. Probably no one was more familiar with that subject than the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton); but he wished to say that it would be a great mistake if ships were built in private yards, to the sacrifice of their Dockyards. The magnitude of the Dockyards, and the facilities for constructing ships there, ought to render the work done in them better and cheaper than that done elsewhere. Moreover, the Dockyards must of necessity stand them in good stead in time of war or panic. He remembered that during the war with Russia, when Government ships were being built in private yards, it was found necessary to send men from the Royal Dockyards to finish them, as, in consequence of strikes and so on, the private firms were unable to complete their contracts.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, they would all, on both sides of the House, be agreed that it was necessary to have a strong Navy, and that in order to have a strong and effective Navy, they should have commodious and well-appointed Dockyards; but, at the same time, as that involved a very large expenditure, it was necessary to examine the Estimates very carefully, and strike out all unnecessary items. Now, he found that £58,000 had been expended on repairing the Royal Yacht *Victoria and Albert*, in the Royal Dockyards, and he proposed to move a reduction of the Vote by that sum. It was true that in a naval country like this Her Majesty ought to have a yacht.

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY: The £58,000 has not been spent this year.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he had come to the conclusion from the Estimates that that amount of money had recently been spent on the yacht; and if the noble Lord denied it, he would appeal to the late Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Caine), who would, naturally, know more about the matter than the noble Lord, seeing that he had been concerned in the preparation of the Estimates. If the hon. Member was prepared to say that £58,000 had not been spent on the *Victoria and Albert*, but some lesser sum, he (Mr. Labouchere) should be prepared to withdraw his Motion, and to move the reduction of the Vote by the lesser sum.

Mr. CAINE said, he believed £56,000 had been spent on repairing the vessel.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, they would say £40,000—he was not so particular as to the amount, as to the principle of the thing. Her Majesty had other yachts besides the *Victoria and Albert*. She had the *Alberta*, the *Osborne*, and, he thought, another—the *Fairy*. The Committee would remember that last year frequent questions were asked as to the *Victoria and Albert*, and that great complaints were raised with regard to the yacht being repaired. The vessel originally cost £200,000. It was hardly ever used. He forgot what hon. Gentleman it was, but some hon. Gentleman had moved for a Return of the number of times during the past 10 years that this yacht had been out of harbour. That Return was granted, and it was found that the ship had hardly ever been out of harbour. There was a captain and a crew to the yacht, and he believed its officers enjoyed special privileges. They lived almost always on land, doing absolutely nothing, the expenditure on the vessel and its crew being, therefore, purely a fancy one. The other yachts were used for practical purposes; and it was only on occasions such as Royal marriages that the *Victoria and Albert* was used. If he was not mistaken, he gathered from the newspapers that this yacht was to be used, with others, to bring over wedding guests to the marriage of the Princess Beatrice. As it was not likely that another marriage would take place in the Royal Family for some time, it seemed to him useless to keep up an expenditure on this yacht. It certainly seemed to him that £56,000 was too much to spend on this yacht, which had hardly ever been used. There had been a discussion on the subject of a Royal yacht in the Spanish Cortes this year, he thought. It had been proposed by some ardent friend of Royalty that the King of Spain should have a yacht; but the Cortes, having considered the matter, it was decided that a cabin should be fitted up in one of the iron-clads for His Majesty whenever he wanted to go to sea. It was held that the King would be able to sail with greater dignity, and more in State, on an iron-clad than in a yacht. In the case of the yacht he (Mr. Labouchere) was referring to, however, the country was being put to an enormous annual expense for that which was of no use, or, at all events, which was not used. It possessed a crew, almost such a crew as it would have at a time of war. The officers, as he had said, lived almost entirely on land, they being gentlemen enjoying Court favour. Prince Leiningen, he believed, was in command of the vessel—it was always some German Prince or other who got the appointment. He would move the reduction of the Vote by £40,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,599,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) explained that the hon. Member was labouring under a mistake with regard to this Vote. There had been, so far as he was aware, no expenditure on the *Victoria and Albert* yacht this year; at any rate, no very considerable expenditure. The £56,000, or a sum approaching that mentioned by the hon. Member, had been expended on the Royal yachts last year. The hon. Gentleman came forward as an economist, and he told them that the only occasion on which this Royal yacht, the *Victoria and Albert*, was used was the occasion of a Royal wedding. Well, this yacht, by the expenditure which had taken place last year, had been rendered thoroughly efficient; and it was hardly consistent on the part of the hon. Gentleman, therefore, to object to the use of the yacht now that a Royal marriage was about to take place. So long as Her Majesty remained the Sovereign of the greatest Naval Power in the world, so long should she have a suitable Royal yacht. The common sense of the hon. Member, he thought, would show him that it would be unreasonable to reduce the Vote.

MR. LABOUCHERE declared that his common sense pointed out nothing of the kind. He would put it to the late Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Caine) whether any of this money had been spent on the Royal yachts this year; and if he replied in the negative, of course the Motion to reduce the Vote would fall to the ground. He (Mr. Labouchere) had not objected to the Queen having a Royal yacht. He had said it was desirable that the Queen of these Islands should have a Royal yacht; but Her Majesty had four Royal yachts. Moreover, he did not think that a Royal yacht should cost originally £200,000, or that it should be necessary, after she had gone out perhaps a dozen times, and had laid up in harbour for a certain number of years, that £56,000 should be spent in repairing her. He should have thought that a very efficient and suitable yacht could have been built for £50,000, or the price of these very repairs. Those were the reasons why he protested against the expenditure, not because he objected to Her Majesty having a yacht, but because he objected to her having four yachts, one of which she did not use except on special occasions, although it had been built at a cost of £200,000. Perhaps the late Civil Lord of the Admiralty would explain the item.

MR. CAINE explained that the £56,000 had been expended last year, and that the actual sum spent on the *Victoria and Albert* this year had only been £3,000.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then I will move that the Vote be reduced by £3,000. The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty seemed shocked that we did not protest against the Vote last year. At any rate, he will not be shocked at our omitting to do so this year.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member withdraw his first Motion?

MR. LABOUCHERE replied in the affirmative.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,636,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 37; Noes 128: Majority 91.—(Div. List, No. 214.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. T. C. BRUCE said, he wished to call attention to the desirability of having some information as to the method of building ships in the Royal Dockyards, for everyone who was familiar with the Navy knew that an estimate for such building would be absolutely necessary for some years. He would remind hon. Members of the Report of the Earl of Ravensworth's Committee, as affecting the construction of ships in the Dockyards. He had not a word of complaint to say about that Committee. He believed it was chosen of men of ability and high standing, and that its Report, so far as it went, was a valuable document. But there was a peculiarity in the instructions given to the Committee, which, he thought, ought to be alluded to, because the conclusion arrived at would otherwise leave an erroneous impression in the minds of the public. The Committee were instructed to inquire into the relative cost of repairing ships in the Royal Dockyards and by private contract, and into the method of building ships by private contract, but not into the method of building ships in the Royal Dockyards. The result of the Committee's investigation was that, while they reported in favour of repairing ships in the Royal Dockyards, they made certain recommendations with reference to the method of building ships by private contract, but did not extend those recommendations to the building of ships in the Dockyards. It would have been going beyond their instructions to do that. What he wished to press particularly on hon. Members was that if anyone went through this Report of the Committee they would find that every difficulty which they called attention to in the present system of building ships by private contract extended, to a much greater extent, to the building of ships in the Dockyards under the existing method. The Committee called attention to this—that the original specification and plans for the building of ships by contract were not sufficient—that if it were desired to build rapidly and economically the plans must be completed; and they strongly called attention to the necessity of reforming the system at present adopted, if ships were to be built by contract on reasonable terms and in proper time. But every one of these defects in the building of ships existed in the Dockyards, because the plans were not completed; and the Admiralty authorities, having the original plans in their hands, went into a series of alterations even greater and more numerous than those made in the plans of ships built by contract. If the building of ships by contract was to be made economical and efficient—as he had no doubt it could be—those errors that the Earl of Ravensworth's Committee drew attention to in the method of building ships by contract ought to be more strongly considered in regard to the question of constructing ships in the Dockyards. He trusted the present Board of Admiralty would not fail to pay attention to this matter. The Constructor's Department should prepare the plans efficiently, so as to make the best ships they could with their present knowledge. Having commenced a ship on a certain plan they should finish it on that plan. They should not let a ship lie on the stocks for years because every year some alteration was introduced into its construction, or equipment, or fittings; and the result was that the building was prolonged for an indefinite period, and the building was neither effected as cheaply nor as efficiently as it ought to be. He made those observations in the hope that the Board of Admiralty would pay some attention to them, and go into this question of construction thoroughly. He had not the slightest doubt that it would be found that they could construct ships in the Dockyards quite as efficiently and cheaply as anywhere else, and that they would immensely add to the effective power of the Navy by having the ships turned out in reasonable time, instead of having them left for years on the stocks.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) £71,300, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(6.) £67,600, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.

(7.) £21,700, Marine Divisions.

SIR JOHN HAY wished to know whether there was any intention to increase the number of Marines—whether it was true, as reported, that a considerable number of Marines were to be added to the existing force? It was formerly thought desirable to reduce the number, but it had been kept at the present figure; and recent events had shown that Marines could be employed in large numbers with great economy and distinction in all the small warlike operations—he would not call them wars

—in which this country was engaged all over the world. They were of more tough material, and were to be more relied on, than short service soldiers; and for that reason enormous duties had been thrown on them, which duties they had always discharged with ability and distinction. He trusted, therefore, that the great strain which had been thrown on the Marines by their additional service might be relieved, to some extent, by an increase of that most valuable corps. He was sure that no corps under the Crown rendered more distinguished service, and that there was none the country would see increased with greater satisfaction.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) said, the right hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay) knew the Government could not increase the Establishment beyond the number voted by Parliament. It had been intended to increase the number voted, or rather to make provision for an additional 1,000 men, half of them in the Reserve, out of the money which was to be supplied out of the Vote of Credit. The present Board of Admiralty fully recognized the admirable service which the Marines rendered, and had every desire to keep the corps up to its full strength.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £1,348,000, Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c.

(9.) £1,926,000, Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he believed he was in Order in speaking on the Guns of the Navy, seeing that, in this Vote, at the bottom of page 121, there was a charge for gun carriages. In that case, he begged to be allowed to state that he believed this to be the twelfth year of his advocacy in Parliament for the transfer of the charge for guns, ammunition, and stores for the Navy, from the War Office Estimates to the Naval Estimates. He was glad to think that some progress had been made to give practical effect to that proposal. The present Secretary of State was, he hoped, nearly converted; when First Lord of the Admiralty he took on the Naval Estimates a considerable sum for the purchase of torpedoes, and for two years relieved the War Office of that outlay. In this year's Naval Estimates there was the large charge of £308,000 for naval gun carriages, again relieving the War Office of a considerable outlay. He (Sir George Balfour) now urged that the remaining portion of the charge for the naval guns and equipments be also transferred. He must here explain that whilst the late Sir John Pakington was at the War Office, the proposal for transferring this Expenditure to the Naval Estimates was strongly advocated; unhappily, a change of Government took place, and the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers), on succeeding to the Admiralty, so decidedly opposed a transfer that would swell the Naval Estimates, that the question was dropped; since then, various indications had been shown that the bad practice of making the Admiralty depend on the War Office for the funds to provide naval guns and equipments had caused serious anxieties, from the incomplete and inefficient state of the guns for the ships of war. That had been shown by the total absence of a definite responsibility as to whether the Admiralty failed to give clear details of their wants and kinds of guns, or whether the War Office was unable or unwilling to furnish the guns and equipments. That was a state of affairs open to the gravest censure. Indeed, if war had broken out and a disaster had occurred, the Heads of the Admiralty and War Office would have stood in peril before the nation. He maintained that so long as the responsibility for ordering and paying for the naval armament was not fixed on the Naval First Lord, but the duty of providing the money for paying the cost was placed on the Secretary of State for War, so long did they expose the national interests to the serious risk of inefficiencies. The change was one that had been several times urged by the right hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay)—namely, that the arrangements made in 1856 be reconsidered, when the separate and independent Board of Ordnance, as also the Commissariat, were amalgamated with the War Office, whereby the incongruous charges for stores and buildings became mixed up with the ordinary pay of the troops. He did not raise objections to the general control of these amalgamated branches being placed under the supervision of the

Secretary of State—that was a separate question. He proposed, in agreement with the right hon. and gallant Admiral, to separate from the War Office Estimates the accounts of the manufacturing establishments—Gun Foundry, Carriage Manufactory, Laboratory, Small Arms Manufactory, Gunpowder Manufactory, and Clothing Factory, and place them under a reponsible head, who would meet all the requirements of the Army and Navy, on funds being supplied by the respective branches.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he held in his hand a Return moved for by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) on the subject of Naval Gun Fittings, which had just been laid upon the Table of the House; but if a person wanted to find out anything about naval guns or naval armaments he did not know where to go to. They might go to the First Lord of the Admiralty, who would refer them to the Surveyor General of Ordnance; but that official could not properly take any part in the debate on these Estimates on behalf of his Department, because, very naturally, the Chairman would say there was nothing in the Estimates on the question of guns. It was true, he would be in Order in referring to gun carriages and fittings, because there was a certain portion of that subject which could be taken now under the Contract Vote of the Admiralty; but that was not enough. The present system was unsatisfactory to all who were anxious to see efficient guns in the Navy and Army. They had to go to three separate Departments to obtain the information, and they had to go to three separate Votes in order to ascertain why there were delays in the necessary armaments of Her Majesty's ships, or why there were not sufficient stores for the purpose of completing the armaments. If one looked at the Return, one would find that the gun fittings of the 43-ton guns had been five years in process of manufacture. That meant that the ship in which they were placed could not be completed without constant changes in all the more important fittings, for the 43-ton guns were not yet made. Day by day changes took place which cost the Naval Constructor great trouble and the country great cost. Here in his hand they had an account of the armaments for Her Majesty's ships. The greater number of fittings for the large guns had been five years in course of manufacture, and a very small portion of them were delivered in a state in which the Naval Architect could make use of them, or attach them to the ships to which they belonged. He saw the Surveyor General of Ordnance in his place. His Predecessor had been obliged to confess that certain guns—four of them—and gun fittings had been appropriated to a certain ship; but when questions were being asked about another ship they were told that the four guns belonged to that ship. Here, then, they had four guns doing duty for eight. He (Sir John Hay) hoped that sort of thing would not take place in the time of the present Surveyor General of the Ordnance; but he was very much afraid that it was likely to occur. They had been told that 16 merchant ships had been appropriated to the service of the State. He had had occasion to visit Woolwich Arsenal lately, and he had ascertained there that the 5-inch rifled guns which were necessary for those ships were not yet completed. The gun carriages only were completed for one ship — namely, the *Oregon.* He had asked where they were; but the Arsenal was so full of the Suakin-Berber railway that he could hardly move about in it. He had, as he said, been able to ascertain that the guns were not completed which were necessary for the 16 ships which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) said were such valuable additions to the Navy. The Ordnance Department of the Navy had been associated with the Army during the Crimean War. There was at the time great alarm in the country, and the Department was put under the Secretary of State for War, with the view of securing what was necessary for the siege. The result had been that the Army Estimates had become enormously swollen, and that the country had become frightened at their magnitude, not recognizing the fact that a large portion of the sum voted in the Army Estimates was the Ordnance Vote for the guns which were necessary for the defence of Her Majesty's ships and for Her Majesty's forts, as well as for the service of the Army in the field. It was unfair to throw on the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War—the Return moved for by whom he (Sir John Hay) held in his hand—responsibility in regard to ordnance stores for Her Majesty's ships, over which he could have no control. It was unfair, again, to throw that responsibility upon the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, who had nothing to do with the Navy; and it was still more unfair to the Admiralty, because there was no one to whom they could apply within their own Department to ask how soon guns required would be ready, and whether there was a proper supply of guns for the ships. The Committee, he thought, would do well to revert to the old practice of having a separate Department which should be responsible for the supply of the necessary stores and guns to the Army and Navy, and for the expenditure of this £6,000,000 or £7,000,000. They should have an individual Minister directly responsible for these matters, a Minister who should say to each employing Department to whom they should go and purchase and what they should have. That Master of the Ordnance, or Surveyor of the Ordnance, should be responsible to the House; and the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War should obtain from him what was necessary for the purposes of their Departments. This official should have it in his power either to manufacture what was necessary at Woolwich, or to go to the private trade for what might be wanted for the defence of the country. Until that was done there would continue to be this spending of £6,000,000, £7,000,000, or £8,000,000, with no one responsible for it; there would continue to be cases like that of the *Benbow*, in which guns which were required for the ship were under process of manufacture for two years; and there would continue to be such cases as that of the 16 extra steamers which had been hired in an emergency months ago, but which were not even yet fitted with the guns it was decided they should carry. Why was it that these 16 steamers which had been obtained from the Merchant Service were not yet armed? Where were the guns which were to be used in them? Were there, or were there not, guns for the other 280 merchant ships which, he believed, were available for the service of the State should they be needed? The reason these things were in doubt, and the reason necessary armaments were so backward, was that there was no one responsible. Until someone was made responsible, they could depend upon it that neither the stores nor the ships required by the country, by the Colonies, and by India would be available.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) said, the anomalies of the present system could not be better illustrated than they had been by the right hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay), who had pointed out that the only means by which those who wished to discuss how far Her Majesty's Navy were adequately provided with naval guns could bring the subject on was by calling attention to a Vote relating to other items. No doubt the present system was inconvenient in many respects. There was a division of responsibility which did not tend to efficiency of administration. There were three courses open. They could go on as they were; they could make the Navy responsible for the manufacture of their own guns, and the Army responsible for the manufacture of theirs; or they could set up a separate Ordnance Establishment to supply both Services. He was certain they ought to travel in the direction of giving the Navy greater control over the manufacture and purchase of their own guns. It had been suggested that the Navy should be allowed to have a control over its own guns similar to that the War Office exercised over the guns required in the Army. At first sight that seemed a very reasonable proposal; but he thought it only right to point out to the Committee that there were two objections to be overcome before effect could be given to any such suggestion. The first was that a very large Vote would have to be sanctioned by the House for the purpose of giving the necessary storage room and wharfage at their naval ports. At present there was no place to put guns and stores, if the control of those were taken over by the Navy. It would be impossible at the naval ports to part with any of the room at present possessed. There was another thing to be considered. If they gave to the Navy entire control over their guns and stores, they would have to form a branch of the Service to be entirely devoted to gunnery. There were, he knew, many very efficient gunnery officers in the Navy; but it was not the practice in the Navy for any one branch to continuously devote their attention to the subject, as it was the practice of Artillery officers in the Army. So that, unless they had a class of naval officers confining their attention to the manufacture, the penetrating power, the fittings, and ammunition of guns, there would be considerable difficulty in giving the Navy control over its guns. It would be satisfactory to the Committee, perhaps, to learn that considerable progress had been made during the past 18 months in making up leeway and in getting nearer to their requirements as regarded gun mountings. There was a large increase in this respect in the Vote this year, £172,000 having been spent in the purchase of torpedoes, gun mountings, and torpedo plant. He had had some conversation with the Director of Naval Ordnance yesterday, and he had informed him that, so far as the ships on the stocks were concerned, they would not be delayed. The question of ordnance and the body to control it was of such great importance that the Committee might rely upon the Government giving their closest attention to it. He was fortunate enough to have as Senior Naval Lord Admiral Hood, who was specially conversant with all matters affecting naval guns, so that, so far as professional advice on the subject was concerned, the Government was fortunately situated.

Sir EDWARD J. REED said, he fully realized the difficulties they suffered from in regard to the armament of ships; but he must say nothing could be more preposterous than to set up two separate Government establishments — one in connection with the Army, and the other with the Navy— to work out all the problems bearing on the manufacture of guns, seeing that all those problems would, theoretically and practically, be precisely the same. He must condemn anything like a separate establishment for the Navy whilst they had an Ordnance Establishment for the Army.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he might be excused for remarking on the noble Lord's statement. First, as regarded the dread of making naval officers too devoted to guns and gunnery, he replied that he wished to God the opportunity had been afforded to naval officers of knowing more about guns and equipments. He was confident that that experience would have been of great use. A better kind of gun would have been invented, and the naval armament greatly improved. The objectionable practice of building ships and then requiring guns to be made of such a length and weight as might be suitable for the carrying power of the ship would have been avoided. The system would have been reversed. The best gun would have been provided, and the ship built suitable for bearing the gun. Then as to storekeepers and store accommodation. At present the naval equipments were kept distinct, and space existed for naval armaments. All the guns and equipments for Reserve ships were subject to the inspection of the local naval officer. As to storekeepers, the naval warrant officers were well fitted, and could easily take over the guns and equipments of the Navy. As to forming a new gun foundry, that was wholly unnecessary. The existing factories for guns, laboratory, and gunpowder would be available for the Army and Navy, being independent of both. They were most efficient, and quite capable of meeting the requirements of the Army and Navy. Their accounting was very good, and they had the great advantage of having an admirable system of capital accounts.

Mr. R. W. DUFF desired to call the attention of the noble Lord to the recommendation of the Trawling Commission, that the cruisers now employed on the Scotch coast should be replaced by steamers. His hon. Friend the Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) was a Member of the Commission, and he had taken the opportunity of bringing this matter before the notice of the hon. Gentleman when he became Civil Lord of the Admiralty, and he had assured him that it was the intention of the late Board to replace the present cruisers by efficient steam vessels. He only wished to bring it under the notice of the present First Lord of the Admiralty, and he hoped that he would replace the present cruisers by steamers. He did not wish to embarrass the noble Lord by asking him any questions which he was not able to go into; but if he would inquire at the Admiralty he would find that the matter was under the attention of the late Board of Admiralty, and he trusted the noble

Lord would not allow it to be overlooked.

Vote *agreed to.*

(10.) £654,900, New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs.

MR. PULESTON asked a question as to the erection of the Naval Barracks for the accommodation of sailors near Devonport.

THE LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT) replied, that accommodation for 1,000 men and 33 officers would be ready this year. There was a Vote of £32,000 to be devoted to the purpose. With regard to the piece of land of nearly five acres to which the hon. Member had referred, it was still the subject of negotiations. He believed the price asked for it was £4,070.

CAPTAIN PRICE pointed out the importance of keeping open the waterway between the Sound and Stonehouse Creek. A meeting of the Local Board was held two days ago at Stonehouse, and it was unanimously agreed that the matter should be recommended to the Admiralty. He would like to know if any recommendation had been made to the Admiralty on the matter?

THE LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY said, he had no information on the subject; but he would make inquiries.

Vote *agreed to.*

(11.) £61,800, Medicines and Medical Stores, &c.

(12.) £10,000, Martial Law, &c.

(13.) £137,300, Miscellaneous Services.

(14.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £830,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of Half-Pay, Reserved, and Retired Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had given Notice of opposition to this Vote in respect to the restoration to the Navy List of the name of Vice Admiral Hobart-Hampden; and he had asked on what ground the charge for his retired allowance had been made, but he had not received any satisfactory reply. The noble Lord had spoken of it as the act of the late Government. He was sorry for it. He was sorry to have to challenge the act of the late Government; but he was one of those who considered it their duty to resist acts of this sort. He asked again what there was in the facts to justify the late Government in reversing the decision of 1877, come to when Hobart Pasha was carrying on warlike operations against a Power which was an Ally of Her Majesty's, and restoring that officer to the Navy? Had anything been placed on record which would justify this officer, who had been not only once but twice dismissed, but was now restored, and given the same retired pay as any other officer would receive if he had served the Government continuously. His restoration was one of those things which no Government which had to answer for it in the House of Commons would dare to do; but it seemed to him to be one of those things which had slipped through on the 24th June, when one Government was stepping out of Office and another entering it. Perhaps his hon. Friend below (Mr. Caine) would be able to tell them what was the reason for the restoration, and would be able to justify what had taken place. There was a very strong feeling in the country against pensions or retired allowances being granted, not for services rendered, but for no service at all, and for reasons which were yet unexplained. For 22 years Hobart Pasha had done no service whatever for the country, and for 14 years his name had been removed from the Navy List; and now he was not only restored to the Navy with the rank of Vice Admiral, but he was put on the pension list as if he had been continuously serving Her Majesty. He hoped they would get some explanation of those matters. Of course, he was quite aware that occasionally some of those things slipped through unknown; but he thought it was his duty to bring the matter before the House of Commons. Not only was this a case in which the retired pay was given without service, but it was one in which the recipient had never attained higher rank than that of Captain, and yet he had been given the rank and retired pay of a Vice Admiral. Not only had he done no service for Her Majesty during the last

22 years, but he had been employed in illegal pursuits—blockade running in America, and violating the Foreign Enlistment Act in Europe. He had been guilty of a gross breach of law and of Naval Regulations. He was not surprised, therefore, that when the matter was originally brought before the notice of Her Majesty's Government, and that it was found that Hobart Pasha's conduct had been illegal, he was removed from the service of Her Majesty; but, notwithstanding this, they found that he was again engaged in operations against a Power with whom Her Majesty was still on friendly terms—the Emperor of Russia. The conduct of Russia in the Afghan affair, which was——

MR. PULESTON rose to Order, and desired to know whether it was competent for the hon. Gentleman to discuss the conduct of Russia on this Vote?

THE CHAIRMAN said, that on a Vote for Reserve Pay it was certainly travelling away from the Question to discuss the conduct of Russia.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was discussing the question from the point of view of simple justice to the British taxpayer, and he thought those principles had been violated on the present occasion. This officer was not only receiving pay from the British taxpayer, but he was also receiving pay from the Turkish Government. Under those circumstances, he certainly had no claim to be reinstated, and reinstated so as to secure a pension, while still receiving pay from the Turkish Government. His position was nominally that of an officer in the Turkish Navy; but it was very well known that he was employed by the Sultan to agitate his cause in this country.

MR. PULESTON rose to Order, and asked whether the hon. Member was justified in making such a statement? There were some of them who thought that Hobart Pasha's position was and had been of great advantage to this country.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he did not think the hon. Member was out of Order. He was stating reasons why this grant should not be allowed. There was nothing disorderly in the hon. Member's remarks. He was stating his views with regard to Hobart Pasha; but it did not follow that his views were correct.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: That was the real object of Hobart Pasha's mission, and still, at the same time, he was receiving the retired pay from Her Majesty. He did not know whether it was for personal gain; but he knew that Hobart Pasha had for a whole series of years been engaged in illegal pursuits which conflicted with the interests of this country, and he thought the Committee was entitled to some explanation.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) said, he was sorry that his hon. Friend had introduced this question, and the animus which he had exhibited, and which, he was bound to say, the hon. Member was not justified in using. The hon. Gentleman objected to the political character of Hobart Pasha; but it must be remembered that he was a man of strong character, and he (Lord George Hamilton) was not aware that he had ever done anything of which any man need be ashamed. Admiral Hobart Pasha was a distinguished naval officer, and in that position he had been remarkable for some of the most daring and gallant acts which had ever been performed at sea. As to the recent reinstatement he could give no explanation, as it had taken place under the late Government; but it appeared in this case that he had been placed on the Navy List in the position in which he would have been if he had not been struck off in 1877. The matter now came before the Committee upon an Order in Council drawn up by the late Government. It had been considered by the Council and also by the Admiralty—by a body of men acting for the Naval Government of this country, who had to consider whether a distinguished naval officer should or should not be placed on the Retired Pay List. After coming to the conclusion that he should be placed upon the List, it seemed to him that it would be a slur upon that Office, and harsh to the officer in question, if the Committee should refuse to agree with them. After the determination that they had come to, he did hope that the Committee would support the late Government in what they had done.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, it was quite clear that the late Government had reinstated Hobart Pasha; but they had given no single reason why they had done so. He thought the Committee was entitled to some explanation from the Members of the late Government.

SIR JOHN HAY wished to supplement what had been said by the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton). Ever since the year 1840 there had always been an English naval officer at the head of the Turkish Fleet. Several distinguished naval officers of this country had occupied the position with the assent of the English Government. Sir Baldwin Walker was appointed before the Syrian War of 1840. Admiral Slade succeeded Admiral Walker, who in turn was succeeded by Hobart Pasha. It was true that this last appointment was at first made irregularly, and without the sanction of the British Government. It happened that Hobart Pasha was on a visit to his brother in Constantinople when he accepted the appointment; but it was afterwards confirmed by the Admiralty, although, owing to the irregularity, his pay was deferred. In 1873, however, he was regularly appointed. In 1876 he was removed from the British Navy List, in deference to Russian susceptibilities. But no one could blame Hobart Pasha for refusing to desert his post because his employers were at war with Russia. As a matter of fact, Hobart Pasha was doing his duty to the satisfaction of his own Government as well as to the satisfaction of the Government who were immediately employing him; and it would be unfair, under those circumstances, if he did not receive the same treatment as his two distinguished predecessors, now that Turkey and Russia were at peace.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, the speech of the right hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay) was rather an argument in favour of what had fallen from the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), because the cases he had cited were distinctly different to that now before the Committee. Admirals Slade and Walker had accepted their appointments with the sanction of their own Government, whereas Hobart Pasha accepted the appointment without the consent of the British Government. No doubt, Hobart Pasha was a very distinguished man. He knew him personally; but the Committee ought to have a proper explanation of the reasons which had induced the late Government to make this new departure. They ought to know from the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) what were the reasons why this most unusual pension for life had been given. They were bound to have some explanation, and he challenged the hon. Gentleman to rise in his place and state what were the reasons why they should give Hobart Pasha £365 a-year.

MR. CAINE said, it was done on the recommendation of the Foreign Office, and he was quite unable to give any explanation of it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the statement they had just heard was no answer at all. The Committee were entitled to some explanation as to why the original decision of the Government in regard to Hobart Pasha had not been adhered to. The noble Lord had stated that the matter had been decided by the late Board of Admiralty; but they had a Member of the late Board before them, and he had said he knew nothing about the matter. Therefore, he begged to move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON suggested to the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) that after what had taken place he should not oppose the Motion, but should allow them an opportunity of getting an explanation from the late Government.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY pointed out that this Vote did not contain any provision for Admiral Hobart Pasha's pay, as the Order in Council was made subsequently to the preparation of the Estimates. He hoped that the Vote would, therefore, be allowed to pass; and he would undertake, if the hon. Gentleman desired to raise the question, that the Report of this Vote should be taken at such a time as he would be able to raise it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was willing to accept that arrangement.

SIR ROBERT PEEL wished to point out that it was a most extraordinary thing——

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the right hon. Baronet desire to address me on a question of Order?

SIR ROBERT PEEL: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then he cannot continue the discussion on the question of Hobart Pasha's pay.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, it was a most extraordinary thing that the late Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Caine) knew nothing about the matter, although he was a Member of the late Board.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Chairman whether he could arrange for the Report of this Vote being taken at a convenient time?

THE CHAIRMAN said, he had no power in that matter. It was only within his province to bring up the Report of Supply, and he had no power to make arrangements with regard to the matter.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY said, he would undertake to make arrangements with the hon. Member, so that he should have an opportunity of bringing the matter forward on Report.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE undertook to bring the matter before the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone), who, no doubt, if he knew the circumstances, would give an explanation.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(15.) £905,200, Military Pensions and Allowances.

(16.) £330,300, Civil Pensions and Allowances.

(17.) £210,000, Extra Estimate for Services not Naval.—Freight, &c. on Account of the Army Department.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he begged to call the attention of the noble Lord to the fact that the Vote contained charges that he (Sir George Balfour) proposed to transfer to the Army; and, in return, the cost of naval guns and equipments would be transferred to the Navy Estimates.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again upon *Friday.*

RIVER THAMES (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Story-Maskelyne, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Elton, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Sellar, Colonel Makins, Mr. Molloy.*)

[BILL 203.] CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

COLONEL MAKINS desired to make an Amendment to Clause 6, by leaving out seven days, and inserting 48 hours.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, there was a general agreement on this point, and he did not think they could accept the Amendment.

COLONEL MAKINS: Then I must object to the Bill being taken.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: We must put it off then.

Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

—o—

POLICE ENFRANCHISEMENT EXTENSION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD, Bill for the complete enfranchisement of the Police Forces of the United Kingdom, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD, Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, Sir HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF, Mr. COWEN, Lord CLAUD JOHN HAMILTON, Mr. ROBERT FOWLER, Mr. REID, Mr. HOULDSWORTH, and Mr. GEORGE ELLIOT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 219.]

CONVEYANCING (SCOTLAND) ACT (1874) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to amend "The Conveyancing (Scotland) Act, 1874," *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. CAMERON, Sir LYON PLAYFAIR, Mr. BAXTER, and Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 220.]

VACATING OF SEATS BILL.

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to amend the Law in regard to the Vacating of Seats in the House of Commons, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. CAMERON, Mr. GRANTHAM, Mr. PULESTON, and Mr. JOHN CORBETT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 221.]

FORESTRY.

Select Committee *nominated* of,—Mr. WILLIAM CORBET, Dr. FARQUHARSON, Mr. FREMANTLE, Mr. WILLIAM HENRY GLADSTONE, Sir G. MACPHERSON GRANT, Sir JOHN KENNAWAY, Sir

EDMUND LECHMERE, Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Dr. LYONS, Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Colonel NOLAN, Mr. PARNELL, Mr. PLUNKET, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. ROUND, Mr. SEELY, junior, Mr. MOORE STEVENS, Mr. VILLIERS STUART, and Mr. NORTHCOTE, with power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, Bill to provide for defraying the Expenditure on account of Greenwich Hospital directly out of the Revenues of Greenwich Hospital; to amend in other respects the Greenwich Hospital Acts, 1865 to 1883; and for other purposes relating thereto, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT and Sir HENRY HOLLAND.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 222.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 9*th July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—East India Loan (£10,000,000)* (164); Tithe Rent Charge Redemption* (165); Local Government Provisional Order (Municipal Corporations)* (166); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3)* (167); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7)* (168); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9)* (169); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders* (170).

Second Reading—Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2)* (155); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2)* (156); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3)* (157); Secretary for Scotland (117).

Committee—Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London)* (79).

Third Reading—Gas and Water Provisional Orders (No. 2)* (136); Water Provisional Orders* (137); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1)* (149); Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Birmingham, &c.)* (80); Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment* (128), and *passed*.

Withdrawn — Real Property Registration (132).

NEW PEER.

Sir Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild, Baronet, having been created Baron Rothschild of Tring in the county of Hertford—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

(NO. 117.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said: My Lords, it has been so frequently the fate of your Lordships to discuss this measure in one form or another that it will not be necessary for me to trouble you with any detailed observations in asking you to give it a second reading. But I should be wanting in duty, I think, if I failed to render my acknowledgments, and not merely my acknowledgments, but the acknowledgments, I believe, of the vast majority of the people of Scotland, to Her Majesty's present Advisers for consenting to leave in their programme this single item, when they were obliged to omit so much. I am quite sure that they will find the good results of having done so, and will know by experience that, in doing so, they have only consulted the wishes of that country. My Lords, as regards this measure, there are only three changes from the time last year at which it was dropped by Her Majesty's late Government, and this leads me to remark on the extraordinarily sinister influence which this measure appears to have exercised on the deliberations of this House. On the first occasion on which it was brought forward, it was brought forward in a very much smaller shape than it is now, and it then arrived too late to be discussed by the majority of this House. On the second occasion it passed through Committee, and was down for third reading on the very day on which Her Majesty's late Government had to announce that they could proceed with no further measures; and this year it came on for second reading on the very day, I think, on which it was the duty of Her Majesty's late Government to announce, in the language which is suitable to the occasion, that they had sent a dutiful communication to Her Majesty. My Lords, a Bill which has survived such difficulties is destined to float, and I do not think that anything can now wreck it. But, in the course of its various vicissitudes, it has undergone certain particular and definite changes.

Since the Bill left your Lordships last year one important provision, which was put in at my instigation in Committee of this House, has been left out of it—I mean the addition of the control of matters relating to law and justice, which your Lordships consented to put in charge of the new Secretary. Well, after getting that Amendment carried, it became my fate to be consulted, as one of Her Majesty's Ministers, on the form which the Bill was to assume this year; and, although it would be vain for me to try to pretend that I had in any respect altered my conviction in regard to that important branch of the subject, I cannot altogether disguise that it was not in consonance with the views of many of my Colleagues that the provision should exist, and I thought it wise, under the circumstances, to let it be expunged, rather than run the risk of losing the Bill on account of one particular provision. Then, my Lords, there is another provision which was not in the Bill of last year—I mean that providing that the Keepership of the Great Seal should attach to the Secretary for Scotland. Last year that Office was not vacant. It has since become vacant by the lamented death of Lord Selkirk; and it was felt to be only in unison with the opinions expressed both inside the House and out of it, by persons well qualified to judge, that we should add as much as possible to the dignity of the new Office by attaching this post to it. And, my Lords, the third difference between the Bill of last year and the present one is by far the most important—I mean the provision for putting primary education under the control of the new Minister. As regards that provision, I am very unwilling to say very much at this time; because a noble Lord has given Notice that he means to raise the question in Committee, and I think, therefore, that that will be a more fitting opportunity for discussing it. But, in the first place, I do not doubt that the feeling of this House is very strongly in favour of such a provision. I am quite aware that the division of last year does not carry out that contention, for the numbers who voted in that division were exceedingly small, and the minority was strengthened by a single vote; but that vote, I think, was equal to almost all the votes of those in the majority—I mean the vote of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury)—and if the noble Marquess felt that, in the exercise of his discretion as Leader of the Conservative Party, he could so far meet the very prevalent and almost unanimous feeling on this side of the House, we have some claim to consider that this House was largely in favour of that provision. But, my Lords, besides the feeling in this House, we were also aware that the feeling in the House of Commons, though it could not be described by any means as unanimously in favour of this provision, was largely in favour of it. I will take a very curious test in regard to the feeling that exists both inside and outside the House of Commons on this question. I suppose that there is no name which is more honoured in the cause of education than that of Sir Lyon Playfair, the Member for Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities. Sir Lyon Playfair declared himself as being opposed to the insertion of any provision of this kind in the Bill; and almost immediately afterwards he had to write to his constituents and inform them that, in consequence of the feeling that had been evoked by his declaration on this subject and in this sense, it would be perfectly useless for him to seek their suffrages on any future occasion. As regards the feeling in Scotland, I think the evidence is perfectly overwhelming. Her Majesty's late Government waited to introduce this Bill until the elections to the school boards had been over. The elections to the school boards took place some time in the months of March and April; and from them, without agitation, without anxiety, without seeking, 40 Petitions—at least 40—have come up demanding this provision. There are also, from municipal or other Local Authorities, 47 Petitions in favour of this provision for putting education under the Scottish Secretary. There is a Petition which I presented to-day from the Town Council of Edinburgh; another which I have presented to-day from the Town Council of Paisley; and your Lordships will remember that the late Lord Beaconsfield advised his Party to keep their eye on Paisley. Besides these, there have been a considerable number of ecclesiastical Petitions—Petitions from other public Bodies—from the Convention of Royal Burghs, and from political associations which are by no means all Liberal. Well, my Lords, I think that, in these circumstances, Her Majesty's late Government had no choice but to present the Bill with this provision in it; and with regard to it, they were also aware that considerable misapprehension existed which would be removed whenever there was any explanation made in this House. Now, my Lords, the Body—the one public Body—in Scotland which has opposed this provision, but by no means unanimously, for four Petitions from different branches of it have been presented in favour of the Bill—the Body that has opposed this measure in Scotland has been the Educational Institute. I had an interview with some of the gentlemen of the Educational Institute, and I found that they were acting under an entire misapprehension of the nature of the arrangements which would have been proposed by Her Majesty's late Government. I cannot, of course, say what Her Majesty's present Advisers will do as regards the organization of the new Office when it is made. That is a very important point, and one which cannot well lie within the four corners of this Bill. But it was the intention of the late Government to propose that the Educational Office for Scotland should be in London. There was no idea of moving it to Edinburgh; and yet, so far as I could ascertain from the deputations of the Educational Institute, their main objection to the Bill was that it would have a branch Office in Edinburgh. Well, my Lords, we have another point to consider in connection with the supervision of education. We have to consider that the Committee which met under the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) recommended that there should not be this provision in a Minister for Scotland Bill, but that the arrangement should be made that there should be a Minister of Education for England and Scotland, under whom Scottish primary education should be placed. They also recommended that there should be two Departments of Education, each headed by a Permanent Secretary, one for England and one for Scotland, who should be made responsible to the Minister for Education. Her Majesty's late Advisers were prepared to carry out this recommendation with one difference, which was, however, an essential difference—namely, that the Educational Department of Scotland should be responsible to the Minister for Scotland. Without bringing forward at this stage the arguments which may be more properly stated in Committee, I think your Lordships will feel that the advantages of placing all the three branches of education in one hand are so great as to balance all other considerations. The dealing with the Universities and the dealing with the schools under Scottish endowments was always given to the Minister for Scotland in the three Bills which have been presented to this House. Surely, therefore, it would be a great advantage that we should add to these two branches that of primary education, and put all the strings of the system of education in Scotland into one hand. I do not at this moment venture into details on this particular branch of the subject; but I did not think it respectful to your Lordships to introduce it with less detail than I have done, and I earnestly recommend your Lordships to give it a second reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

LORD BALFOUR said, that he was entirely in favour of the second reading of the Bill, and saw it, to a very great extent, with the same eyes as the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery). The only point in which he differed from the noble Earl, so far as he knew at present, was as to the advisability of transferring education from the Privy Council, or the Minister of Education, to the charge of the Secretary for Scotland. No more than the noble Earl opposite should he (Lord Balfour) go into detail at the present time, because the Committee stage of the Bill would be the right time to raise a discussion upon it. But he would like to indicate generally what he thought would be the disadvantages of the proposed transference. It would make the interchange of teachers between England and Scotland more difficult, and there would be a liability in the future of contention arising as to the education grants. Scotland at present earned a higher sum per head than England, and that, he thought, would be submitted to so long as the two systems of education were under one control. But if once the idea gained ground in England that the Secretary for Scotland was relaxing the conditions under which the grant was earned in Scotland unfairly as compared with England, there would be great difficulty in getting sufficient grants from the Treasury to meet the demands of Scotland. But a more important difficulty would be the position of Scotland as regards the Science and Art Department of South Kensington. That Department must remain under the Privy Council; and he was most apprehensive that the interests of Scotland would materially suffer if there were not the same facility of communication between those who had charge of the education of the two countries. He was strengthened in that belief, because the weak part at present in Scottish education in the larger towns was their want of attention to technical branches of education. Such towns as Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds in England were far in advance of Glasgow and Edinburgh as concerned that Department already; and the latter would be placed in a still worse position in the future if this transference were to take place. There was much that each country could learn from the other, and it could easily be shown that there was much that each country had learned from the other in the past. If that statement were challenged, he should endeavour to make it good on a future occasion. He therefore thought that in this respect, at all events, there would be some advantage to the two countries if the control of their education were to be combined under one Minister. It would, moreover, be of great advantage to education that the Minister should be always in the Cabinet; and if the proposal to have a Minister of Education for England and Scotland were carried, the Minister must necessarily be in the Cabinet. Although he hoped that this Secretary who was to be appointed for Scotland would, at least, sometimes be a man of such eminence as to be in the Cabinet, he did not think they could be at all sure that he would be, under all circumstances, a Member of the Cabinet. The noble Earl had made a great deal of the Petitions which the school boards had presented in favour of this transference, and he had said that 40 Petitions had been sent up by school boards. But the noble Earl had omitted to tell their Lordships how many school boards there were in Scotland. There were 972 school boards in Scotland, and he did not think anybody could say that if only 40 of these had taken the trouble to petition in favour of the proposal, there was any great enthusiasm on the subject. The noble Earl had made mention of some important towns which had petitioned in favour of the transference; but he had omitted to tell their Lordships of places like Glasgow, Govan, and Dundee, which had petitioned against it. His (Lord Balfour's) belief was that there was no question at present agitating in Scotland about which there was so much difference of opinion as about the question whether or not it would be advisable to place education under the charge of the Secretary for Scotland. He wished to throw out a suggestion to their Lordships. Those who continued to press for the transference of education were not the real friends of the passing of this measure. They had heard rumours, and he thought it had been announced from the Front Bench here, that no measure about which there was much difference of opinion would have a chance of passing this Session. Now, nobody could deny, whatever their view of the matter might be about this question, that there was a very great deal of difference of opinion in Scotland; and he ventured to say that nothing would be so likely to prevent the passage of the Bill through the other House as sending it down with the charge of education given to the Secretary for Scotland. The suggestion he wished to make was this—whether it would not be desirable to pass the Bill in the present Session without this transference, and to make a suggestion to the Government to strengthen the Scottish Committee of the Privy Council; to make it, if necessary, more separate than it is from the Department, while still nominally under the control of the same head; that the Committee should be summoned oftener than it had been, and should be made more a reality than it was at the present time. He ventured to think that would satisfy the legitimate claim at the present time for the separate management of Scottish education. And then, if that arrangement was found not to work, it would be perfectly easy at any future time to transfer the whole of education to the Secretary for Scotland. On the other hand, if they attempted to make the transference at present, they might probably endanger the passage of the Bill, and make it impossible that there should be a Ministry of Education for the two countries. Whether it was desirable that such a Ministry should be formed he would not then say; but he asked that the consideration of the question should not be prejudiced by the transference of Scottish education at the present time. Another advantage of the course he suggested was, that it would be a difficult task to organize a new Scottish Department at the commencement; and if it were overweighted with such an important matter as education there would be very great difficulty in getting it under way at its first start, while it would be comparatively easy to make the change afterwards. There was only one other matter, and it was one to which he asked the very earnest consideration of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery). He did not know what would be the staff in the new Office, or what place education was to hold in that Office. The 2nd clause of the Bill, providing for the staff, was in exactly the same words as when the Bill was first introduced two or three years ago without the proposal to transfer education. Their Lordships all knew there was no matter which was of so highly technical a character as education. It required a trained man to pay proper attention to it—to exercise the proper control over it. Now, there were a great many matters transferred to the management of the Secretary for Scotland, and he was only to have one Permanent Secretary. What he wanted to know was, would that Permanent Secretary be a man of technical knowledge of what was necessary for education, or would he only have a technical knowledge for things mentioned in the Schedule? For example, would his chief care be to take charge of sewage, and cattle diseases, and such things as these, or would he be able to take an intelligent charge of matters relating to education? He thought that, on the whole, it would be very much better not to press for the transference of education at the present time. He confessed that his own opinion always had been, and still was, that the transference would be a mistake; but he thought the suggestion he had made was the only one which would not prejudice opinions on either side, and by it the question would be dealt with in a satisfactory manner.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN said, he would advise their Lordships to give a generous assent to the wishes of the people of Scotland by passing the Bill as it stood. He did not see that there was much force in the objections of the noble Lord who had just sat down (Lord Balfour). That noble Lord had spoken of the disadvantages and hindrances to education which would result if this change were effected; but he (the Earl of Aberdeen) confessed he could not see how the fact of the Scottish Minister having charge of the education of the country would interfere with it, as the object of placing it in his care was to promote its interests. In his opinion, the Scottish Minister would be in such a position with reference to access to the Treasury officials that he would be enabled to advance the interests of Scottish education in that way. The noble Lord also spoke about the comparatively small number of school boards petitioning in favour of this provision, having regard to the total number of boards in Scotland; but, certainly, whatever might be said in that respect, there were not many who had petitioned against it. After what his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) had said, however, as to the misapprehension on the part of the Educational Institute, probably it was not too much to say that a similar apprehension prevailed with regard to some Petitions which were sent in some time ago against this proposal. He hoped the noble Earl who had charge of the Bill would not agree to the suggestion of the noble Lord (Lord Balfour) that an intermediate course should be taken to strengthen the Scottish Department of the Committee of Council on Education. He (the Earl of Aberdeen) would rather have the question of education left as it was; because then it would have to be dealt with at some future time, and he had no doubt it would then be included in the functions of the new Minister for Scotland.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, he wished to express his gratitude to his noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Rosebery) for having consented to continue the charge of this Bill under the altered circumstances that had taken place. The fact that he had done so showed that, in his opinion, as well as in the opinion of noble Lords on both sides of the House, there was no question of Party at all involved in the measure. That had been the case in Scotland from the very commencement of the movement, and that was proved by the fact that the promoters of the Bill asked him (the Marquess of Lothian), a Conservative, to preside at what he considered the largest meeting in Scotland, which was held in Edinburgh, in favour of placing Scottish affairs in charge of a Minister for Scotland. He need say very little about what he himself thought —namely, that it was necessary that their Lordships should pass the Bill this Session. The fact not only of his having presided at that meeting, but also of having subsequently had the honour to introduce a representative deputation to the then Prime Minister, requesting him that a Bill to this effect should be passed, gave him, he thought, some title to speak as to what the feelings of the people of Scotland were on this subject. He knew there were some people who said that this movement in favour of a separate administration for Scotland had had no real or solid basis to start with; that it was practically a sham, and that a sham deserved no consideration. He was not concerned with the beginning or the origin of the movement. These things began in a whisper; but the whisper grew into a loud voice, which, he thought, those who were wise would stop to listen to before it developed into a sullen roar. He was perfectly certain that this Bill, having been before their Lordships' House now for three Sessions, the people of Scotland had made up their minds more and more to have a measure of this description; and it would not be right, on the part of Parliament, to refuse to give that which was asked for with ever-increasing strength. On the details of the measure he was not prepared to speak, and he did not wish to detain their Lordships. But he should like to say, with reference to the question of education, that he trusted their Lordships did not agree to cut it out from the control of the proposed Secretary for Scotland. As to the exact details in which education might be placed under the control of that Minister, he did not think this was the time to make any suggestion. In fact, he did not quite understand what the noble Earl who moved the second reading or the late Government proposed. The noble Earl said he thought that they never had in contemplation that there should be a Board of Education sitting in Edinburgh, and in that he (the Marquess of Lothian) heartily concurred. But he did not know how far the late Government intended that the control of Scottish education in London should be placed entirely under the separate management of the proposed Secretary for Scotland—whether it should be an entirely separate control, or, simply, a separate Department of the Board of Education in London. Whatever might be the case, he was very glad to think it was not proposed that the Board of Education should have its seat in Edinburgh, and that the Secretary for Scotland was to have control over it. With reference to the suggestion of the noble Lord (Lord Balfour), he must also confess that he did not quite understand that either. What he gathered generally was, that the noble Lord proposed, as far as possible, that the question of education should be left out of the Bill of this year, with the view of introducing it on some future occasion into the Department of the Minister for Scotland. He did not think that would satisfy the people of Scotland at all. He, for one, was exceedingly anxious that the Bill should pass this Session, and pass as a whole. Let them give to the people of Scotland what they asked. Let them give it generously, and in a manner which would satisfy them; so that they might not be threatened with an agitation which was sure to occur with increasing strength.

LORD BALFOUR, in explanation, said, that what he intended to say was, that there should be a preparatory explanation between the two Departments rather more than there was at the present time; and hereafter, if that arrangement was found not to be possible, the Scottish Department should be transferred to the charge of the Secretary for Scotland.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, he was glad to hear the explanation; but what he should like to see was, as far as possible, a complete separation at once. With regard to the Petitions, those to which the noble Lord alluded were chiefly from the Educational Bodies of Scotland. He did not wish to undervalue them; but of this he was perfectly certain—that apart from those immediately engaged in education, and those influenced by the Educational Institute, the people of Scotland generally were entirely in favour of the proposal of the noble Earl. He was convinced that was the case, and he hoped their Lordships would bear that in mind in Committee. He had only one thing more to do, and that was to ask their Lordships to pass the second reading of the Bill unanimously, and to deprecate, as far as possible, any interference with the measure in Committee. He thought it would have a very bad effect if the Bill were so altered in Committee as to take away this provision from the proposed Secretary for Scotland. Perhaps he might be allowed to say that if it had not been for other considerations which would probably make it impossible, he should have been very glad to have seen the noble Earl who had charge of the Bill take the new Office. He hoped the Bill would pass into law this Session. It was not a Party question; but, at the same time, he could not, as a Conservative, but feel glad that after so long a delay this measure, which had been so long asked for by the people of Scotland, should pass under the auspices of a Conservative Administration.

The Earl of FIFE said, he had great pleasure in congratulating his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) that the Bill had now such good prospects of reaching its destination. He did not think it necessary on this occasion to enter into the well-worn arguments in favour of the general principle of the measure. In fact, the only question which seemed to call for any debate was the inclusion of education amongst the functions of the new Secretary for Scotland. With all due deference to the noble Lord who spoke second (Lord Balfour), he might, perhaps, be allowed to say that he had always traced the opposition to that provision to those Bodies who were officially, or semi-officially, connected with the supervision of education, either in London or in Scotland. And if they would only go beyond those special Educational Bodies, either at London or in Edinburgh, and ask the opinion of the general public in Scotland, they would find that there was almost practical unanimity in favour of including education amongst the functions of the new Secretary. If they asked the ordinary average Scotsman what was his opinion on this point, he would answer, as he was afraid his countrymen very often did, by a question—"What on earth is the use of a Minister for Scotland, what is he to do, if he has not included among his functions the most important of Scottish questions?" If any further proof were needed, he (the Earl of Fife) might, perhaps, be allowed to say that he had presented to their Lordships nearly 60 Petitions in favour of placing education under the control of the new Minister, and over 40 of them came from school boards in Scotland. As to the contention that it was desirable that the whole education of the country should be in the hands of one Minister, he inclined to think it would be quite time to deal with that subject when they had the slightest chance of including Irish education under that one head. At present, that contingency seemed very remote; and he was very much inclined to doubt whether it was desirable to mix up in one Administration the educational affairs of the three countries; because, if they added those of a small country to those of a large country, naturally the policy of the large country would prevail; and if, as in Scotland, the smaller country was more advanced than the larger one, the natural tendency would be not to urge on further improvement, but rather to allow matters to stagnate until the larger country had come up to the smaller one. That was what Scotland objected to. He had no desire unduly to laud his countrymen; but he thought it would be generally allowed that their old Scottish system of education was very superior indeed, and that superiority would be amongst their most cherished of national traditions, and that superiority Scotsmen were anxious not merely to maintain, but to increase. But that result would not be accomplished if they did not include the management of education amongst the functions of the new Minister, and without it he would likely be a more ornamental than useful personage.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN said, the only regret he had in connection with this measure was that it had not been seen fit to make the salary attached to the new Office rather larger than it was. He believed, himself, the importance of an office to be gauged far more by the salary attached to it than by the heterogeneous character of the duties to be performed; and for that reason he wished the salary had been £4,000 a-year rather than £2,000. He had only one word to say with regard to the subject of education. The great objection he took to this transfer of education from the Privy Council to the proposed new Secretary for Scotland was that it by no means followed that this Secretary would be a person who would know anything about education, and the result would be that he would have to refer to the permanent officials of the Department. If that were so, this permanent official, who would have to look after sewage and the many other matters transferred to the new Secretary, would eventually become the Education Minister for Scotland. There was a stronger reason than the one he had given, and it was this—What was the need of it? Did anyone allege that the subject of education had not been ably and satisfactorily dealt with by the Department already administering it?

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Yes.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: The noble Earl said yes; but the noble Earl himself had told them that he proposed to keep the Department in London, and that the only change, it might be presumed, which it intended to make was this—that besides a big Education Department there would be a little Education Department alongside of it—one representing education in England, and the other representing education in Scotland; and he did not see that any advantage was to be gained by that. With all respect for his countrymen, and the national superiority to which the noble Earl (the Earl of Fife) had referred, he thought that it was to be borne in mind that education was a thing which, if it differed at all, differed not in kind, but in degree. It was very true that in this matter of education they believed that they had progressed further in Scotland than they had in England or Ireland; but, at the same time, the education itself was of the same sort, and it was simply a question of how far it was to go, and how it was to be superintended. He must say for himself that he looked upon a Minister of Education for the whole country as much more likely to exercise an intelligent and beneficial supervision over the subject in the Kingdom generally than if a single portion of the Kingdom were set apart and placed under the charge of a permanent official like this proposed Secretary for Scotland, who would have a variety of duties to attend to, and who need not necessarily know very much on the subject of education. On a former occasion, their Lordships had refused to make this change by a large majority, although the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) had voted in favour of it. He (the Earl of Camperdown) had a great deal of respect for the noble Marquess opposite, and he had a great respect for his vote; but, at the same time, he could not go quite so far as his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) on that point. His noble Friend had said that the vote of the noble Marquess was equal to the vote of 20 or 30 others; but he (the Earl of Camperdown) was quite certain that the noble Earl, on other occasions, would not be inclined to attach to the noble Marquess's vote so much importance.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, it would be presumptuous in me, after so many great Scottish authorities have spoken, if I were to venture to deal at any great length with a matter which concerns Scotland alone; but I do not like to allow the Bill to pass the second reading without saying a word as to the course which the Government have taken with respect to it. Properly, this should be a Government measure; and in the other House, if it passes your Lordships, it will be a Government measure; but we think that, considering the conspicuous and assiduous manner in which the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery) has been conducting this movement, it would be ungracious on our part if we proposed to take it out of his hands, and I am sure it could not be in better hands. I do not say this out of gratitude for the remarkable compliment which the noble Earl paid me with respect to my vote, which, I rather agree with the last speaker (the Earl of Camperdown), was a compliment of occasion, and would not be repeated under other circumstances. But, my Lords, I think that the arguments with respect to the educational part of the measure, though they are within the scope of our ordinary practice and Rules, are perhaps rather premature, and that the subject must be examined more carefully when it comes before us in the regular way in Committee. As far as my information enables me to go, I believe that those who have represented the general feeling of Scotland as in favour of the larger, rather than the smaller, interpretation of the duties of the new Minister, accurately represent the state of the case, and there is a good deal to be said for the consideration advanced by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Fife) that the Scottish people are, chronologically, considerably ahead of the English people in the matter of education, and that there must be something galling in the consideration that, in dealing with educational matters, all questions are decided rather on English than on Scottish principles. I have also heard it said—I do not know whether it is true—that the application of the same rule to the uniformity of education to the whole country has had the effect of imposing on the poorer districts of Scotland a very large expenditure, which those who are best entitled to judge think has been somewhat unfair. But, however that matter may be, we shall be prepared, when the time comes, to enter on the question whether the Education Department should or should not be entirely assigned to this particular officer. I have never concealed my own opinion on the subject, that, on the whole—though I admit that a great deal may be said on the other side—that, on the whole, it is better to localize as far as possible, rather than centralize, a business of this kind; and that those vast administrative mechanisms which we are building up are not without their inconvenience, and even not without their danger; and I should be, therefore, prepared to see them divided into smaller Departments. I have no other remark to make, except to say that our object on this question is not to depart from our view that it should be made as little contentious as possible, and that in giving our general assent on the whole to the inclusion of education we must not be considered as looking upon it as a vital question. I believe it is of great importance that this Bill should pass. I am not sorry at the delay that has taken place; on the contrary, it has, I believe, justified the action of your Lordships; for it has drawn out in a more distinct and unequivocal manner what are the real feelings of the people of Scotland on this question. But I think it would be much to be regretted if differences of opinion as to the inclusion of education should cause the Bill to be put off to another Session. I, therefore, do not conceal from your Lordships that I do not propose to say that the question of education is so vital to it that we should lose the Bill, if it were rejected. Notwithstanding, therefore, the many ominous prophecyings I have heard, that the House of Commons will take a different view from that of your Lordships, I hope the question of education will not be regarded as being so vital as to involve the loss of the measure; but I earnestly trust that the efforts of the noble Earl opposite may be successful.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he had been anxious to take this opportunity of expressing his views; but after what had fallen from the noble Marquess he would reserve his remarks for the present, until he could express them in Committee.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I propose, if agreeable to your Lordships, to take this day week for Committee on the Bill. Of course, the Session cannot now be a long one, and I therefore hope that this day week will not be too soon, considering how short a time the Session is expected to last.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, it might be taken on Tuesday.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he was quite agreeable.

Bill *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

REAL PROPERTY REGISTRATION BILL.—(No. 132.)

(*The Duke of Marlborough.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the important subject dealt with by that Bill could not fail to be of great interest to their Lordships. Indeed, it was impossible to find a body of men in this country who were so largely or so universally interested in that subject. That question had been treated at different times by very eminent Members of that House, among others by Lord Campbell, Lord Brougham, Lord Selborne, and Lord Cairns; and it might be thought from his non-acquaintance with the technicalities of the subject that it was somewhat bold in him to attempt to bring it under the attention of their Lordships. Bills had been passed and inquiries instituted in reference to it, and yet the matter was still involved in very great difficulty and complexity. The present was, he considered, a favourable time for introducing this subject. The measure which he had the honour to bring forward was merely a corollary of Lord Cairns's Act, so much so, indeed, that without the passing of this measure the whole intention of that Act would be defeated. At present there was a deadlock in land, and owing to the steady and persistent fall in prices there was every prospect of these bad times continuing. Taking these matters into consideration, and also the large charges which were laid upon the land in rates and tithes, he could not help thinking that the land was practically verging upon bankruptcy. The measure of 1882 had been the crowning act of Earl Cairns's labours in the direction of freeing the land from the burdens under which it lay, and by it the whole tenure of the land had been altered. Lord Cairns had given to the tenants for life of settled estates power to sell every portion of them except the mansion house, thus defeating the purpose of the entail, which had been to keep the land in one family as long as possibly could be done. He believed that this Act, in conjunction with a further measure upon the subject, might be one of the greatest mainstays of the value of property. At present the expenses of the transfer of land were enormous, amounting between vendors' and purchasers' expenses to 12 or 15 per cent, besides the great delay which at present took place in the transaction. In 1854 a Royal Commission had inquired into the question of the transfer of land, and also that of the examination of titles; in fact, there had been two Royal Commissions and one Committee who had considered the question. In Lord Westbury's Act of 1862 it had been attempted to make a register of titles, in which the register should be the mirror of the title; but solicitors had been unwilling to advise their clients to lend money upon mortgages of estates thus registered. Lord Westbury's and Lord Cairns's Acts had failed in the object for which they were passed—namely, to encourage owners to register the title of their lands. No title deed was practically indefeasible and absolute, and it was by excluding all other rights that a person proved his own. The only way they could get out of that was by advertising the title. He proposed to give every person the right to enter his land on the register, and to make an affidavit indicating all the charges on the land; accompanying that affidavit would be another from two ratepayers of the county living in the neighbourhood in which the land was situated. At the end of two years' primary registration the title would become absolute, and would exclude all other persons. By these means, he contended, there would be offered inducements to bring land upon the register such as were not given by the Act of 1875. He did not suppose that at that period of the Session such a measure as this could become law. He had introduced this subject only because he believed it to be one of great importance on which legislation was absolutely necessary. Should their Lordships be willing to grant a second reading to the Bill, he would have no objection to its being referred to a Select Committee, which could investigate the whole subject, and a Bill be brought in the next year. This Bill was really an amendment of Lord Cairns's Land Act and a practical attempt to endeavour to meet the difficulties which that Act did not meet—namely, the difficulties put in the way of registration by the Legal Profession. He moved the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Duke of Marlborough.*)

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord Halsbury) said, he was, unfortunately, not able to advise their Lordships to yield to the suggestion of the noble Duke (the Duke of Marlborough), and allow this Bill to be read a second time with a view to the subject being investigated. He was not at all insensible to the importance of the question ; indeed, it was one which had exercised the minds of the Legal Profession, besides many other persons, for a considerable time. But the only effect now of passing this Bill —one of 117 sections—would be that the House would commit itself without debate to the principle of the measure, upon which undoubtedly neither the Legal Profession nor those who took an interest in the Land Question were agreed. There were two principles upon which registration could take place—one was the registration of title, and the other was the registration of deeds. The noble Duke asked the House to commit itself to one of those principles. For his own part, he wished to be able to consider a question of this sort in its entirety, and, if legislation should be desirable, to be able to form a judgment on the subject without being committed to any particular principle in dealing with it. He could not, therefore, advise their Lordships to pass the second reading of a Bill which affirmed one principle and contradicted another, and thus preclude themselves from considering and coming to a judgment on the whole question. Nor was he able to concur in the noble Duke's observations that this Bill either followed the lines or was any essential part of the system of Lord Cairns's Act. The noble Duke had done an injustice to his own diligence in striving to minimize the changes which this Bill sought to introduce. Among other things, the Bill provided that Land Commissioners should divide the whole of England into districts, and that titles to land should be registered on the application of the owners. Speaking roughly, the Bill would have the effect of reducing the Statutes of Limitation with respect to the recovery of land to two years. That was a most serious change, and one which the noble Duke proposed, apparently not only without consultation with the real property lawyers, but somewhat in defiance of the principles on which lawyers had been accustomed to act. He did not wish to be understood as being antagonistic to the principle which the noble Duke advanced; but he maintained that at that period of the Session, and under the circumstances, it was in the highest degree undesirable to pledge the House to a Bill the principles of which he had just glanced at without full consideration. The practical ground on which he opposed the Bill was that it was in truth only pledging the House to a kind of abstract principle without sufficient examination into either principles or details.

LORD CASTLETOWN said, that the noble Duke had made no reference in his speech to Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland there was an Act in force almost identical with the noble Duke's Bill; but it had unfortunately proved almost nugatory in consequence of the difficulties interposed by the Legal Profession. The Record of Title Act, as it was termed, was passed in 1865; but the fees which had been fixed by the Judges of the Landed Estates Court were much too high. The main question involved was that of compulsion, without which the trammels of the Legal Profession would never be got rid of. Nor would the question be satisfactorily disposed of until similar laws were made for the Three Kingdoms. He hoped their Lordships would read the Bill a second time, and then refer it to a Select Committee.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, he thought that a Bill of that kind ought only to be introduced on the responsibility of the Government of the day.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, that he had introduced a Bill in 1873 much on the same lines as the noble Duke's, so far as related to the principle of compulsion. But he quite agreed with his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack that it was impossible for the House to deal with the question at that period of the Session, and that it was undesirable that the House should give a vote which might affect the majority of their Lordships, by committing them to the affirmation of any principle without having had ample time for its consideration. He looked upon the subject as being one of great importance, but encumbered with serious difficulties; but for which the late Government would not have allowed five years to elapse without dealing with it. The difficulties did not all rest with the Legal Profession. In his judgment, to make a successful measure, three, certainly two, things would be necessary. First, the system of registration should be general and compulsory; secondly, the Government must go to the expense of establishing, in as many centres as the convenience of the country might require, the necessary machinery for carrying out the system under the control of competent persons. As such a system could not at first be self-supporting, though in the end it might prove so, the Treasury would have to be consulted, and difficulties might arise in that quarter. Thirdly, he was very much inclined to agree with the noble Duke that it would be necessary in any great reform to clear possessory titles after a comparatively short time, and to bar all contrary claims. That, however, would involve the exclusion of dormant and outstanding claims, in a much more summary way than under the present law; and this some persons would not like, because there might be some questions under settlements arising. All the difficulties which he had mentioned might be overcome; but there were other and great difficulties behind, which certainly did not rest with the Legal Profession. A great deal was heard of the Land Question. What did that mean? He was not sure that all those who most frequently used the phrase would agree as to the answer, or as to what should be done respecting it. Some would propose one thing, and some another. There was a large body of persons, whose opinions were not unlikely in the future to prevail, who objected to the substance of our Law of Real Property, and would object to modifications of the law, which were only in the direction of facilitating transfer, and which did not deal with entails and settlements, either by total abolition, or, at least, by bringing them within narrower limits. He regretted this state of things, not because he was opposed to all important changes in the substance of the law, but because he always thought it wise, in dealing with large and complicated questions, to treat the different branches of them separately. Nothing could be done in the matter without the general support, either of lawyers, or of the country at large, and it was for that reason that he had supported the recent measures of his late lamented Friend Earl Cairns; which were most useful, but which, without that general support which they received from the Members of the Legal Profession who had seats in the House of Commons, would never have become law.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD urged that as there were both purchasers for small parcels of land, and proprietors willing to sell, who were now kept apart by the legal delays and expenses, arrangements were required to facilitate the transfer of small holdings.

THE DUKE of MARLBOROUGH said, the extension of the principle of registration of title was so large under the provisions of this Bill, that he should hardly be warranted in asking their Lordships to assent to the second reading at so late a period of the Session. He would therefore, with the permission of their Lordships, withdraw the Bill. He would, however, bring it forward in another Session unless the Government would themselves deal with the subject.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Before the discussion closes I wish to make merely one remark. It appears that the noble and learned Earl opposite (the Earl of Selborne), and all who have taken part in this discussion, go upon the theory, which is very common in this country, that there is something in the law in this country, as it is practised, which makes it specially difficult and expensive to transfer small properties from one person to another; and there is a belief that by something we can do in this building we may alter the state of things altogether. Now, I wish to say—and each man must contribute his own experience—that I have very great scepticism on that subject, and I found my scepticism on the fact that I have myself dealt in a small way with small properties in England and in France. In France the almost fixed charge for conveying land is 12 per cent on the purchase money. In this country the charge varies enormously; but, according to my experience, it does not exceed, as a rule, 4 or 5 per cent. In France the shackles supposed to be connected with the feudal system have been long ago got rid of, and yet the cost remains as high as I have stated. No doubt I shall be told—and I think it right to mention this, because it is an important point—that a very considerable taxation exists in France, as it exists to some extent in this country, and that the 12 per cent includes a sum for that purpose. That taxation represents, in a great degree, the performance of the very services for which a Bill of this kind provides—namely, the cost of registration and so forth, which are no doubt essential to a transfer of small properties, but which, like all services, must be paid for, and which tend to raise the price in the manner I have indicated. Do not let us be misled by the experience of the Colonies. They have no difficulty in providing a cheap mode of land transfer because their land has no legal history. What causes the expense here is the fact that land has gone through a great number of previous transactions, which have to be traced, identified, and dealt with, and any difficulty arising out of them removed. When you deal with land which is in a state of nature, or which has not been many years in the hands of individuals, of course that complicated history does not exist, and the cost arising out of it has not to be paid. It would, therefore, be taking a very optimist view of the subject to think that anything we can do in this House will make the transfer of land as cheap in an old country as it is in a new one. Though I am far from saying that improvements cannot be made, or wishing to throw any discouragement on efforts such as that of the noble Duke, which show great industry and considerable knowledge of the subject, yet I do not think that such an extensive cheapening as generally believed to be possible will arise from any legislation we may adopt.

Motion and Bill (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—THE COMMITTEE ROOMS — VENTILATION OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, he wished to call attention to the ventilation of the Committee Rooms of the House. When the east wind blew the Committee Rooms of the House became the very temples of the winds, to the great discomfort of the Members of the Committee and to the members of the Bar and others who had to attend in them. He had been informed that the windows might be made air-tight at a very small expense; and considering that the House of Lords only cost the country the sum of about £3,000 or £4,000 a-year, after deducting the amount which it paid into the Treasury, to keep up, he thought the cost of excluding the cold air from the Committee Rooms would not be grudged.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD also suggested that improvements should be made. At present, when the windows were opened, there was an intolerable draught, and, when closed, a foul atmosphere.

LORD HENNIKER said, he would not follow his noble Friend (the Earl of Belmore) through all the points he had raised in his speech; but he must say, as one who had sat in Committee Rooms for many hours, that he fully sympathized with his noble Friend, and the noble Earl who had last spoken (the Earl of Longford), in their desire not to be obliged to sit in over-heated rooms when Business of great importance was before them. It might, perhaps, interest their Lordships to know what was the present system of ventilation in the Committee Rooms, as he had taken the trouble that day to go into the matter. Under each Committee Room there was a large arched chamber; through this chamber air was admitted from outside into the room by means of gratings all round the room, at the bottom of the high dado, and by means of gratings under the windows; and at the top of the dado, all round the room, there was an open space to allow the foul air to escape; there were perforated panels in the ceiling, and the cornice all round the room was perforated for the same purpose. When the foul air was carried up above the ceiling, it was carried away by a down shaft, the foul air being brought from both ends of the corridor, which communicated with the Victoria Tower. A fire was always kept alight there, and this and the draught drew away the foul air through the Victoria Tower. This system appeared to be perfect; but, from experience, he would say it could not be said to be so. No doubt, noble Lords were often to blame themselves, as they were apt to open the windows—a noble Lord was very hot, and asked for the window to be opened, and so on. This disturbed the system of ventilation, and it might be that the opening of the window made the room more hot than it otherwise would be. It was quite true, as his noble Friend had said, that one room in the House of Commons—he thought Room No. 13—had been altered in a satisfactory manner — so as to allow the windows to be opened, and to greatly improve the ventilation. However, his right hon. Friend the Chief Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) would give his most earnest attention to the matter; and he would, in consultation with Dr. Percy—who looked after such matters in the Houses of Parliament, and than whom no one in England was a better authority on the subject of ventilation—do all he could to remedy the inconvenience complained of.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that however perfect the present system of ventilation of the Committee Rooms might be in theory, the result was discreditable.

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, *9th July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Horsham, *v.* Sir Henry Fletcher, baronet, Groom in Waiting.

SELECT COMMITTEE — School Board Elections (Voting), Mr. Arthur Balfour and Viscount Folkestone *added;* Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, Mr. Sidney Herbert *added.*

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee — Resolutions* [July 8] *reported.*

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—Four Million Pounds, Exchequer Bills or Treasury Bills.

PUBLIC BILLS — *Resolution in Committee — Ordered — First Reading* — Licensing Laws Amendment * [226].

Ordered—First Reading—Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2) * [223]; Deeds of Arrangement Registration * [225]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [224].

First Reading—Ecclesiastical Commissioners * [227].

Second Reading — Criminal Law Amendment * [159]; Federal Council of Australasia [165]; Turnpike Acts Continuance * [218]; Yorkshire Registries * [211]; Factory Acts (Extension to Shops) [23].

Select Committee—Pluralities [22], *nominated.*

Committee — Public Health (Members and Officers) [114]—R.P.; Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices) [148]—R.P.

Committee — Report — Copyhold Enfranchisement [26].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Shannon Navigation * [171]; River Thames (No. 2) [90], and *passed.*

Third Reading — Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 5) * [186], and *passed.*

Withdrawn — Marriages Validity * [103]; Police [113]; Intermediate Education, Wales [195].

QUESTIONS.

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IRISH LAND COMMISSION—FAIR RENTS.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What number of applications to fix fair rents is now undisposed of by the Land Commission; what is the average number per month of originating notices issued for the past twelve months; and, whether such provision will be made for the hearing of applications by tenants as will ensure a speedy adjudication?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: The number of applications to have fair rents fixed which were undisposed of on the 30th ultimo was 3,434. In the 12 months to that date originating notices came in at the average rate of 593 per month, and cases were heard at the average rate of 943 per month. There is, therefore, a reasonable prospect of the arrears being soon wiped out.

SUEZ CANAL—THE CONFERENCE.

MR. CHARLES PALMER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When the Papers respecting the Conference held in Paris on the neutrality of the Suez Canal will be issued; and, whether he is prepared to give the same pledge to the House as was given by the late Government, that no Convention shall be confirmed until the House has pronounced an opinion on it?

THE UNDER SECRETARY: The Papers are in course of preparation for Parliament; but they are voluminous, and it is not expected that they can be laid on the Table for a fortnight. The House will have an opportunity of passing a judgment on the proposed Convention before any further step is taken. No agreement has yet been arrived at as to its terms.

PUBLIC HEALTH — INTERNATIONAL SANITARY CONFERENCE AT ROME.

MR. SUTHERLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to lay upon the Table of the House Papers relating to the proceedings of the International Sanitary Conference at Rome, including Reports by the British Representatives?

THE UNDER SECRETARY: Papers on the subject are in preparation, and will be laid before Parliament as soon as possible. We have not yet received all the Protocols of the Conference. The translations have not been commenced, and I do not see much hope of their being ready before the Recess.

EGYPT—THE INTERNATIONAL SANITARY COUNCIL—QUARANTINE.

MR. SUTHERLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government are aware that the International Sanitary Council of Egypt has, within the last few days, published an edict to the effect that all vessels bound through the Suez Canal from India (or from other so called "infected" countries) are to be required, before being allowed to enter the Canal, even though they may have no intention of communicating with Egypt, to undergo an elaborate process of disinfection by pumping sulphate of iron, or other acid, through the bilges of the ship, a process which would, in every case, lead to most serious delay, and also be highly detrimental to the structures of iron vessels and to cargoes, especially those of a valuable character, such, for example, as tea; if so, whether Her Majesty's Government will take the necessary steps to prevent the Government of Egypt interfering with the passage of British ships through the Suez Canal?

THE UNDER SECRETARY: I am obliged to the hon. Member for giving some days' Notice of this Question, which has enabled us to telegraph to Egypt on the subject; and it appears that a regulation of the tenour mentioned has been recently issued by the Egyptian Quarantine Board. But it does not appear certain, from the information in the possession of Her Majesty's Government, that vessels having no intention of communicating with Egypt fall under the new Order, though it does, apparently, include all vessels coming to Egypt from infected ports. Under these circumstances, a full Report has been called for as to the regulation in question. I may mention that the same regulation has for some time been in force for vessels having had cases of cholera (or suspected cases) on board during the voyage. I can assure the hon. Member that this country has never admitted that such restrictions on passage through the Canal of British vessels bound to British ports are legitimate; and if the hon. Member will be kind enough to put a further Question on a future day, I hope I shall be able to report a less unsatisfactory state of things.

TRADE AND COMMERCE — THE DEPRESSION OF TRADE—A ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is intended to advise Her Majesty to issue a Royal Commission to make inquiry with regard to depression of trade; and, if so, whether a Supplementary Estimate will be presented for the expenses of that Commission during the current year?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: An inquiry into the depression of trade has been resolved upon by the Government. I hope to be in a position to make a further statement upon the subject in a few days.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD gave Notice that on Monday he would ask whether the right hon. Baronet would lay on the Table of the House the text of the Royal Commission, including the names of those composing it?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I beg to say it will be quite impossible for me to answer the Question on Monday.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: Well, on an early day.

SALE OF FOOD AND DRUGS ACT—OLEOMARGARINE.

MR. DUCKHAM asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is aware that the refuse fat of animals formerly sent to the tallow chandler is now used in the manufacture of oleomargarine; that much of the fat so used is often in a very putrid state; that chemicals of a very deleterious nature are used to deodorise it; and, whether he will cause such a supervision of the manufactories in the United Kingdom as shall guard against so revolting a practice?

THE PRESIDENT: The Board have no information as to any such manufacture as that described in England. But if the hon. Gentleman can inform me where any such manufacture is carried on in England with putrid materials and chemicals of a deleterious nature, we shall be prepared to bring the matter under the attention of the Local Authority. Of course, if butterine is sold as butter, it is an offence under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, and in many instances convictions have been obtained in respect of that offence.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE AFGHAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION—DESPATCHES OF SIR PETER LUMSDEN.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether there would be any objection to lay upon the Table of the House all the Despatches and Telegrams in full sent by Sir P. Lumsden to the late Government?

MR. BOURKE (for Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): In reply to the hon. Member's Question, I have to state that in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government it would not be in the interest of the Public Service to lay Sir Peter Lumsden's Correspondence on the Table in the present stage of the negotiations with Russia.

EGYPTIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY—THE EGYPTIAN LOAN.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Egyptian General Assembly has been convened, as required by the Egyptian Constitution, to consider the proposed loan of nine millions which has already been submitted to the British and French Legislatures; and, whether the present Government will promise, as the late Government promised, that the Egyptian Law will be observed in this matter, and that the loan will not be illegally raised without due sanction of the Egyptian Assembly?

THE UNDER SECRETARY: The Egyptian General Assembly has not been convened; but Her Majesty's Government have no reason to believe that it is intended to omit any formality which may be necessary to insure the legality of the loan. They are not aware of any promise having been given by the late Government, such as is mentioned by the hon. Member. I suppose the hon. Member alludes to the statement made by the late Prime Minister on the 24th of March, in answer to a Question from himself, namely—

> "The business of the Khedive no doubt, if he thinks proper, is to take all the steps required by the law in force in Egypt to fulfil in a regular manner his part of the duties connected with this Convention. Application has been made to the Khedive upon the subject, and he has engaged to take all those steps. Therefore my hon. Friend need not feel any alarm as to what has been done so far as Egypt is concerned."—(3 *Hansard*, [296] 388.)

The question, therefore, stands now as it was left by the late Government.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, what he wished to know was whether any steps had been taken by the Khedive since the late Prime Minister made the statement referred to?

THE UNDER SECRETARY said, he had no addition to make to the statement of the late Prime Minister. The matter was in exactly the same position now as when that statement was made.

IRELAND—SPEECH OF LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.

MR. M'COAN asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether the following extract from a Report in *The Times*, of 21st December, 1883, of a speech delivered by him at Edinburgh on the previous day, is substantially accurate:—

> "I believe that the Tory Party is not prepared to give way an inch to the Irish Party in this matter [of further concessions]; it is resolved to stand firm; and I tell you truly and sincerely that on this question the Tory Party is entitled to your support. It is time, and high time, to pull up. Concede nothing more to Mr. Parnell, either on the land, or on the franchise, or on local self-government. We have gone in three short years too far, and we have gone too fast; the hill is very steep, the drag has not been sufficiently weighted, and, unless we take a long pull and a strong pull, the horses will get away from us, and there will be a terrible smash. Develop, if you like, in any way you may, the material resources of Ireland. Advance public money on the easiest terms for railways, tramways, canals, roads, labourers' dwellings, fisheries, and objects of that kind. We owe the Irish a great deal for

our bad government of them in the past, and, if we are not stingy, there are few injuries, however deep, which money will not cure. But do not, as you value your life as an empire, swallow one morsel more of heroic legislation; and, by giving a continuous support to the Tory Party, let the Irish know that, although they cry day and night, though they vex you with much wickedness, and harass you with much disorder, though they incessantly divert your attention from your own affairs, though they cause you all manner of trial and trouble, that there is one thing you will detect at once, in whatever form or guise it may be presented to you, there is one thing you will never listen to, there is one thing you will never yield to, and that is, their demand for an Irish Parliament; and that, to their yells for the repeal of the Union, you answer an unchanging, an unchangeable, and a unanimous 'No;'"

and, if so, whether he still adheres to these views of Irish policy, and, as a Minister of the Crown, will continue to give them his support?

THE SECRETARY: The speech to which the hon. Member alludes was made nearly two years ago. Of course, the hon. Member will understand that I cannot be perfectly certain as to the absolute accuracy of the report of a speech made nearly two years ago; but I have every reason to believe that it is accurate. I hope the hon. Member will not think me wanting in courtesy towards him if I express the opinion that I should be altogether misusing the time of the House which is allotted to the asking of Questions, and abusing the privilege and the latitude which is given to Ministers by the House in answering Questions, if I were to enter into any controversy with him as to any speeches which I may have made some time ago. But if the hon. Member thinks, in the exercise of his discretion, that it would be either to the public advantage or to his own personal satisfaction or relief to pursue any controversy further about speeches which I have made, then I would invite him to take advantage of the numerous opportunities which the proceedings of this House must undoubtedly afford him to raise the matter in debate, and I can assure him that I will meet him with the utmost frankness and candour. I neither withdraw nor apologize for anything that I have said at any time, believing, as I do, that anything which I may have said at any time was perfectly justified by the special circumstances of that time, and by the amount of information which I may have had in my possession.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—MISS KIERAN, TENANT OF THE EARL OF HOWTH.

MR. SHEIL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that Miss Kieran, of Leggah, county Meath, a tenant of Lord Howth, has been served with a writ for £560, being the amount of a year's rent, although only one half-year's rent was due on May the 1st, exclusive of the hanging gale; that the half-year's rent was tendered to Lord Howth's solicitor before the end of May; that he refused to take it, and went on with the writ for the full year's rent, although the second half is not collected in the ordinary course until November next; whether he is aware that, on the 25th of this month, a man named Mathews, who acts as bailiff to the sub-sheriff, seized Miss Kieran's effects, and, when half drunk, forced his way into that lady's room, grossly insulted her, and refused to leave; and, whether, in these circumstances of exceptional severity, he will endeavour to afford Miss Kieran redress, and protection against improper conduct of the sheriff's officer?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: I have no information as to the matters between Lord Howth and his late tenant which are referred to in this Question. I am informed that the conduct of the bailiff was very bad; but I am advised that the proper means of redress open to Miss Kieran is to bring a charge in the usual way before a magistrate, or by civil action. The police will afford Miss Kieran protection against any violence on the part of the sheriff's officer.

SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has received from Sir Charles Warren, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner in Bechuanaland, any detailed information concerning the cession of land which the great Chief Khame has made to His Excellency in Northern Bechuanaland, for purposes of English settlement; and, if so, will he inform the House of the nature and extent of the territory thus ceded?

THE SECRETARY: Yes; information has been received by telegram from

Sir Charles Warren, and forwarded by Sir Hercules Robinson on May 27, to the effect that an offer of territory has been made by the Chief Khame. This Chief states that his territory is bounded on the north by the River Zambesi; east by Gwaikei, Mahobi, and Tolwey (? Talo) River, which runs into the Limpopo, 29deg. 40min. E.; west, by Mobabi, Tamalulsea River, and Nalcheri, a district comprising over 100,000 square miles. He proposes to retain for tribal use territory round Shoshong comprising about 2,000 square miles, and offers the rest to England for English settlers, who are, with his own people, to defend the country from filibusters. He objects to his territory being cut in two by latitude 22deg., which is the Northern boundary of the Protectorate, and wishes it taken right up to the Zambesi (say, latitude 18deg.) I am forced to say that these boundaries are not undisputed. They would, in my opinion, require very careful examination before they could be accepted as a basis for any negotiation, should such take place; and as a matter of caution I must not admit, as implied in my right hon. Friend's Question, that the territory above referred to has been actually "ceded," though the offer has thus been intimated. Sir Charles Warren describes the country as "magnificent for cattle farming and agriculture." It is about 600 to 800 miles from Kimberley, the nearest market at present. This information comes by telegram, and I await further details.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—SALARIES OF NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

Mr. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government will grant a Supplementary Estimate, in addition to the class salaries of the Irish National School Teachers, pending legislation?

The CHIEF SECRETARY: This is a very serious Question, and requires careful consideration. I am not in a position to give any undertaking in respect to it. I should, perhaps, observe that the Roman Catholic Bishops in their letter, which is now before the House, point to increased payment in the shape of results fees as the proper method of augmenting the teachers' salaries.

The Secretary

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (IRELAND)—ASSISTANT REVISING BARRISTERS.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Can he state how many assistant revising barristers are to be appointed this year in Ireland; at what rate they will be paid; who they are; who will decide the county or province they will act in; and, will any opportunity be given of discussing the political complexion of the appointments, on a Supplementary Estimate this Session, or otherwise?

The CHIEF SECRETARY: The question of appointing Assistant Revising Barristers is at present engaging the attention of the Government, and inquiries have been set on foot with the view of ascertaining what number will be required. It is expected that this information will be to hand in about a week. The Treasury have fixed the remuneration at five guineas a-day, with actual travelling expenses and the usual subsistence allowance for each night's absence from home; but I believe they propose to limit the number of days for which the Assistant Barristers shall be employed.

Mr. HEALY asked whether there would be a Supplementary Estimate, and an opportunity for discussing the matter?

The CHIEF SECRETARY: Yes.

EGYPT—M. OLIVIER PAIN.

Mr. O'KELLY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that Captain G. F. Wilson, R.E., offered a reward of fifty pounds to whoever would capture M. Olivier Pain "dead or alive, or would present his papers;" and, if so, what was the date of this proclamation; whether the proclamation was withdrawn, and what was the date of the withdrawal; whether Her Majesty's Government have taken any steps with regard to Captain Wilson's conduct; and, if not, whether it is intended to take any action against that officer; and, whether it is true that General Wolseley has announced the death of M. Olivier Pain?

The SECRETARY: In consequence of the Question of the hon. Member for Athlone (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy) on the subject, inquiries were made by Sir Evelyn Baring as to the authenticity of the alleged Proclamation. Sir Redvers Buller, who was at the time in command on the Nile, was unable to trace that any such Proclamation had been issued; and I may add that there never was a Commandant at Sarras, where it is alleged the Proclamation was issued, who had any power or authority to issue such a Proclamation. With reference to the announcement of the death of Olivier Pain, Lord Wolseley telegraphed, on the 27th of June, that Luigi Bonomi, a priest who escaped from Kordofan, received in November last from Lupton Bey a letter stating that Pain was dead. On the other hand, one Ghalli, a merchant from Khartoum, alleged that when he recently left the town Pain was there.

CYPRUS—REPORT OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, When the Report of the High Commissioner of Cyprus, in continuation of C. 4188, which was up to March 1884, will be presented to Parliament?

THE SECRETARY, in reply, said, that the Paper referred to had not arrived; but he hoped it would be shortly before him.

EGYPT—SLAVERY.

MR. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been drawn to a pamphlet entitled "Scandals in Cairo in connection with Slavery," recently published under the auspices of the British and Foreign Slavery Society, to whom the documents, in proof of the statements made, have been submitted, which affirms the present complicity of the Khedive and several high Egyptian officials in the maintenance of the slave trade; and, whether the Foreign Office will direct an investigation into the grave charges so made against the officials concerned?

THE UNDER SECRETARY, in reply, said, that no such pamphlet as that referred to by the hon. Member had reached the Foreign Office.

MR. M'COAN said, he would be happy to send the right hon. Gentleman a copy of it, and perhaps he would answer the Question on Monday. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

POST OFFICE—NORTH AMERICAN POSTAL SERVICE.

MR. GILES asked the Postmaster General, When the Select Committee on the Great Britain and North American Postal Service will commence its sittings?

THE POSTMASTER, in reply, said, he was not able at present to give any information on the subject.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that this Committee was moved for by his right hon. Friend the Member for Montrose, who was appointed Chairman. His right hon. Friend had informed him that he would not be able to act as Chairman. Looking to the period of the year, he thought it would be better to postpone the Committee to another Session.

IRELAND—LOANS TO LANDLORDS (RAYMUNTERDONEY, CO. DONEGAL).

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the cause of the delay in furnishing the Return ordered by the House three months ago of loans to landholders in the parish of Raymunterdoney, county Donegal?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: This is a Treasury matter; but the records of the House show that this Return was duly presented on the 9th of last month.

PAUPER LUNATICS—TRANSFERENCE FROM ASYLUMS TO WORKHOUSES.

MR. BRINTON asked the President of the Local Government Board the following questions with reference to the circular of January 22nd last, addressed by that Board to Boards of Guardians, proposing they should undertake to receive a certain class of pauper lunatics from asylums into workhouses on suitable conditions; as to the number of replies of a favourable character received from Boards of Guardians on this subject; and, how many Boards of Guardians have stated that they consider it absolutely undesirable to have such cases transferred to workhouses?

THE PRESIDENT: Sir, we have communicated with the Guardians of several

Unions respecting cases of pauper lunatics in county lunatic asylums, who, as we were informed by the Commissioners in Lunacy, might, in the opinion of the medical superintendent of the asylum, be adequately and more economically provided for in the workhouse. The result of these communications is that, as regards 84 Unions, the answers have been that the Guardians were willing to receive the patients if they were returned to the workhouse. From 258 Unions we have received replies to the effect that the Guardians for various reasons were not prepared to receive the patients. In some cases the reason assigned was that the patients had been returned as dangerous since the report was made by the medical superintendent; in others, that the workhouse accommodation would not admit of their reception without much inconvenience; and in others, that if the patients were returned the Guardians would have to incur the expense of an additional officer. There were also 37 Unions in which the Guardians were favourable to receiving some of the numbers, but not others.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—PHILIP DOYLE, POOR RATE COLLECTOR, TINAHELY PETTY SESSIONS.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will inquire into the case of poor rate collector Philip Doyle, against Richard Fenton, receiver under the Court of Chancery over the estate of Mrs. Courtney, heard at Tinahely Petty Sessions on the 1st instant; whether it is true that the presiding magistrate was induced by Dr. Toomey, the solicitor acting for Mrs. Courtney, to dismiss the case, on the grounds that the agent, Mr. Fenton, was not liable, and could not be sued for rates; whether Dr. Toomey, who acted for Mrs. Courtney, also acts as solicitor to the Board of Guardians; whether the Board were specially represented by a solicitor on that occasion; and, if not, why; and, whether the magistrate was justified in the action he took under the circumstances?

The CHIEF SECRETARY: This and the two following Questions refer to alleged matters of fact, some of which appear to be beyond the province of the Government; but as to others, I shall probably be able to afford the hon. Member the information he desires if he will be good enough to allow me opportunity of making inquiry. As the Questions are on the Paper without Notice, I have not as yet been able to obtain information.

Mr. W. J. CORBET gave Notice that he would ask the Questions on Monday.

NAVY—THE EVOLUTIONARY SQUADRON.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he intends to lay upon the Table any Reports relative to the operations in Bantry Bay, carried on by the experimental squadron?

The FIRST LORD: The Reports will not be for some time yet in our hands. I cannot give a promise as to any Papers I have not seen; but the purpose of the Admiralty is to give such Reports as may be interesting to the House, and not injurious to the Public Service.

EGYPT—THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK'S REPORTS.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor) (for Mr. Onslow) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If there is a Copy of the original Report of Lord Northbrook on Egyptian affairs at present in the Foreign Office; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government would consent to lay this upon the Table of the House *in extenso?*

The UNDER SECRETARY: Lord Northbrook's administrative and financial Reports were confidential documents prepared for the use of the late Government, who presented to Parliament such portions of them as they considered desirable. These portions are given in "Egypt No. 4" and in "Egypt No. 15" of this year. A copy of these Reports *in extenso* exists in the Foreign Office; but Her Majesty's Government have no intention of laying them on the Table. Her Majesty's present Government have no knowledge whether any political Report was made by Lord Northbrook to the late Government.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS) BILL.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government would be prepared to accept Amendments on the Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Bill, with a view of placing the expenses of Returning Officers on the Consolidated Fund or on the Rates; and, whether, if he be unable to accept such Amendments, he will allow them to be discussed by the House and decided on their merits, or whether, in the event of the House accepting such Amendments, he will withdraw the Bill?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: We neither could accept such Amendments as are suggested in the Question, nor proceed with the Bill if they were adopted by the House. The Bill deals with a very small matter, and I think the hon. Member and others might be disposed to waive the question in order to allow the Bill to become law this Session.

LAW AND JUSTICE—MRS. JEFFRIES'S CASE.

MR. W. FOWLER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the statements which have appeared in the public press, and particularly in *The Sentinel* for June 1885, with reference to the recent trial of Mrs. Jeffries at the Middlesex Sessions; whether it is true, as stated in that newspaper, that the judge, together with the counsel for the prosecution and defence, had a private interview before the prisoner was called upon to plead; whether, at the conclusion of that interview, the prisoner, by the direction of her counsel, pleaded guilty, and thereupon was sentenced to a nominal punishment of a fine of £200; and, whether the prisoner's counsel was informed at this private interview that, in the event of his client pleading guilty, the sentence would be one of a fine and not of imprisonment?

THE SECRETARY: I can only state that the facts as given in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Question are correct; but the Judge who tried the case is at the present moment abroad on a holiday. I cannot, therefore, give any information having regard to paragraph No. 3.

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

In reply to Lord HENRY LENNOX,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that he understood there was only one more Vote, and the Report would not be taken after half-past 12.

STREET TRAFFIC (METROPOLIS)—THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE"—OBJECTIONABLE ARTICLES — REVELATIONS OF GROSS IMMORALITIES.

MR. ALBERT GREY: I wish to ask the Home Secretary, Whether he has been informed that the street and footpaths leading to the offices of *The Pall Mall Gazette* are blocked in such a way as to prevent free and safe access to those offices; and, whether he will make arrangements to secure the dispersion of the crowd, so that safe and adequate access thereto may be obtained?

THE SECRETARY: I have had no information until I came to the House a few minutes ago that any such thing has taken place. The police, however, have the ordinary instructions to keep the streets clear, and they are bound to protect life and property and secure order and a free passage through the streets in this as in every other case.

MR. ALBERT GREY: Will the right hon. Gentleman order a sufficient number of police to go to Northumberland Street to insure that there should be a free passage, and to prevent any danger to life and property?

[No reply.]

NAVY—THE PAY OF HOBART PASHA.

In reply to Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL,

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) said, that there was no probability of the introduction of a Supplementary Estimate to provide for the pay of Admiral Hobart-Hampden. He thought that such a small sum could be obtained out of the Supplies already granted.

RAILWAYS (ENGLAND AND WALES) —THE ACCIDENT ON THE FURNESS RAILWAY.

MR. T. C. THOMPSON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to an accident last Saturday on the Furness Railway, near Dalton, by which three boys were killed; and, whether proper protection is provided there to guard against danger?

THE SECRETARY: The Railway Company have reported the accident in question, and the Board of Trade have appointed one of the inspecting officers to hold an inquiry into the circumstances of the case. A copy of his Report can be presented if the hon. Member will be good enough to move for it.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—RESIDENT MAGISTRATES.

Mr. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If any rule or order at present exists against a resident magistrate holding in Ireland the position of land agent; and, if not, whether the Irish Government will consider the advisability of issuing such an order for the future guidance of persons acting as stipendiary magistrates?

The CHIEF SECRETARY: There is no rule on this subject. I am not aware that any Resident Magistrate acts as a land agent; and I apprehend that it is very generally understood that no such arrangement would be permitted by the Government.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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WAYS AND MEANS.—COMMITTEE.

Ways and Means — *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), in rising for the purpose of making a Financial Statement, and of moving a Resolution for raising a sum of money by an issue of Exchequer Bills or Treasury Bills, said: Sir Arthur Otway, it is not my intention to weary the Committee on this occasion with anything approaching to an exhaustive Financial Statement. That duty has been already performed by the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers); and anything I could say would merely be a repetition of the facts and figures which he very lucidly and fully placed before the Committee on the 30th of April last. Nor, Sir, have I the least intention of making to the Committee any proposals of a novel or startling character, although I am afraid that by not doing so I shall fail to meet some very sanguine expectations that appear to be entertained by many of my correspondents in the country. But I take it that, under the most favourable circumstances, it would be a very difficult, if not an impossible, thing for a Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a few days, to frame a novel Budget in the first week of July; and that difficulty certainly is not lessened by the fact that I and my Colleagues, although we are called upon to provide for a very high expenditure, and an exceptional deficit, are ourselves in no way responsible either for that expenditure or that deficit. Sir, my duty to-day is a very humble one. It is merely to do the best I can to meet, during the present year, the legacy that has been bequeathed to us by our Predecessors. I hope I may, to some extent at any rate, receive the assent of the Committee to this proposition—that neither the time which it has been possible for me to devote to the consideration of this important subject, nor the circumstances in which we are now placed, would justify me in asking the Committee to accept any ambitious financial measure. It is not necessary for me to recall to the Committee the main features of the original Budget of the present year. But I may venture to remind them that on April 30 the late Chancellor of the Exchequer announced a deficit of about £2,800,000, including about £200,000 for Supplementary Estimates. That was after providing about £7,500,000 in increased taxation, and £4,670,000 by appropriating the Sinking Fund of such Terminable Annuities as were capable of being so dealt with; and he proposed that this, together with the deficit of £1,050,000 from the previous year, should be made good to such extent as might be necessary out of the Sinking Fund of the Terminable Annuities of 1886-7. Since that time the House has practically rejected, as the Committee are aware, the proposed increase of the Beer and Spirit Duties, the first Estimate of which amounted to £1,650,000, and the increased Succession Duty, estimated for the year at £200,000. The Revenue, therefore, as originally estimated by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, is decreased by £1,850,000; while, on the other hand, the right hon. Gentleman, on the 5th of June, gave to the House a calculation that £2,000,000 of the Vote of Credit of £11,000,000 would not be required, thus leaving a deficit of £2,650,000, instead of the deficit of £2,800,000 estimated by the right hon. Gentleman on April 30. On succeeding to Office, my first care was to make inquiry both as to the prospects of the Revenue and of the Expenditure, especially and primarily, I may say, of the Vote of Credit. I will refer to that matter hereafter. As to the prospects of the Revenue, I think they are very much what was stated by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Committee on the 30th of April last. Of course, I am not speaking of increased taxation. I do not think there is reason to expect any material variation in the receipts from Customs and Excise, taken together, from the Estimates which were stated by the right hon. Gentleman in April last. On the one hand, the Inland Revenue authorities state to me that they anticipate a diminution in the receipts from British spirits of about £150,000, owing to the disturbance in the trade, and also a small decrease of, I think, £40,000 on Railway Duty, owing to concessions made by the Board of Trade respecting urban traffic since their Estimate was framed. On the other hand, the Customs Estimate appears to me to have been very cautiously made; and, looking to the present favourable prospects of a good harvest, I think there is every reasonable ground for the anticipation that some increase here may be likely to make up for any loss on Excise. I therefore think we may fairly put one against the other. The Estimates of the other items of Revenue do not call for any special remark; and, of course, our first duty with regard to them has been to consider whether, in the circumstances I have stated, we should proceed with those proposals of the right hon. Gentleman, which still remained unaffected by the Vote of the House of Commons on the 8th of June. I may say, at once, that we have decided to proceed with those proposals; and if the Committee should accept the Resolution it will be my duty to propose as to Exchequer Bills or Treasury Bills, I intend afterwards to ask that such Resolutions as have already been adopted by the House should be read by the Clerk at the Table in order that I may found on them a Motion for leave to bring in a Bill embodying them. The Committee will see that, as the result of this, there would be levied, if Parliament sanctions this proposal, during the year, the following additional taxation proposed by the right hon. Gentleman:—2*d.* additional on the Income Tax, making 8*d.* in all; the Duty on corporate property; and the Stamp Duty on bonds and foreign securities payable to bearer. The right hon. Gentleman estimated to receive from all these sources £3,600,000. The proposed increase in the Succession Duty, which the right hon. Gentleman estimated at £200,000, and the increase of the Duty on spirits and beer, which, according to the last Estimate of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would have produced £1,350,000, the Committee will remember have been practically rejected by the House of Commons. Now, Sir, I have considered very carefully whether it would be possible for me to propose any additional indirect taxation in the place of the £1,350,000 which has been lost to the Revenue by the rejection of these proposals. Such a proposition would, no doubt, be in complete accordance with the principle laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), when he said that the whole of the additional taxation which we have to raise on occasions when war, or active preparationsfor war, on a large scale come upon us, ought not to fall upon property; a declaration in which, as the Committee may possibly remember, I expressed at the time my entire concurrence. But, Sir, I hope the Committee may do me the honour also to remember that at the same time I expressed my very strongest sense of the extreme difficulty which the right hon. Gentleman, or any Chancellor of the Exchequer, must necessarily experience in times like the present in giving effect to this principle, owing to the very small number of articles still remaining on the list of our Customs Tariff. When times were more prosperous, of course the mere elasticity and ordinary growth of our receipts from Customs and Excise, in spite of the removal, one after another, of articles from the list, and the diminution in the amount of taxation levied on each, so kept up the Revenue that such a comparatively trifling addition to indirect taxation as £1,350,000 would have easily, so to speak, been provided to the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day without any special increase of particular taxes. But the Committee are aware that the times in which we live are, unfortunately, very different. In such times as these it is, I fear, too true that, for the purposes of Revenue, we have arrived at the limits of increased taxation on the most important taxed articles of consumption, except, perhaps, one article only—namely, tea. If hon. Members opposite ask me whether I am going to propose an increased duty on tea, I have not the slightest difficulty in referring them to my speech on that subject in the debate upon the Budget. They will there find, if they will do me the honour to refer to it, that, after presenting fully to the House, to the best of my ability, what seemed to me to be the financial and economical reasons in favour of an increase of duty on tea, I intentionally and, as I think, completely demolished my own argument by a practical conclusion conveyed in a single sentence—namely, by stating my belief that such an additional duty would be so unpopular that Her Majesty's late Government could not propose it. Well, Sir, I can hardly see how the Committee can expect me to attempt what I admitted that a Minister so powerful and so popular as the right hon. Gentleman opposite, with all his power and support in the country, could not successfully carry through the House of Commons. Sir, I should like to ask the Committee how it was that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), when searching for the means of obtaining some increased yield from indirect taxation, adopted a proposal so financially unsound as his scheme to increase the duties on beer and spirits? How was it that, with all his financial ability and experience, he tried to raise the rate of duty on articles the revenue from which is notoriously decreasing, for the sake of obtaining for the Exchequer an increased yield so small as to be utterly out of proportion to the percentage by which the tax was increased—and, more than that, I may say a yield which the Inland Revenue authorities now assure me would probably not have approached even the low estimate he had formed of it? Why, it was because even he, with all the time he had to consider this question, could find no other means of obtaining even the small amount he required. I am forced to believe that he would not have made such a proposal as to increase the duties on beer and spirits, if he had not been practically driven to it as the sole way of obtaining an increase from articles already subject to indirect taxation. I think I might plead this fact alone as sufficient proof of the extreme difficulty of carrying into effect the very proper and wholesome principles as to the relation between direct and indirect taxation which were propounded by the right hon. Gentleman in introducing his Budget. I confess, Sir, I do not myself believe that that principle can in times like these be carried into effect without the addition of some one or more articles to our Customs Tariff. Well, Sir, of course I have not omitted to examine very carefully more than one proposal for this purpose; and like other Chancellors of the Exchequer, I presume, I have been flooded with all sorts of proposals from all parts of the country, and nothing, I may say, can exceed the hostility of my correspondents to bicycles and tricycles. Such a problem is no easy matter to solve. It is not to be settled offhand, though there are many amateur financiers in the country who seem to think there is nothing simpler than to propose new subjects for indirect taxation. But I do not think the Committee of this House will be of that opinion; at any rate, I hope they will admit that I am not unreasonable in saying that I have not been able, in the short time that I have had at my command, even to satisfy myself as to the advisability of proposing taxes on any fresh article of consumption, and very much less have I been able to satisfy myself that I could make any such proposal with a reasonable expectation of securing for it the consent of the House of Commons. This I will venture to say—that I am very strongly of opinion that unless I entertained such a reasonable hope, it would be almost criminal on my part, or on the part of any Chancellor of the Exchequer, to make such a proposal at all. I am sure the trade and manufactures of this country have difficulties enough of their own to struggle with at the present time. We have no right to add to these difficulties by any further prolongation of the uncertainty, already unduly prolonged, as to the incidence of taxation for the current year. Even looking at it from a Revenue point of view, I may say that any disturbance of the general business of the country which would be caused by the prolongation of that uncertainty would be so injurious as to far more than counterbalance anything we should be likely to gain from an increase in indirect taxation, even if such a proposal were adopted—certainly for the nine months which are all that now remain of the present financial year. Therefore, Sir, I have not thought it consistent with my duty to make any proposal to the Committee for an increase in indirect taxation; and I hope that under the circumstances in which we are placed, although I am quite aware of the criticisms I am likely to receive, such a position may not be without some chance of securing the sympathy and support of a Committee of this House. Sir, I will frankly own to the Committee that in these circumstances, not being able, as I have stated, to propose any increase in indirect taxation, and finding myself, according to the latest Estimates of Expenditure stated by my Predecessor, with practically no greater deficit, in spite of the rejection of the increased taxation on beer and spirits proposed by him, than he had estimated for in his original Budget, I was strongly tempted to propose to the Committee such a reduction in the burdens of the payers of direct taxation as might in some measure correspond to the amount of relief given to the payers of indirect taxation by the vote of the House. But, Sir, there are two circumstances on this point which have weighed with me, and which I will state to the Committee. In the first place, though it is, no doubt, the fact that in the Budget, as it now stands, after the rejection of the proposed increase on spirits and beer, the Income Tax payer bears nearly the whole increased taxation, yet this does not entirely represent his position. I do not think his total burden this year—supposing the Income Tax to be placed at 8*d.*—relatively to the total amounts received by the Revenue from Customs and Excise, is greater than it certainly has been in some previous years. The Income Tax stands this year at 8*d.*; the Revenue from Customs is estimated at £20,000,000, and from Excise—excluding stamps, railway duty, and licences, which can hardly be called indirect taxation—the Revenue is estimated to amount to £22,400,000, making £42,400,000 in all. Therefore, we have an 8*d.* Income Tax on the one side, and £42,400,000 from Customs and Excise on the other. No doubt, if we only look to recent years, during which we have become accustomed to a low Income Tax, the rate this year may seem disproportionately high; but, if we look further back, the case bears a different aspect. Thus, in 1859-60, when the Income Tax was at 9*d.*, the payments into the Exchequer from Customs and Excise, calculated on the same basis as I have taken for the current year, were only £42,765,000. In 1860-1, with a 10*d.* Income Tax, they were £42,529,000; and in 1861-2 they were £39,766,000, with a 9*d.* Income Tax. I am not arguing that the Income Tax payers in those years may not have had cause for complaint; much less do I express to the Committee an opinion that an attempt should not be made, at the earliest possible opportunity, to reduce the 8*d.* Income Tax to what may be called a more normal limit; but I merely quote these figures to show that the present state of things is not entirely without precedent. It was, I dare say, to a great extent justified in the years to which I have alluded, as I am afraid I must justify it now, by the simple but very cogent argument that we cannot do without the money. I have now, Sir, to state to the Committee a fact which I am sure the Committee will hear with considerable regret—namely, that the expenditure in respect of the Vote of Credit of £11,000,000 can no longer be limited within the £9,000,000 stated on the 5th of June by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman, as the Committee will recollect, made on the 5th of June the following statement on this subject. He said:—

> "I am able to say this—that if the state of affairs which lead Her Majesty's Government to ask for the Vote of Credit should present an aspect which would justify a cessation of further preparations, we anticipate that about £9,000,000 out of the total Vote of Credit of £11,000,000 will have been spent or incurred."—(3 *Hansard*, [298] 1337.)

Now, the very first day after I had the honour of entering upon Office, I made it my duty to inquire into this matter. I found that the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman had been based, of course, as it must have been based, on Estimates of money spent and liabilities actually incurred furnished to the late

Government by the two spending Departments—the War Office and Admiralty. On assuming Office, I lost not a day in inquiring into this matter. I was told at first that there was no reason to anticipate an excess over the £9,000,000; but when I prosecuted my inquiry further, I am sorry to say that I came to a very different conclusion. I wish to state the matter with extreme frankness to the Committee, because I think it is only right that I should do so. In the Estimates furnished to the late Government of £9,000,000, a sum of £6,200,000 was given by the War Office, and one of £2,800,000 by the Admiralty. Of the sum estimated by the War Office, a certain portion was due to the provision which had been authorized for the defence of our principal coaling stations and commercial harbours, an item for which, in spite of its great importance, and in spite of the pledges given by Parliament last December by the First Lord (the Earl of Northbrook) and the Secretary to the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey), no provision had been made in the Army Estimates. Well, Sir, so far as I am able to learn, the War Office Estimate of £6,200,000, even after making an allowance for the prolongation of the state of uncertainty, and the additional expenditure that has resulted from it, is not likely to be materially exceeded. Of course, there may be an excess in some matters; but there will probably be a saving in others, unless the present condition of emergency should be very considerably prolonged. I do not, therefore, estimate for any additional expenditure in that quarter. But I am sorry to say that the case is very different with regard to the Admiralty. The Committee will remember that I have stated £2,800,000 was estimated by the Admiralty on the 5th of June as covering their probable expenditure and liabilities up to that time. I fear this will be exceeded by no less than £850,000, including liabilities to the extent of £500,000, which, as far as my inquiries enable me to ascertain, were absolutely incurred at that date. I feel it my duty to place before the Committee the reasons for this, so far as I have been able to ascertain them. Out of the Estimate of £2,800,000, £1,000,000 was allowed for transports, besides a further sum for vessels taken up for ocean cruisers. Subsequently about £80,000 was added to this before the defeat of the late Government, owing, no doubt, to the continuation of the unsettled state of foreign affairs. Since then, of course, further expenses have been incurred, due to the same cause; and for this no one can be blamed. But the grave fact which I have to bring before the Committee is that we have now discovered that the Estimate of £2,800,000 presented to the late Government at the time I have stated by the Admiralty, did not include all the liabilities that had been then incurred. So far as I have yet ascertained, the error was no less than £500,000. Now, Sir, I hope it will not be supposed that I blame the late Government collectively for this. One right hon. Gentleman, in particular, did his best to prevent it. In spite of the many and urgent affairs that must have distracted his attention at that moment, the late Prime Minister found time to put his finger on this very blot, and to represent to the Admiralty the urgent necessity for checking an expenditure which I must say, so far as I have yet been able to investigate the circumstances, appears to me to have been incurred with an absence of method and supervision, to say the least, which is far from creditable to such a Department as the Admiralty. I cannot at present say who is to blame; but Her Majesty's Government will devote their most earnest and careful attention to the matter. The result of our investigation so far is this—that although the Admiralty gave the late Government an Estimate of £2,800,000 at a certain date, yet they had, at that time, actually exceeded that Estimate by £500,000. I am sorry to say that this is not all. There is another very important matter. I said the Admiralty had exceeded their Estimate of £2,800,000 by no less than £850,000. That is not all due to the increased cost of transport. It is also due to the fact that—although, I think, quite rightly—provision was made in this £2,800,000 for building or purchasing 40 torpedo boats, the Admiralty actually omitted from that Estimate any provision whatever for furnishing those boats with torpedo gear, without which they would be absolutely useless. And now we are called upon to include in the Estimate of further expenditure to the extent of £850,000, a sum of £127,000 which it is absolutely necessary to add for torpedo gear. I do not mean to say that for all the increased expenditure of £850,000 the Admiralty can be blamed. That, of course, is not so; because the Committee will be aware that, owing to the prolongation of the uncertain state of foreign affairs, a necessarily increased cost has been incurred in keeping up transports, and for that the Department, of course, is not to be blamed. But taking the whole matter into view the result is that, owing partly to the continued uncertainty in foreign affairs, but mainly to the facts I have stated, I cannot, I am afraid, estimate that less than £850,000 will have to be added to the £9,000,000 stated by my Predecessor the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), on June 5th, as the probable expenditure out of the Vote of Credit. I am afraid, Sir, that, under these circumstances, the Income Tax payer must bear as easily as he can the 8*d*. Income Tax originally proposed by the late Government; and the only question that remains is how the deficit is to be provided for. Now, the right hon. Gentleman opposite proposed to make it good to such extent as might be necessary out of the Sinking Fund of 1886-7, and took powers in the National Debt Bill for that purpose. Sir, I am not disposed to ask Parliament to adopt that course. I do not know that anyone has objected to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman to suspend the Sinking Fund of these Terminable Annuities for the current year. That seems to me perfectly justifiable. I do not consider our Sinking Fund too large in times of prosperity and peace. I think it is quite right and proper that then we should do what we can to pay off in this way our National Debt. But when, in times like these, you have to make war, or make active preparations for war, on a considerable scale, to quote the words of the right hon. Gentleman, I think the Committee will be of opinion that it is not only justifiable, but right, to pause in that repayment of Debt. I propose to carry this principle in the current year rather further than my Predecessor had intended. He proposed to apply to the service of the year that part of certain Terminable Annuities which represents the principal to be repaid. That amounts, as the Committee will remember, to the sum of £4,672,000 during the current year. We propose to carry that principle a little further, and to apply it also to the New Sinking Fund. The right hon. Gentleman left intact the New Sinking Fund, which consists of the difference between the actual charge of the Debt and the fixed sum of somewhat more than £28,000,000 attributable to the service of the Debt. The New Sinking Fund for the present year was estimated at £622,000; but I have to anticipate a charge for interest on the Exchequer or Treasury Bills, which I ask to-night the assent of the Committee to raise, and which, perhaps, may diminish it by some £36,000. I propose in the National Debt Bill to take power to appropriate the New Sinking Fund also to the service of the year. The deficit will then amount to £2,827,000, to which must be added the deficit of last year of £1,050,000, leaving an accumulated deficit in prospect of £3,877,000, supposing the expenditure on the Vote of Credit to be taken at £9,850,000, and supposing also that Parliament agrees to suspend the New Sinking Fund for the current year, as I have suggested. I have said that I do not propose to proceed with that part of the National Debt Bill which empowers the Chancellor of the Exchequer to appropriate the Sinking Fund of the year 1886-7. I confess that I do not think that we should now legislate for the Sinking Fund of next year. I think this is a matter which may properly be left to the new Parliament to deal with. I propose to ask the Committee to enable me to meet the deficit temporarily, as I have stated, by empowering me to issue Exchequer or Treasury Bills to the amount of not more than £4,000,000. I have placed in your hands, Sir Arthur Otway, a Resolution to that effect, and, of course, it will be necessary to make it the subject of a separate Bill. I should like, Sir, to add another statement on this matter. It is this. I ascertained that, owing to the fact that the repayments of loans to the Exchequer are, at the moment, in excess of the issues for loans from the Exchequer, the Exchequer balances on the 31st of March next are likely to be in a favourable position, and, of course, that has an important bearing on the proposals for the issue of Exchequer Bills. I do not think there is anything further with which I should occupy the attention of the Committee.

There is nothing, as the Committee will have seen, of originality or novelty in the proposals I have made. I make them, not by any means as entirely satisfactory in themselves, not as proposals of the kind which I should hope, if I have the honour next year to occupy my present Office, to lay before the Committee, but as the best, as far as I can see, that can be made for dealing with the circumstances that are at present before us. They appear to me to meet the exigencies of our present situation with the least possible disturbance to the trade of the country and with due regard to the liberties of the future House of Commons.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise any Sum not exceeding Four Million Pounds by an issue of Exchequer Bills or Treasury Bills."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. CHILDERS: I think it is a good rule, which has always been observed on occasions like the present, that we should not, at this moment, enter upon any controversial criticism of the financial proposals which have been developed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but that we should reserve our criticism until those proposals are embodied in a Bill which is brought to a second reading. I, therefore, will only make two remarks now on the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I shall then proceed to ask him a few questions, reserving for another opportunity, when I shall have had time to consider his proposals, any further observations which it may be necessary to make upon them. The two remarks which I wish to make in reference to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman are these. In the first place, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he was not responsible for the deficit with which he had to deal. He is not responsible for the whole of it, but he is responsible for greatly increasing our deficit by moving a Resolution and adopting a policy which deprives him of a large amount of Ways and Means; so that his responsibility, if it is not complete for the whole deficit, clearly extends to a large amount of it. The other statement of the right hon. Gentleman to which I wish to address a word is this. He said that we had reached the limits of taxation on all taxed articles of consumption.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: On all important articles of consumption.

MR. CHILDERS: All important articles, except tea. That is a proposition on which, on a future occasion, I should like to address some remarks; but the right hon. Gentleman went on to justify that statement as to tea. He repeated his former argument that an increased duty on tea would be so unpopular that we did not dare to bring it forward, because we were so dependent on Radical teetotallers. Yes, Sir; but he did not say that that consideration influenced him, I think I am bound to say that I by no means admit the general proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that there were no articles of consumption upon which the duty might be increased. That is not my opinion, and it is not the opinion on which we framed the Budget. I am quite prepared, at the proper time, to discuss this question with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. So much for the two statements of the right hon. Gentleman on which I feel it my duty to offer passing remarks. And now, Sir, as to the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman, and the grounds on which he has based them, I wish to ask him for some information in order to make the matter clear. He estimates Customs and Excise together pretty nearly as I estimated them two months ago. As far as we can judge, from information which is in the possession of everybody, those Estimates are probably correct. But he says that since my statement, on the 5th of June, that out of the Vote of Credit of £11,000,000 probably only £9,000,000 would be required, he has ascertained that £9,000,000 will not be sufficient, because, although the Army Department accurately estimated what they had spent or incurred—namely, £6,200,000—the Admiralty was wrong in its Estimate of £2,800,000, and that to that amount a further sum of £850,000 will have to be added. That, of course, is a statement which has come upon me with great surprise, because, as he was good enough to admit, we had taken great care to verify the Estimates of the reduced expenditure. I spent some time going into the Estimates with my two Colleagues at the head of the Army and Navy

Departments, and with Sir Reginald Welby, who was assisted by the two Accountants General, and we arrived, at the time, at the conclusion that £9,000,000 was the full Estimate of the expenditure. I hope that before the Committee concludes that we were in any way guilty of want of care in the discharge of this important duty, detailed information upon this matter will be given to the House. I should now like to ask the right hon. Gentleman a question or two, in reference to the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, upon matters which are not of so much importance as that to which I have just referred. In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman said that while he is prepared to go on with the proposals in the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill in reference to the tax to be paid by Corporations and the tax on bonds payable to bearer, the two together producing, I think, £250,000, he does not propose to take up any of the clauses dealing with taxes on articles of consumption. But there is one of these clauses to which I should like to refer. We did not propose to alter the Wine Duties, but to take power to the Government to make a certain change in the superior limit of the lower rate of duty—that is to say, to raise that superior limit from 26 to 30 degrees alcoholic strength. I explained the object of that change in my Financial Statement. It was to enable us to complete the Treaty with Spain, which would be much to the advantage of the trade of this country. I should like to know if the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to give up that power? [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Yes.] The right hon. Gentleman says "Yes," and that is an answer to my question; but, considering the large manufacturing interests concerned, and the Memorials from our Colonies in favour of the charge, it is a subject on which I shall have to make some remarks at a future stage. There is another matter about which I wish to ask a question. Does the Chancellor of the Exchequer propose to do what was hinted at by the noble Lord the Postmaster General (Lord John Manners) a day or two ago—namely, to abandon the proposals for cheap telegrams? If he does, I gather from the statement of the noble Lord that this would make some appreciable effect upon the Budget. In naming the amount of the deficit, has he made any allowance for that change? The Budget was framed on the minimum price of telegrams being reduced to 6*d.* on the 1st of August. If the telegrams are not reduced to 6*d.* on the 1st of August, there will be an increase in the Revenue, and, I hope, some diminished expenditure in favour of the Exchequer. If I am not mistaken, the two together would be favourable to the Buget of the year to the extent of something like £100,000. I think that, later, on we ought to have some explanation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer on this point. These are the only points of detail in reference to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement which occur to me. I should be glad to know when the right hon. Gentleman proposes to take the second reading of the Bill? The whole matter is now well before the House and the country, so that no long time for consideration will be necessary. I will reserve till then such remarks as I may deem to be necessary upon the general financial proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but I repeat that, with the exception of the two or three questions I have asked, the Committee may now be satisfied with the clear statement which the right hon. Gentleman has made.

MR. W. FOWLER wished to ask for an explanation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to the exemption of corporate property from taxation. If he understood rightly, corporate property, as a whole, was now exempt in England. He had always failed to understand why it was exempt in England; and, although he had asked questions on the subject, he had not received any information upon it. The subject of exemptions was one that required careful consideration, as it was a large and difficult question, and he recommended it to the careful attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If he were right, he thought the Ecclesiastical Commission would pay no duty under the Bill? ["No!"] Well, he was distinctly at variance with hon. Members on that point.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, there was one part of the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he, for one, could not pass by. The right hon. Gentleman had laid down a certain principle and had introduced it into his Budget, which, he (Mr. Fowler) admitted, was perfectly consistent with the Resolution submitted to the House three weeks ago, but a principle to which he could not assent. It was one upon which he thought the judgment of the House ought to be taken, and he was quite sure that the judgment of the constituencies would be taken upon it, and that the judgment of the new Parliament would be clearly expressed. That principle was the practical exemption of real property from its fair share of Imperial taxation. He was quite aware that in the Resolution moved by the right hon. Gentleman, three weeks ago, some stress was laid upon this point; but the strain of the debate went upon the imposition of direct taxation upon beer and spirits, and very little was said in reference to the taxation proposed to be levied upon real property. The history of this question was somewhat interesting. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer was the first Gentleman occupying that position who, for something like 30 years, had proposed to deal with this exemption of real property from its fair share of the payment of duty on devolution by death. It was interesting to know that Mr. Pitt, when he first introduced the Legacy Duty in this country, proposed that it should apply equally to real property and to personal property. In the speech which Mr. Pitt made on that occasion—and this was more than 100 years ago—he used these memorable words. He said "that if we were to protect property it was just and equitable that property should bear the burden." He asked hon. Gentlemen opposite to remember those words. It was not a Radical sentiment, not a sentiment put forward by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), but a sentiment uttered by Mr. Pitt—

> "If we were to protect property it was just and equitable that property should bear the burden, and as it was in the nature of things that landed property was the most permanent it was just and fitting that it should contribute accordingly."

Mr. Pitt's Bill for the imposition of the Legacy Duty, therefore, applied equally to landed and personal property. But such was the powers of the landed interest, that Mr. Pitt was compelled to divide his proposal into two parts, one imposing a Legacy Duty upon personalty, and the other imposing a Legacy Duty upon realty. He carried the duty on personal property with great ease; but when he came to propose a duty upon real property, he only carried his Bill through Committee after repeated divisions and obstruction; and when he came to the third reading it was proposed to leave out the word "Now," and 48 voted for, and 46 against. As no words were proposed to be added at the end of the Question, Mr. Pitt proposed to add, "That it be read a third time to-morrow morning." The House divided again, when the numbers were 54 to 53; and Mr. Pitt then moved the Main Question, "That the Bill be read a third time to-morrow morning," when the votes were equal. Under those circumstances, he was compelled to abandon the measure; and from that time to this real property had not paid its fair share of the taxation of the country. There were three modes in which property was taxed in England. It was taxed upon its enjoyment, upon its transfer, and upon its devolution by death. Real and personal property stood on precisely the same footing in regard to taxation upon enjoyment. They paid the same amount of Income Tax and Property Tax. [An hon. MEMBER: What about rates?] He would come to that question before he sat down; but as to the actual income derived from personal and real property, they paid the same amount of taxation upon enjoyment. With respect to transfer, the same duty of 10*s.* per cent was paid by each description of property. He would now ask the attention of the Committee to the present position of the law in reference to the duty payable on devolution by death, and he would ask the Committee to take an illustration which would show the practical working as well as the practical injustice of the present system. He would take the case of a father holding £50,000 in Consols, and having landed property also worth £50,000. The one produced an income of £1,500 a-year, and the other an income of the same amount. [*A laugh.*] The hon. Member who laughed would have an opportunity of replying to him later on. He would repeat the statement. He maintained that £50,000 invested in Consols produced £1,500 a-year, and that landed property worth £50,000 also produced £1,500 a-year upon an ordinary rental of 3 per cent. [*Interruption.*] He was taking the rental at the worth of the property. It would only make it worse for the argument of hon. Members opposite if it was worth more. [An hon. MEMBER: It is worth less.] People did not buy real property now-a-days to pay less than 3 per cent. ["Oh!"] All he would say was that he read the details of the sales of real estates upon a very different principle. He would, however, put his illustration in another way—two properties each producing an income of £1,500 per annum; the personal property invested in Consols, and the real property in land. Well, if the father died and left the two properties to two sons—say, at the age of 45 or 46—the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down at once upon the man who succeeded to the Consols, and he had to pay £1,500 in the shape of duty. What did the other son have to pay? He paid only on the capitalized value of an annuity of £1,500, which, taking his age at 45, was worth £20,600, and upon that £20,600 he paid £206. And that payment was paid over four years. He was dealing with the matter as an abstract question of political economy, and he wanted to have an intelligent answer to the question, why the one class of property should be taxed at one rate, and the other at a totally different rate? He knew he should be told directly by several hon. Members that the answer to that question was that landed property, in addition to the ordinary claims upon it, paid an unfair share of local taxation, and that the smallness of the amount paid by real property to the Imperial Exchequer was owing to the excessive amount which it contributed towards local rates. He was not going to defend the present system of local taxation. He thought it was as bad as it possibly could be; but he believed that the heaviest and greatest injustice fell upon the large towns and the trading classes. But in reference to this question of land, what were the burdens upon land for the purpose of local rates? They were threefold—the poor rate, the burden of the highways, and the burden of what they might call social legislation laid on all descriptions of rateable property, such as school boards and the charges for sanitary purposes. The poor rate was a burden which every acre of land in this country had been subject to for the last 300 years. Landed property had been liable to poor rate ssince the Reign of Elizabeth. It had been sold subject to the payment of that burden, and there was the further fact, that the poor rate was not increasing but decreasing. It was a great deal less now than it was a few years ago, and it was gradually decreasing. He would give the Committee one or two figures, for it was impossible to argue a question of this sort without looking at the figures. The poor rate in 1856—the average poor rate on the real estate of this country—was 2*s.* 3*d.* in the pound, of which 1*s.* 8*d.* was applied purely to the relief of the poor. That was what he called a burden upon the land, against which the land had no right to complain, seeing that it had been bought subject to that burden. In 1856 the portion of the rate applied to the relief of the poor was, as he said, 1*s.* 8*d.* in the pound. Last year the entire poor rate, which included all sanitary purposes—school boards and various other burdens put upon the land, except the highways—was only 2*s.* in the pound, and only 1*s.* 2*d.* of that sum was levied with respect to the poor, so that the actual burden which land was legally subject to had, during the last 30 years, decreased something like 25 per cent. In 1871 the poor rate was 1*s.* 5½*d.*, and it had been gradually going down every year since 1871, until, in 1883, the poor rate got to 1*s.* 2*d.* The following figures would show the steady decrease during recent years:—In 1871 the poor rate proper—he meant the rate devoted exclusively to the relief of the poor—was 1*s.* 5·6*d.*, in 1872 1*s.* 5·6*d.*, in 1873 1*s.* 4·9*d.*, in 1874 1*s.* 4·4*d.*, in 1875 1*s.* 3·5*d.*, in 1876 1*s.* 2·8*d.*, in 1877 1*s.* 2·3*d.*, in 1878 1*s.* 2·4*d.*, in 1879 1*s.* 2·3*d.*, in 1880 1*s.* 2·4*d.*, in 1881 1*s.* 2·3*d.*, in 1882 1*s.* 2·1*d.*, and in 1883 1*s.* 2·2*d.* Therefore, the figures he had given did not show an exceptional contrast, but the normal state of affairs, and they showed that the burden on real estate, with respect to the relief of the poor, was steadily decreasing. In reference to the highways, that was also a natural burden upon land; the land had always been called upon to repair the roads of the country. [An hon. MEMBER: No!] An hon. Gentleman said "No!" He would like the hon. Gentleman to get up and try to convince the Committee that for centuries in this country the duty of keeping the highways in repair had not been a burden upon the land. [An hon. MEMBER: No; Turnpikes!] The hon. Gentleman said "Turnpikes!" A turnpike was nothing more nor less than a highway, constructed for the convenience of the parishes through which it ran; and, because there was no fund out of which it could be constructed, the money was borrowed and tolls were levied to keep the roads in repair and to pay off the debts incurred in making them. What was the entire highway burden that fell upon the rural districts of England last year? Considerably under £2,000,000 was spent upon all the highways of the country, and out of that sum a solid contribution was made from the Consolidated Fund, so that all of the burden did not fall upon the land. He did not deny that there was an annual burden upon landed property, in reference to the third head; but it was a burden which was borne by every kind of property. He quite agreed that there had been a considerable increase in taxation for social improvements; but that increase was thrown upon the shops, the manufacturers, and the railways of the country, as well as upon property. The local rates paid by the landed gentry were not a different class of rates from those which were paid by other classes of the community. He would challenge anybody to dispute the statement that he had made—that the average local rates of this country amounted to a fraction over *3s. 3d.* in the pound. They were considerably under that amount in the rural districts; but in all the large towns they were considerably over that amount. As far as that point was concerned, he did not propose to trouble the Committee further, because he thought there was a still more important question behind all this, to which he wished to draw the attention of the Committee for a moment or two longer, and that was the disproportion which he humbly conceived to exist between real and personal property in contributing their fair share to the actual burdens of the country. On that question he joined issue with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He maintained that industry in this country was over-taxed, and that property was under-taxed; that an unfair amount of taxation was levied on industry, and not an adequate amount on property. The figures which the right hon. Gentleman gave were clear enough in reference to the purpose for which he gave them; but he (Mr. Fowler) would like the Committee to understand the full strength of the position, and it was, therefore, necessary to take a few years beyond those which the right hon. Gentleman had alluded to. All the sensational talk which they had heard about £90,000,000 and £100,000,000 Budgets, and so on, partook a great deal of the nature of clap-trap. This country carried on two very large businesses in regard to the Post Office and Telegraphs, and the larger the expenditure the larger would be the income and profit. It also carried on a large banking business in reference to loans, for public works and other purposes, and the larger the amount obtained so much the better for the country, as the profit and income were larger in proportion. He was not going to underrate the burdens actually borne; but in raising taxation they had to deal with the burdens of the people. What was the amount of taxation raised? He did not wish to make his remarks of a Party character, and he would go no further back than the taxation imposed by the late Government in the year 1880. The income raised by taxation in that year was nearly £67,000,000, of which amount the sum of £44,500,000 was raised by Customs and Excise, and only £22,500,000 by Property, Income Tax, Stamps, and Death Duties. In 1881 the amount of taxation raised was £68,824,000, and the proportions were £44,484,000 and £24,340,000. In 1882 £46,527,000 were were raised by Customs and Excise, and under £24,000,000 by Property. In 1883 £46,500,000 were derived from articles of consumption, and £26,500,000 from property, and in the year just closed £46,653,000 were raised from Customs and Excise, and £25,000,000 only from Property and Income Tax. It was a very difficult question to say what proportion of taxes on articles of consumption was paid, he would not say by the working classes, but by the industrial classes. The use of the words "working classes" was a mistake, because, although the burden of taxation was oppressive on those who got their living by weekly wages, yet if there was a class upon which taxation fell more heavily than any other it was the lower sections of the middle-class people, who had no property—men who obtained their living by their brains and industry—the curate, the Nonconformist minister, the poor professional man, the doctor, the clerk, whose incomes ran from £200 up to £500, and in whose case the expenditure of each 1*s.* had to be watched. In the case of the lower middle-class, an increase of taxation meant a positive deprivation of some family comfort or enjoyment or other. In fact, that class felt the burden of taxation more than any class of the community. Therefore, in adjusting taxation accurately, the contribution of the industrial classes should be taken into account. Some years ago, Professor Leone Levi, after the Census of 1861, was of opinion that two-thirds of the population of the country belonged to the working classes—the working classes in that case meaning the working classes pure and simple—and one-third to the class above them. Those figures had been materially altered during the last quarter of a century. There had been an enormous increase in the consumption of taxable articles, the bulk of which had no doubt been consumed by the industrial classes. He thought that the amount of rent paid was a reliable indication of the proportion of classes. In England alone they had something like 6,000,000 dwelling-houses; 3,000,000 of those dwelling-houses were under £10 a-year rent; 750,000 were between £10 and £15 a year; and 500,000 between £15 and £20 a-year. Therefore, out of the entire number of 6,000,000 houses, 4,250,000 were inhabited by people who could not afford to pay £20 a-year rent. That, he thought, was an indication of the number and extent of the industrial classes. If they extended the figures to Ireland and Scotland, the proportions were still greater. Therefore, what he ventured to submit to the Committee was this—that at least five-sixths of the people of this country belonged to the class to whom he was alluding, and it was admitted by statisticians that the average consumption per head was the same in regard to all the principal taxed articles. The argument which he adduced, then, was that five-sixths of the taxation on articles of consumption was paid by the industrial classes, and one-sixth only by the well-to-do and propertied classes. If that were so, out of £46,000,000 raised by Customs and Excise, more than £38,000,000 were contributed by the industrial classes, and scarcely £8,000,000 by the propertied classes. In adjusting taxation, they should consider not only the amount put upon each man's back, but the strength of the man's back to bear it, because by one class the burden must be felt far more heavily than by another. Without going into the question of a graduated Income Tax, he submitted that in adjusting the due ratio of taxation between direct and indirect taxation—between property and industry—they were bound to give the advantage to industry, because it did not possess that reserve fund to fall back upon which the propertied classes possessed. By those who lived by industry every tax upon that industry was most acutely felt, while in the case of the propertied classes it could only affect their luxuries, and it rarely affected even them. The conclusion he drew was this—while he did not challenge the Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as there was probably no other course open to the right hon. Gentleman in the circumstances in which he was placed, and without impugning the principles of finance which had guided him, he wanted to reserve the principle that, as between real and personal property, real property did not pay its fair share of Imperial taxation, and that, as between property and industry, the industry of this country paid an unfair share. He exceedingly rejoiced that the articles on which direct taxation was placed had been so reduced that no Chancellor of the Exchequer would hardly venture again to propose an increase. He believed that, in their future fiscal system, the industry of the country would have to be relieved to a greater extent than it had hitherto been, and property would, as Mr. Pitt said, have to bear a larger burden for the discharge of duties which properly belonged to it.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he was not going to follow the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) through all his facts and figures. He would only say, with all deference to the hon. Gentleman, that he had never heard in so short a speech such a tissue of fallacies as that to which the Committee had just listened. The facts were all wrong, and the conclusions drawn from them altogether erroneous. Of course, the hon. Gentleman had come down to the Committee thoroughly prepared to make this speech. Unfortunately he (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) did not happen to be prepared, for he had come down not intending to speak at all. At the same time, he was quite prepared to pit his memory against the figures which the hon. Member had laid before the Committee. What was it that the hon. Member said about the rates? He believed he was able to quote the figures of the hon. Member correctly. He had told the Committee that, in 1856, the rates amounted to 2*s*. 2*d*. in the pound, of which 1*s*. 8*d*. was for poor rate, and that in 1871 they had been reduced to 2*s*., of which 1*s*. 2*d*. was for poor rate. Now, they had the book of the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) upon this subject, which might be regarded, so to speak, as a text book; and it would be found that the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had commenced with a false principle, by mixing up the counties and the boroughs. The right hon. Member for Ripon showed that the poor rate in the rural parishes was 2*s*. 5*d*., and since that date they had had the cost of maintaining the turnpikes and the sanitary rates thrown upon them. Those two charges amounted to not less than 6*d*. in the pound, bringing up the total burden to 2*s*. 11*d*.; and in addition they were maintaining schools without levying a rate, which, if they were maintained by rate, would amount probably to 1*d*. more, making the total amount 3*s*. in the pound.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER wished to explain that he had drawn a distinction between the poor rate and the other local burdens. He had said that the poor rate was 2*s*. in the pound; but, with other rates in addition, the total might be raised to 3*s*. or 3*s*. 3*d*.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON begged the hon. Gentleman's pardon. He had understood him to allude only to the poor rate. The hon. Gentleman now admitted that the rates amounted to 3*s*. in the pound in the rural parishes; but although the hon. Member said that the average rate all over England was 3*s*. in the boroughs, it was from 4*s*. 6*d*. to 5*s*., and sometimes as high as 6*s*. Some of the burdens borne by the land had been altogether ignored by the hon. Gentleman; and he (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) would endeavour to point out what they were. First of all, the hon. Member had fallen into the mistake of saying that this was a tax upon property. His (Sir Baldwyn Leighton's) contention was that local rates were a tax upon labour. The same fallacy had been put forward by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) and by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone); but the contention on that side of the House was that those rates which fell upon the small farmer in the rural parishes, and upon the unskilled labourer in the towns, was a tax upon labour. That was their position, and from that position they were not disposed to give way. It was the whole difference between them. He maintained that it was not a tax upon property, but a tax upon labour; whereas the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) contended that it was imposed as a tax upon property. He asked the Committee to bear with him while he endeavoured to point out what the burdens were which really did fall upon property, and especially landed property. And here he would say that he and his Friends were quite ready for re-adjustment, and that, in fact, they asked for it. It was because they wanted re-adjustment that they had called attention to those things over and over again. First of all, he would take the Land Tax. It was supposed to be a tax upon land; but it was nothing of the kind. Originally, it was an Income Tax put on in the time of William and Mary in 1693; and if hon. Members would refer to the Act which imposed it, they would find that it was levied on all incomes. Land only slipped in, and the principle of the tax was that it should be a tax on incomes. Those £2,000,000 a-year, originally levied on all kinds of property, were now only levied upon land. [An hon. Member: It is only £1,000,000.] He was aware that it appeared to be only £1,000,000; but really it was £2,000,000, because there was £1,000,000 which had been redeemed, and which must be reckoned. Then there was the House-Tax, which, he believed, was about £1,800,000 or £2,000,000 more. There was also the rates, which were allowed by the hon.

Gentleman to be 3*s*. in the pound. The hon. Member said that they had been imposed on the land since the time of Elizabeth; but, in point of fact, it was only in 1836 that those rates were imposed on the land and made perpetual. The poor rate was levied on all property in the time of Elizabeth. The hon. Member talked about the great reduction of rates which had taken place since the time of Mr. Pitt. In the time of Mr. Pitt, rates were only pence in the pound; they were now shillings. They had doubled and trebled since the time of Mr. Pitt, 100 years ago. The hon. Member would appear not to have read history, or, if he had, not to understand it. Then they had the tithes also. The hon. Member was, perhaps, not aware that the tithes were put on by Henry IV.; that they were originally for the support of the poor, and a tax upon income, but were now a charge upon land. Then, again, there was the cost of prosecutions, and Schedule A and Schedule D of the Income Tax were raised on the land. If they went into those matters at all, they must go into the whole of them, and that was why those who were interested in the land asked for a re-adjustment of the whole matter. It was, unfortunately, the habit of those who were constantly bringing those questions forward to forget, or to pass over, all the other incidence of taxation and the injustice which property complained of. For instance, in the illustration which the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) gave of the two sons—one inheriting £1,500 a-year from Consols, and the other £1,500 a-year in land—he omitted to take into consideration the fact that the Land Tax had to be deducted from the latter, and that it was not paid by personal property at all. That was an important element to be considered. In the time of Elizabeth, William and Mary, and still later, land represented the principal property of the country. The population was at that time from 5,000,000 to 10,000,000. The value of land had increased comparatively very little. About £150,000,000 represented the assessment value of land, whereas £1,200,000,000 represented the assessment value of personal property, which did not exist in the time of Elizabeth, or William and Mary, and hardly existed at the commencement of the present century. Those were only a few of the facts of the case. He would not take up the time of the Committee by going into the matter further; and he had only ventured to offer those observations, in order to show the utter fallacy of the arguments which had been put forward by the hon. Gentleman.

MR. CAINE said he was sorry he was not in the House when the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke of that portion of the Vote of Credit which appertained to the Navy. If he rightly understood the right hon. Gentleman, he had stated that the Estimate of money expended, or liabilities incurred, which were given to the Treasury by the late Board of Admiralty amounted to £2,800,000; but he now found that the Estimate showed an excess of £850,000.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I said that, as far as I could understand in the short time I had been in Office, liabilities to the extent of £500,000 had been incurred before that Estimate was furnished by the Admiralty, which were not included in it. I endeavoured to communicate with the late Secretary to the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey) on the subject, in order that he might be here; but I found that I was too late, and that he is out of town.

MR. CAINE said he was sorry that the late Secretary to the Admiralty was not in his place; but in reply to the right hon. Gentleman, although he had not been aware that it was intended to make the statement, he would say that their information was carefully collected by the late Admiralty from all the Departments; that the Estimates were carefully prepared, and that they were believed at the time to be fair and proper Estimates. He was not greatly surprised, himself, at the assertion of the right hon. Gentleman that there was an excess on the Estimates. It should be remembered, as the Committee knew very well, that it was the Executive which regulated this matter, and that they had not relaxed their preparations for war during the time the late Government held Office; that the mercantile cruisers they had to purchase were in distant parts of the world; and, under such circumstances, it was not easy to estimate what they would cost. The right hon. Gentleman had also referred to the fact that, although the late

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Government had ordered a considerable number of torpedo boats, they had ordered no torpedo gear, and, therefore, it was assumed that the boats were useless. He might inform the right hon. Gentleman that this torpedo gear was deliberately omitted. The immediate object for which those boats were ordered was not the firing of torpedoes, but to be fitted up with quick firing guns. It was not considered necessary, therefore, to provide the boats with torpedoes at that time. If the right hon. Gentleman knew what a torpedo boat was, he would know that it was impossible to hit them with torpedoes. It was intended, no doubt, that torpedo fittings should ultimately be put in, and that they should be eventually fitted for torpedo service; but the immediate object the Board of Admiralty had in view was that they should act as torpedo catchers in defence of their Fleet, and not for the purpose of firing torpedoes at the enemy. The real question, however, was this—Did the right hon. Gentleman think that the late Board of Admiralty had spent money unwisely and unprofitably? Because, unless that charge were made out, it was not a serious matter to make an error in so difficult a subject as the calculations of the cost of securing transports, and the fitting out of merchant cruisers, which latter was entirely a new experience to the Admiralty officials.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, he did not know what view the country would take of the statement which had just been made by the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine), who appeared to consider an error of £500,000 to be of no importance at all. He thought the statement of the hon. Gentleman showed that no very great care could have been exercised on the part of those who had presented the Estimates to the House. It was a remarkable fact that the Estimates framed by the other side were invariably exceeded, and that it became necessary to present Extraordinary Estimates for additional money which it was subsequently found necessary to spend. He had not risen, however, for the purpose of commenting upon the points at issue between the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine), the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the late Secretary to the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey). He had not been in the House during the early part of the discussion, and had not, therefore, heard the remarks which gave rise to it. His object in rising was to continue, if he might be allowed to do so, the discussion which had been raised upon the question of local taxation. They were indebted very much to the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) for the figures he had given them, and the speech he had made, because there could be no doubt that it was a very important question; and if there was any foundation for the assertion as to the partial exemption of land from the charges imposed on personal property, he could quite understand the feeling of dissatisfaction that one class in the country should be treated more favourably than another in reference to taxation. He could not go so far as the hon. Baronet the Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) in saying that the facts which had been stated were altogether fallacious; but he would congratulate the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), if he had been a purchaser of land, that he was able to obtain it at prices at which people in the South of England certainly were unable to purchase. He himself had been guilty of the extravagance of occasionally buying land; but he had never yet been able to purchase land at a price to pay 3 per cent. He accepted the figures of the hon. Member with the greatest pleasure, because he believed he should be able to show from the illustration which the hon. Member had given that the owners of real property were treated with injustice. Now, taking the case of two persons inheriting, the one £50,000 in land, the other £50,000 in Consols; from the income in land the one would not get more than £1,000 a-year, but from Consols the other would get £1,500. It was impossible to take the income derived from £50,000 invested in land at anything like £1,500 a-year. He would illustrate that, with the permission of the Committee, by pursuing the case put by the hon. Gentleman opposite, and he would take 30 years as the period during which two persons—sons—would enjoy the respective properties. At the end of 30 years there would be a great difference between the value received from the properties which would have to bear their share of the Death Duties. The son inheriting the land would have lost £500 for 30 years, or £15,000 would have been taken from the sum he would otherwise have received. The son who inherited Consols would only have to pay 1 per cent Legacy Duty on the amount, whereas the son of the person who had real property would have been mulcted of £15,000; in other words, in the case of two sons inheriting estates apparently of similar value, one of them would, at the end of 30 years, have paid 10 times as much as the other. He thought that would show the fallacy, he would not say which his hon. Friend alone had put forward, but the fallacy of those hon. Gentlemen who said that those who were the owners of landed estates were taxed at a much less rate than those who owned personal property. His hon. Friend had also stated that land had, since the days of Elizabeth, been always bought and sold subject to the poor rate. But the Committee would be aware that the rental of land was very different now from what it was in those days. [*Opposition cheers.*] He thought he should catch hon. Gentlemen opposite with that statement. But what was the increased rental derived from? It was not the result of allowing the land to remain idle—the unearned increment as it was called by some; but it arose from the money actually spent upon the estate. [*A laugh.*] The late Vice President of the Council of Education (Mr. Mundella) laughed at that; but he was not surprised that the right hon Gentleman was so ready to show his ignorance of the matter. Speaking from experience, he knew that if those who had land wanted to get any return at all from it, they would be obliged constantly to spend money on their estate. He knew of a farm which did not return him the money he had laid out upon it. The Committee would perhaps excuse him for alluding to a personal matter, by saying that he could give chapter and verse to show that there were farms from which the owners were not receiving a farthing profit. He was not a large landowner, but he had a farm on which he was not receiving a farthing of rent or anything for the money he had expended upon it; and so it was throughout the length and breadth of the land. Take the case of the estates of a noble Lord in Norfolk and Suffolk, the rental of which had been largely increased by expending money on them; and therefore it would be seen that the poor rate, inherited from the days of Queen Elizabeth, as his hon. Friend said, was charged not upon the unearned increment, but upon the money actually laid out upon farms—which he wished to point out to the hon. Member for Wolverhampton was practically the same thing for this argument as if the property had been sold and changed hands. He hoped he had made it somewhat clearer to hon. Gentlemen opposite, that there was some reason for the difference always made between real and personal property in the incidence of taxation. At the time referred to by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, personal property in this country was a mere bagatelle; but it had enormously increased; whereas real property had increased nothing like so much in value, and its increase had been, as he had shown, derived from the money spent upon it, and not from the causes imagined by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Again, he said it was a fallacy to say that the income from the tolls was always devoted to paying off debt; the income of the roads from the old turnpikes was for maintaining the roads, and it was the surplus only that went to the payment of debt. The highways, a portion of the cost of which had always been borne by the land, were now called the main roads of the country, and were for the benefit generally of landowners, farmers, and others living in the localities, whose locomotion was not required to be so rapid as that of the class he represented. It was when the railways had been made that the tolls ceased. [Mr. H. H. FOWLER: When the railways paid.] He was speaking of the turnpikes. One would suppose from what had been said that the money that used to be paid for their carriages went simply to pay off debt; but he had shown that was not so—it went partly to maintain the roads; but after that, there was not sufficient to pay off debt. Having been obliged to differ *in toto* with a great deal which the hon. Member for Wolverhampton had stated, he would say that there was one part of his speech in which he entirely concurred with him, and that was where he said that that portion of the community whom he described as the industrial middle class paid a greater amount of taxation than the owners of property. That was perfectly true; but the hon. Member for Wolverhampton appeared to have forgotten that the class he referred to were much more numerous than the class who owned property. The amount which the former paid, although greater in the aggregate, was spread over a larger area, and was nothing like so large relatively as that paid by the latter. He was glad that the hon. Member for Wolverhampton had referred to that particular class as suffering more than any other from direct taxation—that was to say, the class composed of professional men, clerks and curates, because it was a great pleasure to remind the country that it was owing to the Chancellor of the Exchequer of a Conservative Government that a considerable concession had been made in favour of that very class, either by taking off the Income Tax altogether, or by reducing it considerably on incomes under £400 a-year. They had to thank the Conservatives for that; and if it had not been for them the class in question would have been punished as their friends had tried to punish them. Then there was another point to which he would refer. He had seen many statements to the effect that a great deal of the land of the country paid no Land Tax; but he pointed out that nearly £1,000,000 had been redeemed. As far as the land was concerned, no doubt there was only about one-half of it under the Land Tax for the reason stated; but, notwithstanding that, there were many who cried out—"Here is a large portion of the land paying no taxation at all," and they called on Members of Parliament to endeavour to get that land taxed. All he could say was that he paid 4*s*. an acre for land taxation; and the hard part of it was that when land was bought, they could not treat the Land Tax as they could treat the poor rate and tithe—they had to buy the estate nominally free from Land Tax, the auctioneer not being bound to say whether there was any Land Tax or not. The result was that, as in his own case, land was bought at a price as if it were free from Land Tax, whereas it was paid as a direct tax by the person who purchased the estate. Another consideration, which was apt to be forgotten when people were dealing with the question of taxation of land as compared with the taxation of personal property, was this—if a person had £50,000 left to him, he was taxed to the extent of £500 or £1,000, which amount he could obtain at once by simply selling Stock without prejudicing the whole amount. But with regard to real property the case was entirely different; to raise the tax upon real property by selling a portion of it was like chipping off a portion of a piece of valuable china —the whole suffered by it. The person who had to pay Succession Duty on land, and who had nothing but land, would have to sell or mortgage a portion of his land to raise the money, and in that way persons who owned land were punished. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton had said that there were 4,500,000 houses of a rental of £20 and under—that there were 500,000 of a rental of between £15 and £20. But he (Mr. Grantham) pointed out that those were the houses of the class who were punished most. Those people bought their houses, which, at 20 years' purchase, would be worth £400. But how could they pay Succession Duty? Were they to sell their houses? Perhaps houses in the district were a drug in the market, and they could not sell them. The result would be that a man in that position would have to mortgage his property to raise the duty. But if that was the case with small householders, it was, if possible, still worse with the small landowners, whom the right hon. Gentleman opposite and his supporters were so anxious to see increase in this country. Take the case of a man who was left 20 acoss of land; how was he to raise the money for the duty, seeing that he wanted every farthing he could get for cultivating the farm? He believed that all who went into this question honestly would see that there was a good foundation for the difference in the incidence of taxation, especially as between those who inherited a small amount of Consols, as he preferred to call it, on the one hand, and those who inherited small estates in land. If the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite were carried out, the owners of real property, in the shape of houses of £20 a-year, would suffer in the way he had described; and they would, moreover, affect the small landowners, whose number they desired to see increase. For his own part, he would like to see the number of small landowners doubled, because he believed it would be for the good of the country; but he did not think it would be for their own advantage if they were to be taxed in the way hon. Gentlemen opposite proposed. In conclusion, he thanked the Committee for the attention with which they had listened to his remarks, which were quite unprepared, and arose solely on the speech of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton; and he trusted that before the next Election took place hon. Members would have taken more trouble to find out what were the real merits of the case.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE said, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Grantham) had proved most satisfactorily to himself—he did not know whether he had to the Committee—that if a man had a large property in land it would be difficult for him to find the money to pay the tax on the estate, because he wanted the whole of his money and income to keep up the land. The argument of the hon. and learned Gentleman applied in the same way to small properties in land. It seemed to him (Mr. Alderman Lawrence) that the Budget of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was just the Budget that might have been expected he would introduce to the Committee, and he thought it might be looked upon as a provisional Budget of a provisional Chancellor of the Exchequer of a provisional Government; and looking at it in that light they would receive it without objection, and he believed it would be so regarded by the country. Hon. Gentlemen opposite made an excuse by saying that the local taxation of the country had been improperly levied, and that, therefore, they ought at all times to have an improper Budget to make up the amount of Imperial taxation. For his own part, he thought that when a blot was pointed out with reference to Imperial taxation, that blot ought to be removed, and that local taxation should be relieved when there was an opportunity of doing so; but he contended that when they were trying to remedy any injustice it was no answer to say—"Oh, we cannot remedy this injustice until something else is done with respect to local taxation." He thought that for a number of years, in every Parliament, that principle had been carried too far. They were always saying—"Before we can remedy that evil we must alter local taxation, and before we can do that we must remedy something else," and so they went round the circle. He thought that no case had been made out for allowing real property, any more than leasehold property, to escape its just share of taxation; and he could give an instance of injustice in the case of the large estates in this Metropolis. There were large estates, those belonging to aristocratic owners and to Companies, and to individuals, let on long building leases, on which buildings had been erected and great interest created in connection with them; and yet, although large portions of the original leases had expired, the value of the leases was as great as before. When the owner of a leasehold house died, the property passed by will or devolution, and the successor would have to pay both Probate and Succession Duty. But at the end of, say, 40 years, the leases would fall in, and the owner of the freehold would let the houses for terms of 21 years, at rack rentals, and the Government of the day would thenceforward receive nothing more from the devolution of the leases. He asked the Committee whether it was fair that when this leasehold property devolved on the ground landlord the Imperial Exchequer should receive no further tax from it? The difference between the amount paid by the leaseholders during their terms and that which the ground landlord would have afterwards to pay in respect of the property would be enormous. Supposing that a leasehold house and a freehold house adjoining each other were left severally to two sons; the son who received the leasehold property would have to pay Probate Duty on the full value of the house, and also Succession Duty according to the value of his life; but the son who had the freehold house would simply have to pay Succession Duty. That was an arrangement that was neither fair nor equitable, and there was nothing whatever to justify it. That question had been debated year after year; and although there was no answer to the argument he had put forward, every Chancellor of the Exchequer had shrunk from proposing a remedy for the removal of that injustice. He admitted

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that the incidence of local taxation required re-adjustment. The owners in the Metropolis who had let their property on lease had done so on condition that the tenant paid all the taxes. Since the leases were granted taxation had risen to a large amount; but the owners of the property did not contribute one farthing towards it—the occupiers had to pay the whole. He maintained that that was strictly unfair, because very often the occupiers had to pay taxation for the improvements of the neighbourhood, owing to which improvements they would, at the termination of their leases, be required to pay additional rent for renewals. He was rather surprised, although he did not regret, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, although he had struck out the payment to the full amount of Probate Duty on freehold property in the manner suggested by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, had adopted that part of his Predecessor's Budget which had reference to the taxing of corporate property. When the proposal was made by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer he (Mr. Alderman Lawrence), as the Representative of many who had to do with corporate property—Livery Companies and others—said that corporate bodies never objected to have their property taxed in lieu of Succession Duties. While adopting that part of the Budget introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), the Chancellor of the Exchequer had let slip the question of the devolution of freehold property both in houses and land. He (Mr. Alderman Lawrence) thought that the very levying of a tax upon corporate property would be a lever to be used for bringing freehold property to pay its fair share of taxation when it devolved by death. It was very ingenious of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for East Surrey (Mr. Grantham) to argue that there was a large number of houses in the country so small that it was impossible for anyone succeeding to them to pay anything in the way of Devolution Duty. But those houses, or the great majority of them, were leasehold, and were owned by the large landed proprietors. Whoever succeeded, the houses had to pay Probate Duty upon the full value, whatever it might be. It was not his wish to detain the Committee longer on this question. It was a large question, and one which was much better understood in the country than it was formerly. He was convinced the people would soon be found asking why freehold house property and freehold land property should escape the taxation when they devolved by death any more than leasehold property. The only reason why it had escaped taxation so long was that those who were chiefly interested in that description of property had great power and influence in both Houses of Parliament. He did not anticipate that the Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would meet with any opposition. He had considered it his duty to make those remarks, holding, as he did, the opinion that great injustice was done by the manner in which leasehold property was treated in comparison with freehold property.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, the Committee were indebted to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) for firing off his torpedo, which, although entirely unexpected, had been very successful. The hon. Gentleman was essentially fair; he would not put before the Committee any figures or statements which he did not feel he was thoroughly justified in putting forward; and if anyone was in a position to show him that he had made statements which were not to be supported, he would withdraw from the position he had taken up. Now, he wished to point out to the hon. Gentleman that he had entirely omitted to take notice of that which exhibited a large amount of taxation on real property as compared with personalty. The first thing the hon. Gentleman omitted to notice was that the Income Tax was levied on the gross rental in all cases of real property, that gross rental by no means representing the net rental, but being a sum largely in excess of it. To entirely omit such a fact as that could not be considered a fair proceeding, unless, as he had no doubt, it was in this case an accidental omission. The hon. Member would see that in estimating the difference of the burdens which fell on real property as compared with personal property he would arrive at an entirely fallacious conclusion, unless he noticed the injury which was done directly to real property by the levying of the Income Tax on the gross value. Again, it was constantly said that houses must be provided for the labouring classes. He would like to ask the hon. Gentleman if he had taken the slightest trouble to ascertain what was the amount spent by landlords in erecting labourers' cottages? How many thousands and tens and hundreds of thousands of pounds were spent in that way, and with what result? Landlords took money from the funds, or from various investments in stocks or shares, where it was liable to no rating, to employ it in the fulfilment of what they were told was one of their highest duties, and then it became liable to rating. Was it fair to omit such a fact when a comparison was being made between the taxation on real and personal property? Then they were told that it was well that the number of independent owners of land should be increased; that they should resuscitate that great and independent race which he regretted had so much disappeared —the yeoman farmers. But how was the yeoman farmer to continue to exist, even if they were to bring him into possession by unnatural and artificial means, in the face of a severe, an unfair, and a crushing burden of taxation? There was another argument of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton which ought to be met, and it was that the burden of the poor rate was imposed on land so long ago that it was now no burden at all. What did that argument lead to? The burden of the highway rate had been imposed for a certain number of years. If the owners of the land could manage to pay their proportion of the rate for a century, was it to be said that the rate was no longer a burden on the land? The education rate was recently imposed. If it remained as a burden on the land for 50 or 100 years, and land was bought and sold subject to it, was it to be said it was no burden at all? There had been a charge for police on the land for a generation, and land had been bought and sold subject to it. Was it to be contended for a moment that because land had changed hands within the last 20 years, subject to the burden of providing a large portion of the expenses of the police, the police rate was no burden on the land? The argument of the hon. Gentleman was completely valueless. The fact that they had a right to look at was whether property, be it real, be it personal, be it industrial, be it what it might, paid its full and fair share of taxation? What he claimed for real property was that it should be treated on an equality with income derived from personalty. He and all those who had been associated together on the local taxation question for many years past demanded this, and nothing more than this—that the burden of taxation, be it on real property—houses or land—or on personalty, be it for local purposes or for Imperial purposes, should be levied with absolute fairness and absolute equality; then, and then only, they would have no cause of complaint. The hon. Member who last addressed the Committee (Mr. Alderman Lawrence) said that, in regard to the grievances to which he alluded, he was always put off by being told—"Oh, we cannot remedy this until something else is done." That was the very answer which was always given to him (Mr. Paget) and his Friends. The House had again and again recognized by vote that the burden of local taxation was such as to demand immediate attention. How was it that it had never come to pass that effect was given to the Resolution of the House? It was because they had always been put off by the cry—"Wait for your county government; wait for your local reforms; wait till these things take place, and then a financial remedy will be afforded you." But they had waited in vain too long. It would not do to let it go forth that there was anything approaching a shadow of truth in the statement that land escaped its fair burdens. It might be that land escaped certain Imperial burdens; but then it was doubly taxed locally. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton said that the larger the amount raised by local loans the better. Those words of the hon. Gentleman astonished him, because he knew the extent to which local loans had increased. When he remembered that vast sums of debt were being incurred by Local Authorities, it was too much to hear from the hon. Member that the larger the amount raised in that way the better. He was afraid the hon. Gentleman had in his mind the borough of Wolverhampton. He (Mr. Paget) recollected hearing in that House the

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right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) speak in terms of approbation of a loan of £600,000 which had been signed that day with the borough of Wolverhampton. What had been the result? They had made Wolverhampton a desert. [Mr. H. H. Fowler: No!] The hon. Member might say no; but he (Mr. Paget) had a personal acquaintance with Wolverhampton. He went there a short time ago to find acres of land lying deserted by the magnificent scheme to which the loan of £600,000 had been applied. The rates of Wolverhampton had been raised to such a pitch that the place had been ruined. [Mr. H. H. Fowler: No!] It was his (Mr. Paget's) misfortune to have an intimate acquaintance with the town; it was his misfortune to be the possessor of a few acres of land in the neighbourhood; it was his misfortune to know that the rates had been raised to such an extent that they formed such a burden that many places in the vicinity were increasing in population with a rapidity for which Wolverhampton would look in vain. He admitted that there was much to be done in the way of local reforms, and in many of them he heartily concurred; but when it was said that the larger the amount of local loans raised the better, he——

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, the hon. Gentleman had completely misunderstood him. What he had said was that the more loans were granted the greater was the corresponding profit to the Exchequer.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he was sorry if he had misunderstood the hon. Gentleman. He took down the hon. Gentleman's words, and thought he was placing a fair interpretation upon them. They had, however, to thank the hon. Member for bringing the question before the Committee. They wanted daylight to be thrown upon it. They wanted the whole truth in that matter to be told. If it could be justly proved that there was any class of property which did not bear its fair share of the burdens of the country, he did not care what happened as long as the injustice was removed. If the result of the investigation was to put more taxation on land, good and well; but let the investigation be complete. Do not let them have recriminations—"You are not taxed, and you are not taxed." The owners of land had nothing to lose by a thorough inquiry and by a plain statement of the facts. He wished that the whole truth should be put clearly before the nation at large, so that every man might know how the matter stood. He asked for nothing, demanded nothing, but absolute justice, absolute fairness, absolute equality of taxation for all classes of property in respect of Imperial and local matters.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he wished to detain the Committee by making a few remarks which meant practically a Notice of opposition to one part of the right hon. Gentleman's Budget—an opposition which he was sufficiently impartial to give Notice of when the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) introduced his scheme. His confidence in the personal sense of justice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was severely shaken by the right hon. Gentleman's adoption of the proposal of his Predecessor with reference to corporate land. He doubted if the right hon. Gentleman was aware of the gross scandal he had sanctioned by his adoption of that proposal. Take, for example, one case of the injustice which would be permitted. There were some 500,000 acres of the very best land in the country belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and to the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Under the Income Tax Acts those lands were exempted from Income Tax; and the right hon. Gentleman, himself a landowner, and surrounded by landowners paying Income and Succession Duty, now proposed to the House of Commons to confirm, not the exemption that existed, but to confer a statutory exemption upon those and other corporate lands. He (Mr. Arnold) did not hesitate to say that that was a scandalous proposal. What did it amount to? The late Prime Minister had described the exemption as a grant. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to take out of every poor man's pocket a certain sum of money in order that he might make a grant to the richest Church Corporation and the richest Universities in the whole world. He ventured to make that observation because he heard his right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he proposed to take the second reading of the Budget Bill. He presumed the right hon. Gentleman would introduce a new measure, and allow the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract to drop. On the second reading of the Bill he should condemn the exemption which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to the House, unless, indeed, the right hon. Gentleman, on reflection, himself suggested the repeal of the scandalous exemption which it was now proposed to give to corporate and other lands.

MR. GREGORY said, he would not refer to the burdens on real property, which had been ably stated by hon. Gentlemen who had preceded him; but he would point out that there was a very large class of personal property in the country which passed from hand to hand, and which entirely escaped duty. There was an immense number of houses in the country all well furnished. The furniture was property, yet it paid no duty on transfer. On pictures no duty was paid. There was a large amount of property in plate, jewels, and other similar articles, and yet no duty was paid on its transfer. There were other classes of property, too, of a commercial character, which did not pay any duty. Take the goodwill of a business, which on transfer produced a large sum of money. That was property of a valuable character; but he was not aware it paid any duty. Stock-in-trade too was property, but it was not subjected to duty. The number of financial transactions which went on from day to day in the City of London which escaped taxation was almost incredible. He did not think, therefore, that in dealing with the two classes of property these considerations ought to be lost sight of. The question of the Succession Duty on land was a very technical one. It was a fact that there was a considerable hardship in respect of the Succession Duty in consequence of the terms used in the Act. Cases were constantly occurring in which property was liable to the 10 per cent duty on account of the use of the words "predecessor in title," whereas it would only be liable to the 1 per cent duty if other words were employed. With respect to the assessment of the Succession Duty on the life interest, it should be observed that it was levied upon property which was permanent in its nature, and which was, as it were, always under the hand of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; whereas personalty on which dues had once been paid might be carried out of the country, or otherwise disposed of in such a manner as never again to become liable to duty here.

MR. FRANCIS BUXTON said, he had to apologize for troubling the Committee; but he wished to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the clear statement he had made under somewhat difficult and painful conditions. The proposals themselves were at least simple, and, he thought, on some points, deserved the congratulations of hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House. In the first place, he would venture to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on his proposal to make an alteration in the Budget proposals as brought in a couple of months ago in that he was not going to anticipate the Sinking Fund of next year. He could not help thinking that the principle of anticipating the Sinking Fund and the paying off of a part of the National Debt was a somewhat dangerous one; and he was well satisfied that the right hon. Gentleman had thought right to make an alteration in that respect. In other respects he saw that "coming events cast their shadows before." There was in the Budget proposals of the right hon. Gentleman a very dark shadow in many respects. He could not help thinking that, whilst hon. Members on the other side of the House had described the late Budget as a £100,000,000 one, they should describe the present proposals as a 100,000,000 Vote Budget. He could not help thinking that it was, to some extent, a popularity Budget. The effect of the proposals before the Committee was that the Treasury should have power to issue £4,000,000 of Treasury Bills to meet the requirements of the moment. The late Government had given them good hopes that £2,000,000 of the £11,000,000 would not really be required; but now the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) came down and asked them to pass a Budget with a deficit of £4,000,000; and, so far as he (Mr. Buxton) could understand it, he did not hold out any hope

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that any part of that £4,000,000 would not be spent. It was to be regretted that the Committee should be called on to pass such a Budget as this, and he would venture to offer his humble protest against such a system of finance. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he had done his best to carry out a principle which he admitted was a sound one—namely, that on this occasion, when there was a special requirement for the financial demands of the country, some indirect taxation should have been put on as well as direct taxation. The right hon. Gentleman had found, however, after very careful search, that there was no article on which he could put indirect taxation except tea if he gave up beer and spirits. That conclusion showed, to a certain extent, the wisdom of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer in having ventured, just before the General Election, to propose indirect taxation on beer and spirits. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the right hon. Gentleman would, no doubt, admit, had spoken somewhat in favour of a duty on tea; but he had said that such a tax would be too unpopular for even the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) to propose on such an occasion as this—just on the eve of a General Election. It was to be regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had endeavoured to make this a popularity Budget to such an extent as not to raise any money by indirect taxation, whilst there was such a large increase in direct taxation. The right hon. Gentleman was going to put 1½*d.* on the Income Tax, and was about to do that without any indirect taxation; and would there not be some justification required for an 8*d.* Income Tax if, at the end of the year, they found there was to be a "great change in the financial arrangements of the country?" An inquiry was to be held into the causes of the depression in trade, and in regard to the measures to be adopted to put an end to that depression; and with the hon. Gentleman the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Chaplin) sitting on the Front Ministerial Bench he could easily imagine that that inquiry was only to have one result, and that they would see a bold return to putting protective duties on foreign imported articles. Why, if that were really to come to pass—if they were really to see this great change in the fiscal arrangements of the country, surely the Income Tax payers could reasonably complain that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had just come into power at a little more than a week's notice, had, by his Budget arrangement, ventured to maintain the Income Tax at the abnormally high figure of 8*d.* They would surely complain that he ought to have waited a little longer, until the result of the inquiry had become known. They would surely say that he need not have levied that large amount upon them at that time. He (Mr. Buxton) must ask pardon of the Committee for having detained it on that occasion; but he felt that with the large deficit they were asked to carry on for the next two years—a principle which he hoped every hon. Member, at least on that (the Opposition) side of the House, would most heartily condemn — some protest was necessary from him. He thanked the Committee for having listened to him.

Mr. ECROYD said, he thought that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Andover (Mr. Francis Buxton) had entirely left out of view, in the remarks he had just addressed to the Committee, the fact that the arrangements proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer were simply those which remained of the recent proposals of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Childers), and which had not been condemned by a vote of the House. He, for one, could not admit that that condemnation had proceeded only from the action of Gentlemen who now sat on the Ministerial side. The cause of the failure of the Budget of the late Government was the deliberate refusal of the ordinary majority of the House of Commons to support it. The condemnation which had been passed on it had been the condemnation of a large body of the Liberal Party, who must, accordingly, be held responsible for the disappearance from the Budget of those particular proposals which were condemned by that vote. For his own part, he heartily rejoiced that in a state of affairs almost unparalleled—quite unparalleled in the present generation—in which an enormous and sudden increase of expenditure for great national purposes had been called for at a moment when trade, agriculture, and industry were all profoundly depressed—the country should be spared an oppressive increase of taxation. The means by which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to provide for this immense and sudden deficiency were means peculiarly appropriate in the present condition of things. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to borrow by Exchequer Bills. Well, it unfortunately happened that the trade of the country was in so stagnant and miserable a condition that the money which ought to be employed in it was lying, to a large extent, idle and unoccupied; and thus the very circumstances that rendered the country unusually unable to bear an addition to the ordinary burden of taxation enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to borrow money at an extraordinarily low rate of interest. He thought no more complete justification of such arrangements as those now proposed could be conceived. He would not attempt to enter into the question introduced in the speech of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), which seemed altogether foreign to the subject in hand. This was not the proper occasion for a discussion of the great question of local taxation. That speech was, he conceived, directed not to the Business of the House, but rather to the purposes of the coming General Election. But the charge of acting with a view to the coming General Election could hardly be laid at the door of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in connection with the proposals he had submitted. They were arrangements of an entirely provisional character, and they were merely made from the pressing circumstances of the year. It was clear it would have been utterly impossible to pass a Budget of complete, new, and necessarily complicated arrangements in the month of July. But the hon. Gentleman the Member for Andover had spoken of the proposed inquiry into the existing depression of trade and industry. The hon. Member assumed that that inquiry was likely to lead to a complete alteration in the system of taxation in this country. If it did so, it could only be in consequence of the facts brought out by the inquiry being of such a character as to lead the great majority of the country to desire a change in the fiscal system, and to consider such a change just and necessary under the circumstances. He (Mr. Ecroyd) should not attempt to prejudge that question. That might be the result of the inquiry, or it might not; but, at least, the investigation would bring to light a great deal that was now hidden from them, and would enable the public to form a much sounder judgment upon those questions in the future than they had been able to form in the past. He was firmly convinced that that inquiry, if fearlessly and honestly conducted, would bring to light a great deal of information not only in regard to fiscal questions, but in regard to other matters connected with commercial and industrial affairs that awaited settlement; and he rejoiced that Her Majesty's Government had had the wisdom and the courage to institute that inquiry at the present time. He believed it would meet with the general approval of the people of this country; but, at all events, he knew it would cause a feeling of the deepest joy and satisfaction in the hearts of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of the labouring classes. The objections which could be taken to such an inquiry were apparently set forth in an Amendment which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) had placed on the Notice Paper of the House. It seemed to him (Mr. Ecroyd) that the objection grounded on the possibility of raising expectations which could not be fulfilled was one of the most empty that could be imagined. It was as if, in the case of serious disease having attacked some member of a family, and a proposal having been made to call in physicians, in order to ascertain the nature of the disease, some friend of the family should say—"Do not inquire closely into the nature of this disease or its symptoms, lest you should raise expectations of a cure that will probably be disappointed." That was not sound advice, and he did not think it would meet with the approval of the great mass of the people of this country. He was sorry to detain the Committee at so much length; but there was one other question he should like to make a remark upon. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton had spoken of the fact that the industries of this country were overtaxed. He (Mr. Ecroyd) admitted it to the fullest extent. He believed the industries of this country were overtaxed and overburdened in the strenuous struggle they had to maintain with foreign countries under most unjust and unequal conditions; and there was no burden more grievous than the special taxation levied for local purposes on land and buildings, which were the great bases of all their industries. That heavy and increasing taxation of land and buildings and the dwellings of the workers was a matter that would certainly have to be inquired into with a view of relieving their industries. In agreeing, therefore, with the statement of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton that the industries of the country were over-taxed, he dissented from the view that they should be relieved by increasing the burdens on land and buildings. He would rather say that the cure was to be found in bringing under the scope of taxation the enormous amount of capital held in this country invested in foreign land and buildings, and foreign manufactories and works, the products of which were brought here, duty free, to compete with our own industries. He believed that in this would be found the chief remedy for the over-taxation of their industries. Relief would be secured in a two-fold sense. They would relieve their own industries from an unjust burden, and, to a certain extent, impose it on the shoulders of those who in all fairness ought to bear a share of it. That would be an inevitable element in the future re-arrangement of fiscal matters in this country. But, as the hon. Member for Wolverhampton had said, all those matters were to be remitted to the verdict of the constituencies. To that verdict he (Mr. Ecroyd) was sure the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer might appeal with great confidence, for he had shown a sympathy and consideration for the suffering industries of the nation which had been rare of late years, and which would be highly appreciated by the people.

Mr. M'LAREN said, there was one object which the Committee had to provide for, and that had been frequently alluded to—namely, the subventions to local taxation. That was not the opportunity to discuss that question; but they must take it as a fact, in their general financial discussion, that that item was a growing one in the annual Estimates. They were adding, from time to time, on the Motion of one Party or the other, to that large and important item in aid of the local rates. Whether or not it was a right thing to be done, it was certain it was the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time to provide, in some equitable way, for the payment of those subventions. Though they had been increasing year by year, the taxpayer looked into the burdens, and never found that there was any attempt made to adjust the burdens put on the land for Imperial purposes, and bring them into harmony with the burdens put upon personal property. Year after year the assimilation of Succession Duties and Legacy Duties had been spoken of. The subject had been brought forward by the present Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Gladstone), who had admitted that it was a most important question; and yet, on the eve of a General Election, both Parties were compelled to say—"We have come forward every year to reduce the burdens on land, and yet we have never had the courage to make the land pay the same taxes as personal property." There was, as he himself could testify, a strong feeling in the country against the injustice of that state of things. Ordinary occupiers had to pay heavy rates, and they found that although Parliament came forward, year after year, with payments in aid of rates, they never had to pay any less. For instance, the lessees of the land held by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners knew that when they died their successors would have to pay sums varying in amount; but, whatever the amount might be, it was unjustly in excess of what was paid by the owners of the ground rents. A great deal had been done to attempt to show that that was not a real injustice; and the hon. and learned Member for East Surrey (Mr. Grantham) had especially distinguished himself by drawing what he (Mr. M'Laren) considered most fallacious conclusions from facts admitted. The average amount of money paid in Succession Duty was 1⅞ per cent, whereas on personal property they never got below 3 per cent, and they often went up to 9, 10, and 12 per cent. They on the Liberal side of the House were frequently twitted with not being alive to the claims of the local taxpayer. He would suggest that if the parties who held that opinion would come forward with some bold proposal for equalizing, as far as they could, the national tribute which land and personalty had to pay, they would come with a múch better grace and receive a larger share of support on this subject in the House. There was a question of principle behind it; but still they could, some of them, go before their constituents and say that an attempt was being made by some Party in the State to remedy the grievance. He was sorry that this Budget would have to go to the country practically without discussion on its merits; but he thought that before the Tax Bill went through its several stages it would be the dúty of the right hon. Gentleman below him (Mr. Childers) to show the fallaciousness and weakness upon which it was based. It was not a right thing that they, on the eve of the Dissolution, should silently allow a Budget to pass which was one of the most improvident and spendthrift which had ever been brought before the House of Commons. There had been one point in recent arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer which the right hon. Gentleman himself now said he was unable to substantiate. That close, careful examination he lately gave to the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) went for nothing. The late Government had been turned out on certain statements and financial criticisms; and yet, when they came to ask the right hon. Gentleman's Successor whether he had adopted the very conclusions on which he threw out the late Administration, he said he was unable to do so. A great deal of interest had been taken in the country a month ago in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that the duty on tea should be raised as well as on spirits and beer. The Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) had made himself conspicuous in that House and elsewhere in demanding an increased duty on sugar. The country believed that something of that kind would be introduced into the Budget; and yet the House of Commons was now told that no statesman, either Liberal or Conservative, would have the courage to do that. There could be no greater or more crushing condemnation of the manner in which the Government had come into Office than the speech of the right hon. Gentleman that night. He (Mr. M'Laren) hoped the country would take notice of this—that the Government had come into Office on pretences and arguments that they were not able to substantiate. He hoped that in the course of the Autumn they would have on the part of the Leaders of the Liberal Party a pledge that they would undertake the thorough-going reform of what were called the Death Duties, and a proper adjustment of taxation between real and personal property.

MR. HARRIS said, the hon. and learned Member (Mr. M'Laren) who had just sat down had complained that real property was lightly taxed, whilst unjustly heavy burdens were imposed upon personal property. Well, he (Mr. Harris) happened to be an owner of both kinds of property, and he found that the burdens on his real property were very real indeed—in fact, he paid at least 10 times as much in the form of various burdens on his land for national purposes as he paid on his personal property. Moreover, worse than that, when applied to land used for productive purposes, it all came out of industrial pursuits, because, as an agriculturist, he was competing on most unequal terms with agriculturists abroad, who had immense advantages over him. He was competing with the owners of virgin soil, and men who took advantage of all the native resources of the soil, on the principle of exhaustion; whilst it was a source of considerable expenditure to him to renew artificially the recuperative energies of the land. Moreover, as a large employer of agricultural labour, he ought to be relieved, in some degree, from contributing to the maintenance of the poor. The real burdens of taxation of all kinds imposed on agricultural land must fall on the industry of farming in this country. The burdens on agriculture, he could assure the hon. and learned Gentleman, were, therefore, very real indeed, and stood very much in the way of the prosperity of this most useful industry. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), he understood, had in his speech admitted that the taxes fell very heavily on the industries of the country. He (Mr. Harris) could bear out the hon. Member so far as farming was concerned. He thought the agriculturist ought to stand in a very different position to any other producer, seeing the immense national importance of our home supply of food. The hon. Gentleman seemed to think that the landowners had bought their lands with all the burdens on them; but that was not the case. When most of them bought their land it stood in a very different position to that it occupied to-day. Its produce was protected; consequently the owners and occupiers received most of those charges again in the price they obtained for the produce. Before the English yeoman farmer could take anything for himself, he had to maintain the Church of England and the poor of the country to a very large extent. He was a large employer of labour, and he (Mr. Harris) maintained that if anyone ought to be to a large extent freed from the poor rate it was the farmers. Instead of that, the rate was levied upon the assessed value, which was often more than the net rental; and he had to pay, perhaps, 10 times as much as the nearest tradesman, who was very likely doing a more profitable business, and who occupied a house and small buildings. The tradesman would be assessed for his house and small buildings at one-tenth the amount the farming class had to pay on their business premises. Why was he, a farmer, to pay police rates in excess of others who had movable property which could far more easily be stolen? Police rates ought to be raised from people who owned diamonds and valuable things which were portable, and the agricultural land ought to be relieved to a corresponding extent. Suppose that the distress in the country became much greater than at present. Suppose that the labouring classes became so poor that they rose against the property of the country, what description of property would they take first? Would it be personal property or land? Of course, they would first seize personal property; and so far as personal property was concerned it was impossible, at present, to say that it bore any burdens at all. They could not say whether the Income Tax even was paid on the actual income or not; whereas upon land it was a simple process to levy it upon the gross rental, without any reference to the annual outlay necessary, and which ought to be first deducted therefrom. There was no doubt that land at present was not producing anything like the sums which appeared in the Board of Trade Returns. He did not think that the actual amount of rental in England and Wales exceeded £30,000,000, although the Board of Trade Returns fixed it as high as £48,000,000. There was a vast amount of land which was worth nothing at all, and would not pay for expending money upon it in improvements. As a matter of fact, the improvements often cost a lot more than the land was worth; and, therefore, in putting taxes upon the land, they were really placing them upon the improvements. He considered it most unfair to tax the agricultural land, and by that means prevent the farmers and owners of land in this country from competing with the farmers and owners of land abroad. The farmer ought to be taxed on nothing beyond the value of his house, and then he would pay quite as much as other people. Hon. Members opposite imagined it to be a fine thing to have all this food coming into the country from abroad, and, no doubt, it was a good thing for the poor to have cheap food; but it would be far more satisfactory still if the English farmer had the opportunity of producing it. The more taxes they placed upon an industry like farming, the less able the farmers were to compete with foreigners. He thought that real property, such as agricultural land, ought to be treated as industrial property. If the burdens on the land fell upon the landlord, he was unable to do what he ought to do for the tenant, and if they fell on the tenant he could not compete with the foreigner; whereas if they fell on the man who farmed his own land, how could he possibly compete with the virgin soils of foreign countries? There never was a time in the history of England when agricultural land required more doing to it in the shape of improvements, all over the country, than now. But they found hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite going all over the country and making speeches about the extra burdens which ought to be put upon it, and the ransom due from it. How, under such circumstances, could they expect the landlords to do anything for their tenants, notwithstanding the fact that there never was a time when the tenant farmers wanted more doing for them? The landlords desired to lay out money in improvements; but they were afraid to do so.

He (Mr. Harris) during the last 15 years had laid out more money in agricultural improvements than his estate was originally worth; but for every extra £100 he laid out, he had a fear as to what the result would be. He knew very well that it was not a question of taking £100 out of Consols, and losing the 3 per cent interest which he would otherwise get upon it; but it was a question of the rates that would be placed upon the land afterwards. It, therefore, became simply a question of a reduction of capital, and how could improvements in farming be expected if they were continually putting heavier burdens on the soil, which was the raw material which the farmer used, just as much as cotton was the raw material which the manufacturer used? He was willing to admit that there ought to be one rule in regard to the succession of property; but they must oppose anything extra in the shape of a burden being put upon the land, whether a Death Duty or anything else, until the grievances of which the agricultural interest complained had been removed. All the burdens which now lay on land had been put upon it under totally different principles from those which now existed; and when the repeal of the Corn Laws took place those burdens ought to have been removed at the same time. When farms were put up in the market, they found no bidder for them. There were at that moment farms in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, which were let simply upon the terms that the tenant should pay the ordinary outgoings, but that he should actually pay no rent at all. He saw no probability of grain or wheat going up in price. He was afraid it was much more likely to go down; and yet, under such circumstances and at such a time, it was proposed to increase the burdens. It seemed to him utterly absurd and ridiculous to propose such a thing, and he was glad that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had put his foot down in the interests of that which would be found to be the staple interest of the country, when all other industrial interests were gone.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR was understood to say that as the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had indicated that it was highly probable the present Government would be in Office when the next Budget was brought before the House, he would express a hope that the right hon. Gentleman would turn his attention to the heavy duties now levied on gold and silver plate, and to the interference with free trade by hall marking, and would see his way to abolishing those duties. There could be no doubt that these interferences impeded trade, and thereby diminished the demand for skilled workmen. It would be found that two or three days' employment in the week were very general. The result was that the fine hand work of gold and silver manufacturers was less advanced than it would be if the artizan directed all his time to the art. The tax yielded but little to the Treasury, though the rate of taxation was heavy, being at least 30 per cent on the value of the metals used. A Select Committee had already reported in favour of the abolition of duties, and during the last four years the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been in favour of abolition. The prevailing cause had been the fear of a heavy drawback being demanded by the holders of stocks. That fear ought not to prevent abolition, seeing that one year's income, say £70,000, would suffice to repay the duties levied for one year's stock.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL remarked, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that he had the task of providing a sum of money equivalent to that which would have been produced if the proposal of the late Government for imposing increased duties upon spirits and beer had been adopted. The right hon. Gentleman had done it by the simple process of not finding the money at all, but borrowing. Although he (Sir George Campbell) thought it was bad finance not to provide for the expenditure of the year, he was afraid that the course which had been taken could not be avoided in the present instance; and, therefore, he would say no more upon the subject. But they had now reached the enormous expenditure of £100,000,000, and had got to find £9,850,000 upon a Vote of Credit; and he wanted to know what the Government were spending their money upon? In regard both to the Army and Navy expenditure, he wished to know how the money was going? In particular he desired to know what the Soudan War, which was estimated to the 31st of March last to cost £1,600,000, had really cost, because they had already been told that the Estimate would have to be extended to £4,500,000; although, at a subsequent period, they were informed by the late Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) that as the war in the Soudan had been abandoned that expenditure would be very materially diminished. It did seem somewhat extraordinary that during the whole of last year the war expenditure should have been £1,600,000, and for this year should have been increased to £4,500,000, when the Force was returning from Khartoum. Was it proposed that they were now to expend that large amount of money after the decision which had been come to for the withdrawal of the troops? He wanted to make the matter perfectly clear to the country what the real expenditure of the Soudan War was, and he wished to distinguish between the Soudan War proper, and the expenditure now going on for the maintenance of something like 20,000 troops in Lower Egypt. He did not know whether he made himself perfectly clear; but what he wished to have was the total cost of the war expenditure in the Soudan proper until the withdrawal of the troops, and what the expenditure was which was being incurred in maintaining their troops in Lower Egypt. He desired to learn what the military expenditure was which was included in this large sum of money, and what other kind of expenditure was also incurred under the head of military expenditure. There were one or two other points upon which he would like to say a word before he sat down. He had understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that he did not propose to prosecute the proposals of the late Government in regard to the Wine Duties. Was that so or not? [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Yes.] Then he would express his great pleasure that the Government had arrived at that decision. He thought it was monstrous that while whisky was paying 10*s.* a gallon, port and sherry should only pay 1*s.* a gallon. He did not propose to enter into a discussion of the taxation upon property, which had occupied the greater part of the evening. He thought the Committee were greatly indebted to the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) for bringing the subject forward. He did not intend to discuss the question of taxation as affecting real and personal property, because all must admit that that was a very difficult question indeed. But he entirely concurred with the hon. Member that property in general was not sufficiently taxed, and that there was good ground for imposing further taxation upon it, and remitting a portion of that which fell upon industry, except where it was imposed upon articles of an injurious nature. He hoped that, whatever the ultimate measures taken might be, this would be borne in mind. For his own part, it did seem to him that property was very insufficiently taxed, and that the labour and industry of the people were very much overtaxed. He thought it was quite right to abandon any attempt to increase indirect taxation. The incidence should be adjusted; but, that done, he thought the country ought thoroughly to understand that if they went to war the people must pay for it. What he should like to see was more activity on the part of the Government in preventing war; and they would be materially aided in effecting that object if the people were made to feel the pinch of war.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I only rise to make a single remark on two very striking subjects to which we have listened to night. We have heard the voice of Protection very plainly enunciated by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) and the hon. Member for Poole (Mr. Harris). The hon. Member for Preston has given us a very instructive commentary on the real object of the Commission of Inquiry that has been suggested. We have been told that there is no doubt what its end will be, and its object would appear to be to establish a proper basis for the restoration of the protective system. I gathered that distinctly from the speech of the hon. Member for Preston. But the hon. Member for Poole has also made a very able speech, from his point of view, with reference to the agricultural interest, and has spoken of the distress of that interest. Now, the existence of that distress I do not for a moment deny, and I regret it as much as the hon. Member does; but the hon. Member is, happily, a comparatively young man, and he looks on agricultural distress as a new thing in the trade of this country. For myself, I have not a personal recollection of the state of things which existed in this country 50 years ago, when Protection was in full force; but I know that at that time the depression of the agricultural interest was as great—nay, greater—than it is now. ["No!"] Yes; I have read the Reports of Commissions. You talk of Commissions now to inquire into the distress of the agricultural interest; but go back and read the Reports of Commissions on the condition of the agricultural interest between the years 1832 and 1837. This House was then perpetually appointing Committees, and Commissions of Inquiry were frequently issued to inquire into the state of the agricultural interest; and if hon. Members will read the Reports and statements of these Committees and Commissions as to the condition of agriculture when Protection was in full force, they will find that the condition of that interest, under the full force of protective duties, was far worse than anything that exists at present. You talk of the price of wheat. As to the price of wheat, I venture to say if you will go back to the time of which I speak you will find that about the year 1835, and a year or two before or after that period, the price of wheat was about the same as it is now. ["No!"] Yes; it was about 33*s*. or 34*s*. a-quarter; and that was in the palmy days of Protection. That is not all, because the price of meat then was not half of what it is now. Therefore, I say that if you take the question of prices, or the result of those prices, you will find that there was, at that time, a condition of things at least as bad, I venture to say, as anything we have now. I remember that when these same questions were raised some eight or ten years ago, when I represented Oxford, I found occasion to allude to them; and I recollect that Mr. Henley, a great authority on those subjects in this House, said—"You are perfectly right; we now know nothing at all compatible with the condition of things in 1835." Mr. Henley added—"I recollect the time when in Oxfordshire"—Oxfordshire is now, I am sorry to say, one of the most distressed counties in England —"all round me there was farm after farm out of cultivation, because they could not afford to pay rates." Now, I am not using the language of controversy, but am rather referring to these things as matters which may afford some consolation to the agricultural interest, because, if we can look back to periods when the disease has been quite as serious as it is now, and was followed by recovery, why may we not expect to realize the same experience again? I see that an hon. Gentleman opposite shakes his head and is determined to despair; but I would recommend the hon. Gentleman not to think that Free Trade is always to cause low prices for agricultural produce; and not to think that Protection can always be the remedy for them; for there is no doubt whatever that throughout the world—although it is a difficult thing to explain, and I know of no economist who can pretend to explain it—there has been a universal wave of depression. But does it exist in England alone? Let us go to America, about the most Protectionist country in the world, and we shall find trade more depressed than it is here. Look at the iron trade of America, the corn trade, and all the industries that are protected to the highest possible degree in America, and where do we hear such loud complaints of depression? It is a remarkable circumstance, and I do not pretend to give any explanation of it; but it is an entire mistake to suppose that the depression of trade which exists, whether in our textile industries, our iron trade, our corn trade, or our agricultural interest generally, is a thing peculiar to this country. We know perfectly well that it prevails universally in every country in the world. I only venture to make these remarks after the Protectionist speeches we have heard from the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) and the hon. Member for Poole (Mr. Harris).

Mr. ECROYD denied having said a single word that could be construed into advocating Protection. He was absolutely opposed to it.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Then my ears must have deceived me, and I am glad to hear the denial, for I was afraid that his abilities had been enlisted in that cause. I understood him to say that he denied that those taxes should be raised from the foreigner; but if I am mistaken I am glad to be corrected. But I do not think that I placed a wrong interpretation upon the remarks of the hon. Member for Poole (Mr. Harris), or that I misrepresent the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Chaplin), when I say that he sometimes advocates a 5*s*. duty on corn. It is thought that a 1*s*. duty on corn here or there under the influence of Protection will repair the agricultural distress which now exists. I can only hope that the agricultural interest, which recovered from the very serious depression of 50 years ago, will recover again without having recourse to quack remedies, which people are very apt to administer to themselves when suffering.

MR. STORER remarked that they were forestalling, in a discussion upon the Budget, a question which would probably come on for discussion later in the Session, when the whole subject would have to be considered. There was certainly no time for entering into it fully on the present occasion. At the same time, he entirely refused the sympathy and comfort which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) offered to them, and which he seemed to think the agricultural interest was so much in need of. The right hon. Gentleman said he knew that agricultural distress was existing at the present moment, and he deplored it as much as anyone; but, at the same time, he said that things had been as bad before as they were now; and, therefore, they were likely to recover again as they had done in times past. He (Mr. Storer) would remind the right hon. Gentleman of this fact—that things might have been bad in the past so far as the agricultural interest was concerned; but it was doubtful whether the price of corn had ever been so low as it was now for 100 years past. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to consider the subject a little more carefully, and to go into it a little more deeply; and he would find that when prices were low formerly it was due to a succession of good seasons when there had been good harvests. Having farmed for 50 years himself, he knew that to be a fact. It was quite true that when there had been a famine in the country corn had been at a very high price; but the right hon. Gentleman did not take those facts into consideration. Hon. Gentlemen opposite set up theories without taking into consideration the fallacies they preached, or what the condition of affairs formerly was. In olden times they were not subjected to the competition of the whole world; but they occupied a very different position now. He ventured to say that if Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Cobden were living now they would be Protectionists. He had in his possession some of the prize essays issued by the Anti-Corn Law League in favour of Free Trade in 1846. He had read them very carefully, and in every one of them the main point was that if they led the way in the adoption of Free Trade every country in the world would follow their example; and yet, after 40 years of that experiment, where were they? Not only every farmer, but every man connected with trade and business in the United Kingdom, and particularly with the corn trade, knew perfectly well what was the cause of the low price of corn in the country. They were told by a great authority they did not often see in the House now—the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright)—that all they wanted was a good season, that they had had a succession of bad seasons; but the moment the sun began to shine, and they had a good season, everything would come right again, and they would have fair prices. But what occurred last year, when they had the finest season they had had for years? Why, as a matter of fact, it was one of the worst for the farmers. In regard to the immediate subject before the Committee he desired to say a word upon it. Hon. Gentlemen opposite appeared to be the advocates of labour; but they forgot that in placing taxation upon land they were putting it upon the raw material—land was the raw material of agriculture, just as cotton was the raw material of calico, and iron the raw material of machinery. If they were to tax the land further, as the hon. Member for Poole (Mr. Harris) had ably pointed out, they would render the farmers still more unable than they would otherwise be to compete with the farmers abroad. All that showed the fallacy of the arguments of hon. Members opposite; but hon. Members, no doubt, insisted upon them with a view of influencing the next General Election. The agricultural labourers, however, fully understood those things. They knew the fallacy of the Free Trade views which had produced so serious a fall in their wages, and they knew that agriculture was year by year departing from the country—that year by year more land was taken away from the plough and laid down in grass. Therefore, the depression was brought to bear not only on the farmer and occupier, but on the labourers themselves. The result was that meetings were being held to consider the necessity of the State-aided emigration of those who ought to be employed on the land; and some hon. Gentlemen proposed to divide the land into small holdings and establish peasant proprietorship, which would make them merely a great nation of paupers, who would be obliged, in the long run, to protect themselves against competition from America and other countries. The first cry they would have from the labourer would be that which had proceeded from France—namely, that they should protect themselves from the labourers of other countries. All those were matters which ought to be taken into consideration, and ought to influence the public at the next General Election. He trusted that they would receive careful attention, and that the people would not be led away by delusive statements such as those they had heard that night.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, he recognized the fact that this was only a makeshift Budget, and he thought the circumstances of the case entitled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to leave the preparation of a new Budget until next year. Still, the Conservative Party had before them a magnificent entertainment, in which they were called upon to swallow every profession, every pledge, every principle, and every protest in which they had been indulging for the last five or six years. In regard to the Budget of the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), it was objected that so much of the burden of the increased taxation was to fall upon real property. But what had the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) done? He had maintained the objectionable provisions of the Budget of his right hon. Friend, and had not had the courage to put upon labour and the industrial classes of the country that share of the increased burden which was more than ever necessary if the working classes were to have a monopoly of political power in the future. He could only say, in regard to the enormous sum they were called upon to meet, that he thought it would have been, in the long run, more honest and more courageous to have found the means this year of meeting this extraordinary expenditure. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had no right to say that their present obligations were incurred by the late Government, because the fact was that in the most criminal part of the expenditure of the late Government hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House had participated. They had fully shared in the extravagance which had been displayed in connection with Egypt, South Africa, and Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, what right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite had maintained, and it was the only matter upon which they raised an objection, was that the Government had not made sufficient provision, that the Army and Navy were too small, and that more money ought to be squandered upon them. It was, therefore, impossible for them to appear at the next General Election and say that the responsibility rested with the Liberal and not with the Conservative Party. He was free to confess that the right hon. Gentleman had failed in courage in submitting a Budget in which both ends could be made to meet. It was a remarkable thing that the present House of Commons would at one moment indulge in enterprize which involved such an enormous and extravagant outlay of money, and yet were constantly, at intervals, treating the country to jeremiads about the depression of agriculture, asserting that the landlords were ruined, that all the industry of the country was in a miserable condition, when, forsooth, the recollection of this state of things did not damp the ardour of their enthusiasm whenever the question was the squandering of the public money. The question as to whether they might not resort to Protection had been again raised that night; and it had been suggested that, perhaps next year, when they knew something more of the fiscal condition of the country, it might be possible to place additional burdens upon some articles of import, so that the taxation might fall on the right shoulders. But he ventured to think that the next Parliament would look at the matter from a very different standpoint. The fact was that, although the suffering was universal, the outcry came from a small class, and that, too, the wealthiest and most influential class in the country. Commerce was equally depressed with agriculture. Those who had property locked up in their industries knew that the depression had been quite equal to that which had fallen upon land. He wanted to know, then, why the cry should only come from one quarter? As a matter of fact, it came from the idle class alone —from that class which, in the past, had enjoyed a monopoly of political power in both Houses, and a position such as no other class in the world had ever occupied. The result had been that they had been pampered, privileged, and extravagant; and now, when they were returning to a more natural condition of things, they began to make the House and the country ring with their complaints of the suffering which had fallen upon them. He could feel for any depression, loss, and suffering which came upon any class; but he ventured to tell the landlord class of this country that land would not go out of cultivation so long as rent accrued to landlords, and rents must be foregone if they could not be borne, if the farmer was to live on the results of his industry. The hon. Member for Poole (Mr. Harris) had put his own case, but it was an exceptional one. The hon. Member appeared in the double character of landlord and farmer, and he had mixed up the two. He had put the case in such a way as to give the Committee to understand that the farmer would have to bear the burden of these increased rates; but he (Mr. Illingworth) contended that whatever burdens fell upon the farmer must go towards the reduction of the rent which the landlord received, just as the landlords of the country had to bear the burden of an Established Church. Burdens must diminish rent, both ecclesiastical and lay. The tithe was a permanent charge, and all the farmers must know that the rent of the lay landlord must shrink more and more before any relief would come to them in an abatement of the amount of tithe. He hoped the country would take to heart the lessons of the last few years. He confessed that he was amazed at the cowardice which had been manifested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and by the House. The country had been involved in millions of expenditure for such fanciful objects as the possession of the territory of the Ameer of Afghanistan. Surely if they were to take up this Imperial position—if they were bent upon setting everything right in every part of the world, they should show that they had the courage to meet the expense of it. They ought not to begin in a cowardly spirit by piling up debits and setting aside Sinking Funds. He did not regret the latter step. He believed it to be appropriate enough that the National Debt should be reduced whenever there was a surplus from the increased taxation levied on the people of the country. But it was monstrous to pretend to reduce the National Debt, and then add to the taxation of the country year by year at a period of universal suffering and depression. The lesson to be learned from what was now taking place was that they should mind their own affairs more completely. He believed that the country would impress upon those who would be elected in the next Parliament the absolute necessity of acting in a very different spirit in regard to these foreign enterprizes. He believed that there was a wide-spread feeling among all the industrial classes of the country that they had no necessity to seek for more territory, or to enter into undertakings that were likely to involve loss of life and treasure to this country. He rejoiced that this dilemma had arisen, and that this check had been given to both Governments. He did not hesitate to say that he was reconciled to the loss of power by the late Government, when he recollected the supreme folly of which they had been guilty when indulging in the enterprizes to which he had referred. He ventured to warn the present Government that if anything happened to them in consequence of the foreign policy of the late Government, it would be due to the brave words they had used when sitting on that side of the House, and when they did not feel the responsibility of Office. Now that they were in power they felt no more desire to be brave than their Predecessors had been. He would only tell them that unless they wished to find themselves annihilated as a political Party they must lay it to heart that the working classes of the country would not tolerate that the supreme interests of the people should be trifled with in the future as they had been for so many years in the past.

Mr. BIDDELL said, the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken said that this matter had nothing to do with land going out of cultivation; but nothing that the House could do would prevent the owners of land ceasing to cultivate arable land or turning it to that which was the most profitable use. What was the experience the farmer was now gaining? It was that he could not cultivate the land without incurring great loss. When land was turned into pasture, about £1 per acre for labour would be saved; the result being that the surplus agricultural labour flooded the towns. What was now going on he believed would go on to a much greater extent in the future, and the result would inevitably be a large diminution in the agricultural population of the rural districts. He had heard the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) say that the large towns were being crowded by the influx of rural labour. If so, it was this fact that had caused it. He altogether disagreed with the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) as to prices. There was evidently something wrong in the conclusions which the right hon. Gentleman had formed. If his (Mr. Biddell's) memory was right, the price of wheat had not been so low for 100 years as it was now. Wheat-growing did not pay, therefore one-fourth of the arable land was no longer of that crop as formerly, but was allowed to remain in artificial grass. The low price of corn produced by an abundant home harvest, was a very different thing from a low price of corn produced by importation from abroad. It was the importation from other countries which ran down prices. It was most delusive for hon. Gentlemen opposite to contend that the low price of corn was indicative of prosperity and gain to the country. Had they ever had such universal depression in the whole country as they had now? They seemed to forget that a great part of the population were producers; they forgot their interests as producers, and they were in the habit of looking at them only as consumers. He advised the Committee to bear in mind the maxim, he thought, of Adam Smith—"Take care of the producer, and the consumer will take care of himself."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): I hope that, at any rate, I may draw this favourable conclusion from the discussion which has taken place—that hon. Members have not found very much to object to in the proposals which I have laid before the Committee. The debate has certainly been one of the most discursive that I have ever heard in this House. It has ranged over questions of Protection and Free Trade, the respective burdens of real and personal property, the Succession Duties, and even, I think, the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) could not keep away from his old friend the Established Church. I hope the Committee will excuse me if I decline to go into all these topics. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) was good enough to allude to the intention of Her Majesty's Government to institute an inquiry into the depressed condition of trade and industry. He stated that our intention, in proposing that inquiry, was to establish a proper basis for a return to the Protective system. I can only say that I entirely repudiate any such interpretation of our proposal. I was glad to notice, however, in the latter part of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks, that he practically enrolled himself among the supporters of such an inquiry; because, although he gave such a description of it as I have quoted, and informed the Committee that there had been in times past, as we all know, great depression in trade and agriculture in this country, yet he admitted very frankly that there was at this time a universal wave of depression which no economist could explain. Surely, that being so, I may fairly count on his support to our proposal to institute an inquiry into the causes of that depression which no economist can explain. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) was the first to deviate, if I may so call it, from the subject which I brought under the notice of the Committee. He delivered a speech, with all the ability which we know he possesses, on the question of the Succession Duties and the relative burdens on real and personal property. Now, it occurs to me that if—as we sometimes hear—it was for the interest of the late Government to have prolonged the debate upon the Amendment which I ventured to move upon the Budget of their Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was a pity that the speech of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton was not delivered upon that occasion. I do not intend to enter into all these topics, and only desire to answer some of the questions which have been asked me with reference to the proposal which I have made this evening. The hon. Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour) has asked me whether I would undertake to consider the question of abolishing the duty on gold and silver plate? I should be glad to consider the question of abolishing any duties at all; but I must say that I have never felt any great sympathy with those who wish to do away with the particular duty mentioned by the hon. Member, because it certainly appears to me to be a duty upon a very great luxury, whatever effect it may have upon the particular trade engaged in the production of gold and silver plate. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) asked me whether it was my intention to abandon the proposal which was contained in his Customs and Inland Revenue Bill for enabling the Treasury to raise the limit of the first-class wines to 30 degress? I may say that it is not my intention to proceed with that proposal, which, I may add, was made at the time when the late Government had every cause to anticipate that they would obtain certain commercial advantages from Spain. That proposal may or may not have been warranted on various grounds; but I do not think, under present circumstances, that it would be a very wise one to adopt. I am as anxious as the right hon. Gentleman can be to establish better commercial relations with Spain, and the best efforts of the Government will be devoted to that end; but I do not think that that end would be furthered if now I were to take power to do that which the right right hon. Gentleman proposed to take power to do in the earlier part of the Session. The right hon. Gentleman also asks me whether I have made any allowance, in calculating the deficit, for the abandonment of the 6*d*. telegram system? I did not make any allowance for that at all, and for this reason—that the Bill is still before the House; and from what passed the other night the House is aware that the question, whether it can or cannot be proceeded with, is still under the consideration of the Government. I may venture to say, on the part of the Treasury, that I cannot agree to any proposals which may involve a larger charge than the Bill proposes. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) and the hon. Member for the town of Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) made some observations upon the exemption of Corporations from Income Tax. The hon. Member for Cambridge, I think, alluded to the exemption of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. That is a matter which I do not think I can enter into now; but this observation occurs to me in regard to it—that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Bodies of that kind are practically Trustees of property, the receipts from which they hand over to certain persons in return for duties performed, those persons paying Income Tax upon the revenues they thus obtain. That, therefore, would be a reason for the existence for what at first sight might appear to be an anomaly. I do not quite understand the argument of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) on the question of the exemption from taxation of Corporate property; but I will postpone any remarks that I may have to make upon that subject until a later stage of the Bill. I do not think that any exemption is conferred on Corporate property beyond what it now enjoys. The only other point I will now notice is that mentioned by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) as to what day I propose for taking the second reading of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill. If the Committee will consent—and I believe it will be quite in Order for the Clerk at the Table to read the necessary Resolutions after this Resolution has been voted—I might then obtain leave to introduce the Bill. In that case, I should propose to take the second reading on Thursday next, which would afford time for the consideration it requires. I have only now to thank the Committee for their kindness to me this evening.

Resolution *agreed to;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

1st, 5th, 6th, 12th, and 14th Resolutions [1st May] read.

Bill *ordered* to be brought in thereupon by Sir ARTHUR OTWAY, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Sir HENRY HOLLAND.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 223.]

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

[BILL 159.]

(*Mr. H. H. Fowler.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [22nd May], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): I wish, at the outset, to state the attitude of Her Majesty's present Government, with regard to this measure, in order that there may be no mistake on the subject. The subject-matter of the Bill has been before the country for some time. In 1881 and in 1882 the House of Lords had a Committee, which investigated the matter at very considerable length and made a most valuable Report, which every Member of the House has had an opportunity of seeing, and to which I need not, therefore, refer at any length. It will be sufficient to say that no one who has read the Report and the evidence can have any doubt that a Bill of this kind is absolutely necessary. If there is anybody in the House, and I think there can scarcely be anyone, who has not read that Report and evidence, then his opinion on the matter can be of little worth. Beyond that Report there is evidence certainly in my possession, and no doubt in the possession of many others, in relation to questions which have, from time to time, come forward, equally showing the necessity for a Bill of this character. The Bill before the House establishes no new principle, but merely extends the existing law. I believe that no question is really raised so far as the principle of the Bill is concerned, and the only question is as to the extent to which the provisions shall be carried out in detail. All the main questions are questions for Committee, and not for lengthened debate on the second reading. A Bill on the subject was brought into the House of Lords in 1883, and again in 1884, and the late Government introduced and passed this Bill in the House of Lords in 1885. No one can say that the question has been approached in a hurried manner. The country has had ample opportunity, not only of gaining necessary information, but of forming its opinion upon it. I hope the House will agree that the information is sufficient to warrant us in reading this Bill a second time even if there were to be no discussion on the second reading. The whole subject is thoroughly ripe for legislation, and, therefore, I, as Secretary of State, will offer the greatest facilities in my power for proceeding with the Bill. We have not only put the Government star upon it, but, as hon. and right hon. Gentlemen will see, we have taken the earliest opportunity of bringing the question before the House. And we hope to give it such precedence as may assure its passing. In Committee it is probable that some alterations may be made; but I will not go into detail on that subject. I will only ask the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) whether, at this period of the Session, it is wise or necessary to move the Amendment he has put on the Paper. When I first read the Amendment I was somewhat puzzled to see what was its connection with the present question. The Amendment relates, no doubt, to certain Acts, which, though not repealed, are for all practical purposes in abeyance, and a pledge has been given by the Government that this state of things will not be disturbed until the House has an opportunity of again considering the subject; therefore I fail to see what the House or the country can gain from a discussion of those Acts of Parliament at present. As I am anxious that the Bill should pass, I will say no more, and I hope that the House will give it a second reading without a great deal of discussion. When we come to details, hon. Members will be able to express their opinions. There is a great amount of public opinion in its support. From what I found at the Home Office, I do not believe that public opinion would be satisfied unless the Bill is not only read a second time, but even passed, it might be with some alterations, but at all events passed into law.

Mr. HOPWOOD, in rising to move as an Amendment—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, repressive legislation of the kind is not calculated to effect the purpose of improving public morals, and, if passed into Law while the Contagious Diseases Acts 1866—1869 remain on the statute book, notwithstanding the Government was pledged to their repeal, would subject the Legislature to well-deserved imputation of insincerity and inconsistency,"

said, he held that repressive legislation in these matters was useless, or, at all events, likely to produce much more mischief than the benevolence of those who advocated such legislation led them to suppose. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the Bill with an innocence which might be assumed or which might be real; but if he looked deeper he would see that this was a most objectionable Bill in almost every one of its features. What did the good people who asked for such measures know about the law? They heard that females could part with their honour at a certain age, and thereupon they became wild, forgetful that there were such things as trumped-up stories and extortion. It had on a previous occasion been attempted to raise the age of consent to 14; but the late Mr. Russell Gurney, a Judge of enormous experience and of the calmest judicial temperament, opposed the step, and 13 was fixed as the age. Who supported him on that occasion? The right hon. Gentleman then and now Secretary of State for the Home Department. He (Mr. Hopwood) appealed to him to confirm him. What had happened since to make the House change the view which it then took? In the Report of the House of Lords there was nothing with which those who had to do with the administration of the Criminal Law were not already well acquainted. The real means of insuring the improvement in morals which they all desired to see was by the elevation of the population, and by providing them with constant employment. Legislation such as this would be no more successful than legislation aiming at the suppression of any other vice—for instance, that of drinking. One effect of the Bill would be to encourage the corruption of the police. Another would be to re-introduce the practice of the compulsory examination of women, who would be sent to gaol for accosting in the streets, and who would there be under the control of the Governor and surgeon. This Bill was in these respects a substitute for the Contagious Diseases Acts, which had been condemned by the House. The ex-Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt), he ventured to say, supported the clauses as to solicitation with that view. Was this legislation in other respects necessary? Why, according to the present law—24 & 25 *Vict.* c. 100, s. 49—the offence of procuring a girl under the age of 21 by false pretences was punishable by imprisonment for two years. But had any success attended this provision of the law? Had there been a single prosecution under it? It was ineffective and useless, and the contemplated legislation would not be more successful. He had seen it stated that a child under 14 could be lured from her home by fraudulent pretences, and detained against the wish of her parents, and that the police were powerless to interfere. This was an error, as under 24 & 25 *Vict.* c. 100, s. 56, which made the enticement, &c., of a child under 14 a felony, a magistrate could undoubtedly under the existing law issue a search-warrant, and, armed with it, the police, if need be, could break into the house where the child was detained. He was convinced that this legislation was not the means by which this evil of juvenile prostitution was to be put down. He thought that no addition should be made to the Criminal Law unless it could be conclusively shown that it was necessary and likely to effect its object. The provisions of this Bill were rather calculated to increase the evil than diminish it, for it would place young men and boys in the power of designing girls, and would be a most powerful weapon for extortion. They did not know the business they were attempting to legislate upon. Then, he contended, that if they were going to protect young persons by legislation, they should extend that protection to boys as well as to girls. But the moment they set up a State protection of virtue they would do a great deal towards diminishing the care which the possessors of it were bound themselves to exert. Another most unwise and cruel clause was that which made it an offence punishable with two years' imprisonment to harbour girls under 15 years of age for immoral purposes. The consequence would be that these poor girls would be hunted and chased about by the police, and would with difficulty find where to lay their heads. They would be at the mercy of their landlords and landladies, who would naturally charge increased rents, to reimburse themselves for the risks run, and at the mercy of the police, whose good will would often have to be bought to avert arrest or expulsion. The police would have the opportunity of levying blackmail from these poor creatures. Then, as to solicitation, the Metropolitan police magistrates had made it an invariable rule to require someone to complain of being solicited; but this was to be altered and the prosecution was to be left entirely to policemen, though it was true that more than one was necessary. A magistrate in Liverpool took on himself, some time ago, to disregard the wholesome practice of the London magistrates, and to punish women for solicitation on the mere statement of a policeman, and he sent numbers of poor women to gaol for the offence. When he found this ineffectual he lengthened the terms of imprisonment, so that they might have their hair cut off. Such cruelty and hardship always attended legislation of the kind. He would only add that the clumsiness and absurdity of the Bill were only equalled by the folly of the views of those who were responsible for its inception. Some of the provisions embodied in it were rendered simply childish by the absurd regulations which the clauses contained. Some merely enacted what was already law. The Home Secretary had appealed to them; but he could not expect that the House would forego lengthened discussion on so important a matter. The way to remedy the evil was to adopt means for obviating prostitution. The present Bill would simply fall heavily upon a poor prostitute. They were going to raise every man's hand against her; and to that, as he had shown, would be added the power of the policeman, who would have every temptation to do so, to levy black mail in any quantity upon those unfortunate creatures. Many attempts in past times had failed, whose object, like this, was to repress immorality. There was the old Puritan law against incontinence, for which death was the penalty for the second offence. That law was not carried out; but the spirit of repression provoked the period of dissoluteness which marked the Restoration. In Berlin, a few years since, the authorities tried by police laws to abolish prostitution. Worse evils followed; so prostitution was allowed, though relegated to one quarter of the city. Was Berlin more virtuous than London? The Middlesex magistrates, some years ago, closed the Argyll Rooms, and what was the result? Disorderly scenes increased in the streets, which had hitherto been quiet. He, therefore, earnestly hoped that hon. Members would not allow themselves to be made parties to legislation of this kind, which might be productive of great cruelty, and which could do no good whatever. He begged to move his Amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will any hon. Member second the Amendment? [*Cries of* "No, no!"]

[The Amendment, not being seconded, was not put.]

Mr. A. R. D. ELLIOT said, he thought the House would give the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) full credit for earnestness and sincerity, though they were not prepared to support his Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had put the question before them that evening in a most perfunctory manner. It would have been more satisfactory if the right hon. Gentleman had explained in what points the present law was found wanting. Every disorderly house was by the existing law illegal, and the proprietor of it was liable to prosecution. Was that law in force now? If so, why was it not enforced? Or had the police power to choose whom they should prosecute and whom they should overlook? If the existing law meant anything at all why was it not enforced; for if it were not enforced, the passing of another law would only prove a multiplication of paper laws. He thought that the House was much indebted to the hon. and learned Member for Stockport for the courageous way in which he had addressed himself to this question. It was of great importance that a measure of this kind should not be hurried through, because they were dealing with the liberty of the subject. He maintained that it was not enough to multiply what he termed Statute Book crimes; they must provide for the just enforcement of the law which they were called upon to sanction.

Mr. BROADHURST said, that the outspoken statement of the hon. and learned Member for Stockport deserved the earnest consideration of the House. He (Mr. Broadhurst) was not prepared to say but what a great part of the Bill might be useful and might do a great deal of good, and might in some cases accomplish its object; but even in that respect there was room for considerable and honest doubt. However, in agreeing to the second reading of this Bill, he thought it would be the duty of hon. Members to discuss the subject at somewhat greater length than appeared to be the original intention. With regard to the clauses of the Bill, he singled out Clause 9 as one to which he could not agree in any circumstances whatever. He felt that if that clause was to be enacted dangers might possibly arise out of it which would make life in large cities really intolerable, if not dangerous, to persons whose duties kept them out late at night. He even doubted, under such legislation as this, whether it would be safe for hon. Members to walk to their homes at night. He had frequent occasion himself to walk home from the House after midnight, and his journey thence did not pass through what was usually termed a fashionable neighbourhood. In the course of his walks he met many persons of the lower orders, and with all honesty and sincerity he believed that if this clause were enacted, it would make it absolutely dangerous for him to walk home at 1 or 2 in the morning. However efficient and impartial the police, as a rule, might be in the discharge of their ordinary duties, they were not exactly the body to be intrusted with such extraordinary powers as were given them in this Bill. They were, in fact, placing in the hands of the ordinary policeman the future character, prosperity, and even happiness of any man whom he might think it proper to arrest. He maintained that, no matter what might be the strength of opinion in favour of legislation of this kind, the House of Commons, as the guardian of the liberties of the people, should not pass a measure of this character without the gravest consideration. As to the object aimed at by the Bill, he was second to no man in his desire to see crime of whatever character adequately punished, and the innocence of childhood carefully and rigidly protected. In doing so, however, they must be careful that more harm than good was not done by such legislation. He had sat for the past two years with the present Home Secretary on a Commission to investigate the condition of the poor in the Metropolis and other large towns of the United Kingdom. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to say, after the experience he had gained on that Body, whether, in his opinion, the greater part of this social evil which they all deplored—that part which made innocent childhood a marketable commodity—whether it was possible to stop this state of things so long as we herded together whole families in a manner worse than the beasts of the field? It was known that in London and other large cities one and even two families frequently occupied one room, in addition to lodgers; and this being so, how was it possible for them to cultivate that innocence in childhood of tender years which existed in children brought up under healthier and purer conditions of life? This legislation was to a great extent a mere mockery, if not a snare, so long as they refrained from going to the root of the evil. They must provide dwellings fit for human beings to live in, with a chance of growing up pure and moral. The poverty and wretched surroundings of the people in our large towns was the great cause of immorality. There were few women who chose an immoral life from mere choice. They were diven to it by force of circumstances; many of the poor wretches who tramped our streets at night were driven to such a life by the hard treatment they had received at the hands of a merciless world. Let anyone stand on Westminster, Waterloo, Blackfriars, or London Bridges any morning and watch the continuous stream of girls crossing from the Southern side of the river to the City and the West End to labour to their utmost capacity for a mere pittance insufficient to maintain them in the decencies of life. Very many of them were poorly clad and hungry, and he asked if was within human nature to expect that those poor wretches should withstand the temptations which wealth offered to them on their return journey in the evening? If they fell, as undoubtedly they did in such circumstances, he appealed to the House to say whether they were not rather subjects for pity than for condemnation. He contended that they were subjects for pity, and they should endeavour by all the means in their power, by legislation, if it could effect the object, and by individual work and exertion, to bring about a better social and material condition among the poor labouring people of this country. This was the true course which they ought to pursue in order to avert the evil which they were endeavouring by such legislation as this to eradicate. A public journal had just been investigating the extent to which the crimes prevailed which the Bill was intended to prevent. He would hesitate to condemn the course pursued by that newspaper. A man who cleaned out a cesspool must expect to be contaminated and avoided by those who would otherwise be glad to associate with him; and the man who held up to public scorn the existing hideous state of things deserved well of the nation. It was better to trace the evil to its source than to attempt to deal with its results. But he much feared that the Bill, though framed with the best intentions and from the purest motives, would miss its mark and fail of effecting the good which they all desired it to bring about.

MR. WARTON said, he regretted that the eccentric Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) was discussed before the real scope of the Bill had been dealt with. He was thoroughly opposed to the Bill, root and branch, and regretted that the Leader of the House had been induced to allow it to proceed as a non-contentious matter. Even the late Home Secretary had admitted that he did not approve all the provisions of the Bill. *The Times*, on the 8th of August, 1883, speaking of the Bill of that year, which was very similar to the present, said that it was not of a character to inspire confidence in the legislative capacity of the House of Lords, and furnished an example of warning rather than a subject for imitation. In fact, it was such a Bill as might be expected to meet the approval of a Church Congress. That was the opinion of *The Times*. Then the late Home Secretary had said that he regretted the omission of the clauses which dealt with brothels and the frequenting of the streets for immoral purposes. He was then justified in saying that the right hon. Gentleman did not wholly approve the Bill. As the present Home Secretary had on a former occasion, when he was Mr. Assheton Cross, supported an Amendment to lower the age of consent from 14 to 13, it was inconsistent in the right hon. Gentleman to support this Bill which raised it to 15. It was almost impossible for a man against whom a charge was made of the character contemplated by the clauses of this Bill to obtain justice from a jury or even from a Judge. Prosecutions were got up by Societies pretending to be formed for the protection of young girls, which boasted that they never failed to obtain a conviction. No man, however innocent and respectable, was safe from such organizations. In conclusion, he would ask who was the wretched draughtsman who put this tissue of nonsense together? It was a measure that would open the door to unlimited extortion, and which took the false step of confusing the distinction between vice and crime. Experience showed that we must tolerate vice until it became crime. When a house became a nuisance, let the neighbours take proceedings; but let there be no interference until there was a breach of public order or a crime was committed.

MR. SAMUEL MORLEY said, that the thanks of that House and of the country were due to the Government for having announced their intention to carry this Bill this Session. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary evidently felt deeply every word which he had used with regard to this measure. He was no advocate for an undue interference with the liberty of the subject; but we were surrounded by scenes, both in London and in our large towns, which were a disgrace to a Christian country, and which we were bound, if possible, to put an end to. He could not avoid, on this occasion, referring to certain statements which had appeared in a London newspaper, and which were unjustifiable on any other assumption than that they were true. In his opinion, not an hour should be lost in investigating the truth or the falsehood of those statements, which would be read throughout England, whatever might be done to prevent their circulation. He thought that those statements, if true, would strengthen the hands of the right hon. Gentleman in carrying this Bill; but, at the same time, it was to be feared that the measure would to a certain extent be ineffective to deal with the tremendous state of affairs set forth in those statements. The writer of the articles in question was unknown to him; but he knew enough of the editor of that paper to be satisfied that he was utterly incapable of publishing the statements in question for any other than a pure motive, and he attached immense value to the probable effect of those statements upon the public of England in dealing with a state of things which was unbearable. His name had been mentioned in one of the articles, and he desired to state that he would willingly undertake, with any two of the other gentlemen whose names were also given, to make an investigation of some of the statements; and if they proved true, he should be glad to put his name to the Report, so as to stimulate public opinion. He had spoken these few words with a desire to strengthen the hands of his right hon. Friend, if he would allow him to call him so, in dealing with one of the greatest evils of the time. He was glad of this opportunity to express his personal thanks to the right hon. Gentleman for having declared his determination to pass this measure into law during the present Session.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER confessed that he entirely agreed with those who believed that Parliament would fail in attempting to put down this vice by passing harsh and cruel laws with regard to the poor women who were the subjects of this Bill. He was very glad that the Government intended to proceed with this Bill, and he was in favour of the second reading of the measure. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) had said that they ought to keep up the distinction between vice and crime; but, in his (Mr. W. E. Forster's) view, they ought to make that criminal in future which was not now criminal under the existing law. In the first place, they ought to make it a criminal offence to trade in and export girls and young women abroad for immoral purposes. He understood that there was no law that could prevent that trade being carried on at the present moment, and in that case he was of opinion that the law ought to be amended. Another reason that he had for supporting this measure was that it would afford protection to children. He was aware that many of these poor children were in such a state of misery that it would be difficult to restrain them from becoming victims of vice, and that it would be scarcely possible to protect them efficiently. But there were others who were not in that state, yet who were in danger of being made the victims of vice, and were incapable of protecting themselves; and these girls, at all events, ought to be protected by law. The law ought to step in in such cases and make it dangerous for anybody to take advantage of their youth and inexperience for wicked purposes, and so to condemn them to a life of absolute misery. This Bill would do something to protect these girls, because men would be very careful when they found that they were in danger of the law. The only objection that had been raised to the measure was that men might be induced to yield to the temptations of these poor children, who might use the powers of this Bill for the purpose of obtaining money. Well, let men take that risk. If that House by passing that measure could give protection to these unfortunate girls and women, he did not think that hon. Members ought to grudge the time necessary for passing this Bill even at this late period of the Session.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON rose to address the House, when

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK rose to Order, on the ground that the hon. Baronet had already addressed the House on the question.

Mr. SPEAKER ruled that the hon. Baronet was not entitled to address the House, as he had already spoken on the question.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH said, he wished that it should be clearly understood that this was not a Bill for penal legislation directed against the poor helpless girls in question, but for their protection. He thought, indeed, that the House was called upon to take even stronger measures, and would be justified in appointing a Judicial Commission to search this matter to the bottom. In his opinion, it was absolutely necessary that the age within which absolute protection was extended to young girls should be raised from 12 to 16.

Mr. ACKERS observed, that he had not read the newspaper which had been referred to, as he understood that it was objected to as not a proper paper to be read. Had he known that it would form the subject of debate in that House, he should have deemed it his duty, however disagreeable, to read every word the paper contained, in order to see what reason hon. Members had for saying that mere statements in a newspaper were facts, and established the existence of crime. He had, however, read what was given in evidence before the House of Lords' Committee, and the Report of that Committee, he ventured to say, did not bear out a single argument that had been used in favour of the Bill before the House. He would suggest that the House should pass the second reading of the Bill without further discussion, for if they did not it might be thought that the House of Commons was less desirous than the House of Lords and the country that a stop should be put to these nefarious practices. There was, however, so much in the Bill of a contentious character, and so much that would, in his opinion, make bad worse, that in giving his support to the second reading of the Bill, he must expressly reserve to himself the liberty to oppose some of the clauses. He hoped that the Bill would not be burked in discussion, as it was before. He ventured to think that this was a subject which appealed to all classes, which was ripe for discussion, and which would be more and more impressed upon the attention of the country. They ought not, then, to shrink to do what should be done by the Legislature to remove the evil which undoubtedly existed, while at the same time avoiding hurried legislation, which they would afterwards be sorry for.

Mr. PICTON remarked that, until the hon. Member who had just spoken rose, there had been almost complete unanimity as to the existence of the evils which this Bill was designed to prevent, and for which, as the law stood, there was absolutely no remedy.

Mr. ACKERS wished to correct the impression which the hon. Member seemed to entertain, that he had denied that there were evils to be remedied. On the contrary, he had expressly admitted that legislation was required, while guarding himself from giving his support to the Bill in its entirety.

Mr. PICTON said, he was exceedingly glad that he had mistaken the hon. Member, for now he could say that not a single hon. Member had denied that a wrong existed for which a remedy was required. The newspaper, the condemnation of which had been somewhat exaggerated, showed conclusively that there were wrongs for which no adequate remedy was provided, and that something was required to draw the attention of magistrates and Judges to the seriousness of these offences. As the law stood at the present time, wicked women who induced young children to leave their homes could not be punished. If a parent discovered that his child had been trapped to a certain house in a certain street, he had no power to recover instant possession of the child, but was obliged to sue out his writ of *habeas corpus* at an expense which was ruinous to him, and before the writ could be executed all the mischief was done. That was the position of poor men at the present time, and it was a wrong for which a remedy was urgently required. Although he thought that legislation was necessary in the face of the great crying evil, he did not see that all the provisions in the present Bill were necessary. In fact, after the first eight clauses, he did not see that there was any value in it.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) said, that notwithstanding the criticisms on the Bill, it appeared to be conceded that there was a very substantial evil to be dealt with, and one with which every man who had the cause of humanity and morality at heart ought to do his best to grapple as effectually as possible. He thought there were certainly two or three important points in the Bill which were worthy of further discussion, and he, therefore, trusted it would be read a second time. The hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) and the hon. Member for Roxburgh (Mr. A. R. D. Elliot) appeared to think that the Bill would not do very much good, and the former thought that the evil should be left to be met by better education and other means; but it seemed to him that one or two of the matters dealt with in the principal provisions of the Bill were not such as would be dealt with by education. If one thing had been established, it was that there had been going on for some time, and to a large extent, a disgusting trade in young girls, not only in England, but also for the purpose of sending them abroad; and that alone was sufficient ground for legislation. He was in no way responsible for the drafting of the Bill, and, no doubt, there were clauses in it which required careful consideration; but he would respectfully submit that they ought rather to be discussed in Committee. It had been said that the Bill would do no good; at any rate it would do no harm, and he believed there were amply sufficient grounds to justify Her Majesty's Government in proceeding with the Bill.

Mr. SALT said, he did not intend to make any remarks on the second reading, as he should, of course, support it. Both the Home Secretary and the Attorney General had said the Bill would have to be carefully considered in Committee, and he would, therefore, ask whether either of them would give some indication as to the direction in which it would be altered? The Home Secretary might possibly be able to remove the objections entertained by some hon. Members to the Bill.

The SECRETARY said, that there were some parts of the Bill which were complicated and some as to which he had doubts; and in his opinion it was very likely that it would not be possible to pass the whole of the measure this Session. After the second reading he proposed to put the Bill down for the Committee stage on Tuesday, hoping by that time to be able to state to the House what were the amendments which the Government thought ought to be made in its provisions.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* next.

SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [8th July] *reported.*

Resolutions 1 to 3 *agreed to.*

(4.) "That a sum, not exceeding £1,639,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."

Lord HENRY LENNOX said, that, having been unfortunately absent from the House yesterday, he desired now to make a few observations in connection with those Estimates. The First Lord of the Admiralty had been asked to lay on the Table of the House the Reports of the captains as to the behaviour of their ships; but he trusted that the noble Lord would be very guarded and cautious in reference to what he published as to that subject. When the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) was First Lord of the Admiralty great pressure was put upon him to lay on the Table of the House the Reports of the captains of the various ships which had been out. No procedure could, he thought, be more fatal to the best interests of the Service than that, because they would have the captains writing their Reports, not for the Admiralty itself, but virtually for the House of Commons, and there would then be some temptation to officers to colour their Reports so as to meet the popular eye. Turning to another question that had been raised, he thought that whatever arguments there might be in favour of a change in the Board of Admiralty on the accession to Office of a new Government, those arguments did not hold good in regard to the Controller of the Navy, Admiral Brandreth. Again, he should like to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty for some information as to the position of Mr. Rendel, who was put into the Board about two years ago with a tremendous flourish of trumpets. At that time it was held out as a matter for national congratulation that they had at last on the Board, in the person of Mr. Rendel, a man of practical and professional experience, and they were led to expect that a new era was about to open in consequence. But they were told now that Mr. Rendel was leaving the Board. In 1868 Hobart Pasha was engaged in the Turkish Service without the slighest remuneration, and was thereupon removed from the Admiralty. In 1874, when the late Mr. Ward Hunt was First Lord of the Admiralty, Hobart Pasha was reinstated in the English Navy at the express desire of the present Lord Derby, who was then Foreign Secretary——

MR. SPEAKER interposed, and said, the noble Lord was not in Order in raising that question on the Vote now under discussion.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON), with reference to the Report which the noble Lord had alluded to, said, it was necessary to exercise great care and discrimination as to the documents laid before the House. Although the noble Lord's questions respecting the constitution of the Board of Admiralty were not quite germane to this Vote, he thought it right to reply to them. The Controller was placed on the Board some time ago, and his appointment, which was to last for five years, was supposed to be independent of other changes in the constitution of the Board. He must adhere to that rule, and consequently Admiral Brandreth would continue at the Board. Mr. Rendel was placed on the Board by his Predecessor. In his capacity as a civil member of the Board he did great service; but it was necessary for him to be absent from England during a considerable portion of the year, and he therefore felt it his duty to resign the position which he recently held. But, in a friendly communication addressed to himself, Mr. Rendel said he should always be glad to place his services at the disposal of the Admiralty in regard to any questions on which they might think fit to consult him. His noble Friend must not assume that Party politics had anything to do with the constitution of the present Board. In point of fact, he was not acquainted with the political opinions of any of their professional advisers, and he had been fortunate enough to secure the services of Admiral Hood, Admiral Hoskins, and Captain Codrington, who could speak with as much experience as any three men in Her Majesty's Naval Service.

Resolution *agreed to.*

Resolutions 5 to 13, inclusive, *agreed to.*

(14.) "That a sum, not exceeding £830,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Half-Pay, Reserved, and Retired Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."

Resolution read a second time.

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, he wished to refer to the reinstatement of Hobart Pasha on the Retired List. Hobart Pasha had rendered eminent services to this country. In 1868, when a captain, he entered the Service of the Porte, whereupon he had to resign his position in the English Fleet. In 1874 he was reinstated at the request of the Earl of Derby, on account of his distinguished services to his country; but in 1877, he having again joined the Turkish Fleet, he was once more struck off the English Navy List, on account of the breaking out of the Russo-Turkish War, because England could not retain the services of an officer who was serving with a country at war with one of her Allies. He had, however, recently left the Turkish Service, and, on the recommendation of Earl Granville and Lord Northbrook, he had been reinstated; and the practice of reinstating men in his position at the request of the Foreign Office was by no means new, unusual, or unprecedented. There were precedents for this course in the case of Sir Charles Napier and Admiral Sartorius. From his knowledge of Hobart Pasha's career, he could say that, no matter what uniform the Admiral wore, he was always most anxious to do everything he could to promote the interests of England, and to serve her in every way. Having been the first instrument to remove him from the Navy, and having watched his career, he desired to say that he thought Admiral Hobart deserved well of his country, and was worthy of the retired allowance which he had obtained by reinstatement.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was surprised that they had been told nothing with regard to the reinstatement of Hobart Pasha; no reason whatever had been given for it. The more he looked at this case the less he liked it. He expressed an earnest hope that before the Vote was passed some explanation should be forthcoming from either of the Front Benches; and with the object of obtaining that explanation he begged to move that the Vote be reduced by £280, being the amount of the pay that would be received by Admiral Hobart Pasha for 280 days.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£830,400," in order to insert

"£830,120,"—(*Sir George Campbell,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£830,400' stand part of the said Resolution."

THE FIRST LORD said, that the understanding yesterday was that the Vote should be brought on for discussion; but he had nothing more to say than he said yesterday. Hobart Pasha was reinstated by an Order in Council before the present Government came into Office; and that was done after consideration by two leading Members of the late Government, Lord Granville and Lord Northbrook. If the hon. Member moved for the production of the Papers that had passed on the subject between the Admiralty and the Foreign Office he should have no objection; but they did not state much more than that application had been made. The fact was that Hobart Pasha was in the receipt of £1 a-day in 1877. But, in consequence of the war between Russia and Turkey, he, being in the employment of Turkey, was struck off the Navy List. There was no question that if Turkey had been at the time our Ally in war Hobart Pasha would have retained his rank as Admiral in our Navy. He had recently left the Turkish Service; and therefore the First Lord of the Admiralty, after consultation with the Foreign Secretary, thought there was no reason why he should not be restored to the position he held in 1877, and he would draw no more pay than he did in 1877. When two statesmen of great experience, after fully considering the circumstances of the case, had arrived at the conclusion that Hobart Pasha ought to be reinstated, if the House were to override that decision it would be a great slur on the gallant officer; and therefore he hoped that the House would support Her Majesty's Government in asking them not to overthrow the conclusion at which Lord Granville and Lord Northbrook had arrived.

MR. CAUSTON said, that after the observations of the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) he really thought the House would be glad to be placed in possession of further information on the subject. As he understood the noble Lord, it appeared that the gallant Admiral, when we were likely to go to war with Turkey, preferred to give up his commission in the British Navy. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] That was what he understood the noble Lord to say.

THE FIRST LORD said, he was afraid the hon. Member's history was a little at fault. What he said was, that it was in 1877 that Hobart Pasha's name was removed from the Navy List. We were not at all likely to go to war with Turkey at that time.

MR. CAUSTON said, he begged to apologize if he were a little wrong; but without reference to the date he understood the noble Lord to say that we were near a war with Turkey. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Then he had misunderstood the noble Lord.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he would speak with every respect of Hobart Pasha and the services he had rendered; but in his opinion there was a good deal in what had been said by the hon. Baronet (Sir George Campbell). There was a great deal of ambiguity in the matter; but the responsibility rested altogether with the late Government. Last night he had challenged the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) sitting on the Bench opposite, and he told them that he knew nothing about the matter. The noble Lord now told them that Hobart Pasha had left the Turkish Service. Hobart Pasha, however, with whom he was intimately acquainted, had gave him to understand, only a fortnight ago, that he was still in the Turkish Service, if he (Sir Robert Peel) was not much mistaken. The noble Lord to-night said that the services of Hobart Pasha had been very distinguished to this country. What were his services to this country. As a matter of fact, he had never been a Vice Admiral, he had never been even a captain in the Service of the Queen. The last command he held in this Service was as Commander of the *Foxhound* in the years 1861 to 1863, and what the late Government had determined to do therefore, and what the present Government were going to sanction, was to make Commander Hobart Pasha a Vice Admiral *per saltum* and give him the position and pay of a retired Vice Admiral.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH) asked if he might interrupt the right hon. Gentleman for one moment? The matter had nothing to do with the present Government. The reinstatement was done by an Order in

Council under the late Government, and the present Government had no power in the matter whatever.

Sir ROBERT PEEL said, he quite understood that, and he had said over and over again that the held the late Government responsible, and he wished to enter his earnest protest against the step they had taken. He thought, and he maintained, that the hon. Gentleman opposite ought certainly to give them some explanation on the matter, because there was no doubt whatever that some correspondence had taken place on the subject. He did not think that any Foreign Secretary should deal with such matters as this, which solely affected the Admiralty.

Mr. CAINE said, he could do nothing further than repeat what he had said yesterday, and which was very little. If he were still at the Admiralty, or had access to the Admiralty Papers, he would be able to discover what had taken place between Lord Northbrook and Lord Granville, who, he believed, were jointly responsible for this grant. These matters did not come before the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, however, and he had not seen the Papers on the subject. He had not had time to consult Lord Granville or Lord Northbrook, and, consequently, he did not know the motives which had induced them to recommend that a pension should be granted to Hobart Pasha. If hon. Members wished any further information, they had better have a Question put to the late Foreign Secretary in the other House, who, no doubt, would be able to say what reason the Foreign Office had for pressing the claim. He was sorry he could give no further information.

Mr. RAMSAY said, he would not venture to state that the reasons were not quite sufficent to warrant such a pension being given to Hobart Pasha. His services as Commander might have warranted such a thing; but he thought they ought to have some evidence that it was so. It ought to be clearly proved, moreover, that he was no longer in the Service of the Turkish Government. If the hon. Member carried his point to a division, he (Mr. Ramsay) would vote against the pension.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, he wanted to know how this pension came into the present Estimates at all? He understood it was only granted on the 24th of June, and he should therefore like to know how it came into these Estimates? It might come into a Supplementary Estimate this year, or the ordinary Estimates next year; but he could not see how the pension could be affected by the reduction of this Vote.

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Ritchie) said, it was explained yesterday that it was clear that no provision was made in the present Estimates for any pension to Hobart Pasha. The Estimates had been prepared a long time before the decision to reinstate Hobart Pasha was arrived at. There had been some attempt made to saddle the present Government with part of the responsibility of this Vote. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Well, the last speaker had held them responsible for endeavouring to press on the Committee the Vote for Hobart Pasha's pension.

Mr. RAMSAY pointed out that what he did say was that the present Government were responsible for pressing on in Committee the Vote which contained the pension. What he contended was, not that they were responsible for the granting of the pension or the pension itself, but that they were responsible for pressing the House now to pass the Vote.

The SECRETARY said, what the hon. Member had said was that the Government were responsible for pressing this reinstatement on the House. Now, what was the proposal before the House? It was that they should reduce this Vote by the amount of Hobart Pasha's pension. There might be a surplus on this Vote which would be sufficient for the whole or partial payment of the pension; but the Government did not know that this would be so. Therefore, it would be impossible to stop the pension out of that Vote. The sole purpose of the Admiralty had been to allow the discussion on this Vote. The real facts of the case were these. Admiral Hobart Pasha, having been reinstated by the late Government, would the present Government be justified in inflicting such an indignity upon that gallant officer as to again remove his name? While the Government had taken no part in the original reinstatement of Hobart Pasha, they were not prepared to take upon themselves the responsibility of advising Her Majesty to once more remove his name.

MR. COURTNEY said, he could not assent to the financial view of the question which had just been presented to the House by the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie). It was, of course, true that the pension was not included in this Vote when the Estimate was settled; but it was chargeable upon it, and a surplus might be available for it. Even if there was not sufficient surplus from this Vote, they would be able to make use of a surplus in any other of the Army Votes to make up the pension, so that the question of paying the pension could be legitimately raised on this Vote. It had been said, however, quite truly, that the present Government had not reinstated Hobart Pasha; and, therefore, he thought it was hard to ask the House either to ratify the Vote or refuse it. The hon. Member said that they could not ask him to undo what had been done. That was true; but the fact was that they did not know anything about the matter. The proper course, in his opinion, would be to adjourn the discussion until they could get some information on the subject from some Member of the Foreign Office or of the late Government. He, therefore, begged to move the adjournment of the debate in order to give time for some Member connected with the Foreign Office under the late Government to be present to give some explanation.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Courtney.*)

THE FIRST LORD said, he would not object to the proposition of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney). He had stated to the House all that he knew upon the subject; but he was bound to say that he did not know that his information was very accurate. It was possibly the right course to pursue to reduce a Vote because they believed somebody had been unreasonably granted a pension by an Order in Council. Therefore, it might be as well to adjourn the debate.

MR. BUCHANAN asked if the noble Lord would produce the Correspondence?

THE FIRST LORD said, there was no Correspondence that he knew of. He had no information with regard to it.

LORD HENRY LENNOX wanted to know for what purpose they were going to postpone the matter, after the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) had stated he had no further information to give? What day did they intend to postpone it to?

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he considered that there was a very important principle involved. They did not know what the pension was for, nor whether the man was entitled to it, except that he had occupied an inferior position in the English Service. It would be a grave scandal if, when the country was already burdened with a large number of pensioners, they should vote him a pension as a Vice Admiral in our Service.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) said, their object in agreeing to postpone the Vote was to enable some Member of the late Government to be present to explain the circumstances under which the reinstatement of Admiral Hobart was made. The question had been raised not on account of anything that the present Government had done, or for which they were responsible. All they had to do was to take up the Vote and pass it. What they felt was, that when this Vote came on again, that some Member of the late Government, who was cognizant of the circumstances, should come forward and explain matters. If no further explanation was forthcoming, however, then they trusted that the House would not further postpone the question.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

Subsequent Resolutions *agreed to.*

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF AUSTRALASIA [*Lords*] BILL.—[BILL 165.]

(*Colonel Stanley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Colonel STANLEY): Sir, the Bill I have the honour to ask the House to read a second time is one which, as the House is probably aware, was introduced in "another place" by my noble Relative and Predecessor in Office. I do not propose to enter into any discussion of controversial matter; for having in view the time of year in which we approach the subject, the House will, perhaps, allow me to suggest that if the second reading is taken to-night, we should take the Committee stage of the Bill at such a time as will give a fair opportunity for discussion. I think that course would be rather for the convenience of the House. Hon. Members will see that this is merely an enabling Bill based upon certain Resolutions adopted by the Colonies after considerable discussion, and after the subject had been thoroughly threshed out. It was in pursuance of the Resolution of 1883 that my noble Relative introduced this Bill, which gives power to the Colonies to form a Federal Council for certain purposes, which purposes, without the sanction of the Imperial Legislature, would be *ultra vires.* I think there is practically no difference of opinion on the principle of the Bill; and although I must admit that considerable discussion may hereafter arise as to one clause, I would ask the House to postpone that discussion until the Committee stage, one of the reasons for that course being that certain Papers are not yet in the hands of hon. Members. I may mention that one document which reached me to-day on coming down to the House contains information which, I think, the House should be possessed of before going into this question. Without further remarks, therefore, I make this appeal on the understanding that a fair opportunity will be given for discussion on the Bill on going into Committee. In these circumstances, I propose to name this day week for the Motion for going into Committee, by which time I will do my best to have the Papers printed and in the hands of hon. Members.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Colonel Stanley.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that, under the circumstances, he should not object to the course proposed by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, although he had a Notice on the Paper with respect to the Bill. He doubted, however, that it could be said that this Bill was wanted, or was approved by some of the Colonies. There was one clause in the Bill of which he certainly very much disapproved; but he understood from the statement of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman that the House would be free to discuss the clauses, and accept or reject them as they thought fit.

MR. HEALY said, it appeared to him that a Bill of this kind was not likely to improve the state of things in the Colonies, where questions sometimes arose even graver than those, he would not say between England and Scotland, but between England and Ireland. The Bill might be an admirable measure as far as it went, but he believed it was brought in without any distinct desire on the part of some of the Colonies. It was all very well to have a Federation of the Colonies; but it was when any of the States desired to leave the Federation that the *crux* would come. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman said that this was merely an enabling Bill; but if the time should come when some of the States wanted to secede there would then, perhaps, arise a state of civil war, and that he regarded as the worst thing in connection with a Bill of this character. Of course, he did not say that the Bill would lead to that; but having regard to the state of affairs in the Colonies, the immense distances between them, uncovered by railways as in the United States, he scarcely believed that a Bill of this kind could be a success. He thought Her Majesty's Government should take a high standpoint in the matter. For his own part, he had no objection to the Motion of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, and he sincerely hoped that the measure would be successful.

MR. BIGGAR said, his objection to the Bill was that it was permissive only, and he regarded the time spent upon it as time wasted. Unless the Government were prepared with some well-considered plan, he thought it would be very much better that they should not enter into legislation of this sort.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

[BILL 68.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. HEALY said, that opposite to the title of this Bill he found a block by their distinguished Friend the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton). The Government having made great progress to-night, he thought the time had arrived when some pressure should be brought to bear on the hon. and learned Member for Bridport and the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) to induce them not to block Bills on the Order Book.

MR. WARTON said, as the Government had adopted the Bill, he should withdraw his opposition.

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

POLICE BILL.—[BILL 113.]

(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Hibbert.*)

SECOND READING. BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged."

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, that before the Order was discharged he would like, as he had the honour of introducing the Bill to the House, to express his regret that the Government had not seen their way to include it in the non-contentious list of measures. The Bill had received the approval of both Parties in the House, and the only possible contentious clause was that relating to Government contribution, and that could only come into operation when the county and borough funds became absolutely insolvent.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged;* Bill *withdrawn.*

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (WALES) BILL.—[BILL 195.]

(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

SECOND READING. BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that he and his hon. Friends would offer no opposition to the discharge of this Order, although they must express their extreme regret that the Government could not proceed with the measure.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged;* Bill *withdrawn.*

COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ferguson.*)

[BILL 26.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Lord, admitting or enrolling a tenant after 31st December, 1885, to give notice of enfranchisement, and in default land not to be subject to fines, &c.).

MR. J. W. LOWTHER begged to move that the Chairman report Progress, and ask leave to sit again; and he wished to avail himself of the opportunity to appeal to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh) not to proceed further with the Bill. It seemed to him that the Bill would make a complete revolution in the land system so far as copyholds were concerned; in the course of a few years it would entirely destroy the copyhold system throughout the country. Under such circumstances, it would be the height of folly to attempt to carry the Bill this Session. Contentious matter was involved in almost every clause; and, besides, if the great questions referring to minerals were to be decided in the light of Amendments which had been placed on the Paper by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cricklade (Mr. Story-Maskelyne), the possession of mineral property would be transferred from one class of the community to another. He, therefore, trusted that the House would consider this as one of those measures which might very well be left over for the consideration of the new Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. J. W. Lowther.*)

MR. WAUGH said, he was sorry he could not accede to the proposition of the hon. Member. The Bill did not introduce any new matter at all, but simply carried out the recommendations of the Select Committee, and it did so in the most gentle manner possible. The Bill had been read a second time several times this Parliament, and it had been before a Select Committee of which the hon. Member for Rutland (Mr. J. W. Lowther) was a Member. It was carefully considered by the Committee, and had now reached the Committee stage in the House. He hoped the Committee would consent to proceed with the Bill.

Mr. HALSEY said, he would join in the appeal of his hon. Friend (Mr. J. W. Lowther) to the hon. Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh) not to proceed further with the Bill. It was perfectly true, as the hon. Gentleman said, that the Bill had passed its second reading, and had now got into Committee; but it passed the second reading on the night Parliament re-assembled after the Christmas Recess. No one anticipated it would come on; indeed, the hon. Member (Mr. Waugh) was engaged elsewhere, and someone else had to move the second reading. The same thing took place with regard to getting the Speaker out of the Chair a few days ago. The Bill came on during the Ministerial crisis, a time when, as a rule, Business was not taken. The Bill would make important changes. He supposed he must not go into the merits of the measure on the Motion to report Progress; and therefore he would content himself by saying that as they had seen several important Bills withdrawn, and as it was understood that the Session was to be wound up as quickly as possible, it seemed monstrous that a Bill like this, involving the whole principle of copyhold property, should be proceeded with. He, therefore, trusted the Committee would consent to report Progress.

Mr. STORY-MASKELYNE said, he had put down several important Amendments to the Bill; but he did not think they ought to be discussed in the absence of the hon. Gentleman who had given so much attention to the subject, the hon. Member for West Somerset (Mr. Elton). He (Mr. Story-Maskelyne), therefore, begged to support the proposal that the debate be adjourned.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he hoped the hon. Member for Rutland (Mr. J. W. Lowther) would go to a division, because it would then be seen that nearly every Member who objected to the Bill had spoken in the present debate.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, that if they were to have a division on the question of reporting Progress, they ought to know exactly in what position the supporters of the Bill placed themselves. The hon. Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh) had said that this Bill was referred to a Select Committee, and that that Committee considered its provisions very carefully. He (Mr. Tomlinson) believed that the Bill which was read a second time was the Bill which came from the Select Committee; but that, if the Amendments which had been suggested were introduced, its character would be considerably changed. He would like to know whether the Committee was intended to sit on the Bill as a Court of Appeal from the Select Committee to which the measure was referred? If they were to sit in such a character, he did not think they ought to continue the discussion in the absence of the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Somerset (Mr. Elton). He understood that the opinion of his hon. Friend was that the Bill which passed the Select Committee would prove a satisfactory measure; but that, if the Amendments on the Paper were adopted, provisions would be introduced which were inconsistent with his view, and inconsistent, he (Mr. Tomlinson) thought, with the view of the majority of the Select Committee. If the hon. Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh) was ready to treat the Bill on the lines on which the Select Committee treated it, objection need not be raised to proceeding now with the discussion.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he agreed that it would be extremely unwise for this Committee to reconstruct the Bill after it had passed a Select Committee. He supported the Bill on the assumption that the recommendations of the Committee were strictly carried out, and that the House were to accept the Bill as it was passed by the Select Committee. But that was a different question to that raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Rutland (Mr. J. W. Lowther), because he had endeavoured to get rid of the Bill altogether. He commended to hon. Gentlemen opposite the consideration that this was a great reform in the real property law of the country, a reform which had been advocated on every platform throughout the length and breadth of the land, a reform which was advocated by men totally irrespective of politics. The Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair was made by one of the staunchest supporters of the Government, the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), who, in making the proposition, said the Bill would effect a most desirable and salutary reform. To get rid of the Bill altogether after it had passed the ordeal of a Select Committee, and composed of some of the best real property lawyers in the House, would be most unfair. If the Bill was wrong, and ought to be thrown out, let it be thrown out fairly, and not by a side wind. If it was true that the hon. Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh) wished to materially alter the Bill, he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) would certainly support the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) in resisting the Amendments.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, the Government did not oppose the Bill as it was passed by the Select Committee; but the difficulty they felt to-night was that the Amendments of the hon. Member for Cockermouth were many in number, and required very careful consideration. It was doubtful whether that consideration could be given at this time, and without that consideration they could not feel sure that the Bill would not be substantially altered by the Amendments. He wished it to be distinctly understood that the Government did not oppose the Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee; on the contrary, they were prepared to support the principle of facilitating the enfranchisement of copyholds. He should vote against the Motion to report Progress.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*;—Ayes 27; Noes 86: Majority 59.—(Div. List, No. 215.)

MR. ONSLOW said, he begged to move that the Chairman do now leave the Chair. He might say, in regard to the Bill, that he had not gone very carefully into it; but what he deprecated was the line of action Her Majesty's Government had taken to-night. In the first place, they had deserted their Friends, who had taken a deep interest in the measure. ["No, no!"] Right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench said "No;" but he said most distinctly to the Home Secretary that the Government had deserted their Friends, who took a great interest in this Bill. What did they see? Why, this curious thing. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Cockermouth had certain Amendments in the Bill. The Government did not know much about the matter, and the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had gone over to the other side of the House to consult the hon. Member for Cockermouth and other Gentlemen interested in the Bill, and was told that certain Amendments were to be dropped. That was the way the measure was to be passed by this Government, who said that they would not undertake any Bills of a contentious character. The Bill was decidedly of a contentious character; and he was surprised that Her Majesty's Government, after the promise they had given, had deserted their Friends. He did not like a Bill of this importance to pass by Amendments and letters and communications being bandied about between the Front Opposition Bench and the Members of Her Majesty's Government. Surely it would not prejudice any of the interests concerned if the Bill were to be postponed for a few days. On a question of principle he moved that the Chairman do now leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Onslow.*)

MR. SALT: Has the hon. Member for Cockermouth dropped his Amendments?—because I, with a great many other Members of the House, am not aware of the fact.

MR. WAUGH: Yes. I may say that four of these Amendments are Amendments made at the request of Members sitting on the opposite side of the House. Two are Government Amendments with regard to Treasury matters, suggested by the Land Commission. They are not my Amendments at all. I am satisfied with the Bill as it stands.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER said that, before the hon. Gentleman (Sir Henry Holland) rose, he should like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cricklade (Mr. Story-Maskelyne) what course he proposed to take with regard to his Amendments? It was not the Amendments of the hon. Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh) that he (Mr. Lowther) objected to so much as those of the hon. Member for Cricklade, which would effect an enormous transfer of property from one class of the community to another. In the absence of both the Law Officers of the Crown and the two late Law Officers, and of the hon. Member for West Somerset (Mr. Elton), he thought they would find themselves landed in great difficulty if they were to attempt to go into these intricate questions affecting real property law.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he wished to observe that, so far as regarded the discussion of the Amendments, the hon. Member for West Somerset (Mr. Elton), who probably knew more about the law affecting real property than anyone else in the House, had entirely agreed to the Bill as it came from the Select Committee. Those who were prepared to support the Bill as it came from the Select Committee were not prepared to support these Amendments. The Amendments objected to having been publicly withdrawn, and the Amendments of the Government proposed by the Land Commission having been accepted by the hon. Member for Cockermouth, he really thought the Committee should go on with the Bill.

MR. STORY-MASKELYNE said, the best answer he could give to the hon. Member for Rutlandshire (Mr. J. W. Lowther) was that, whilst the hon. Member said his (Mr. Story Maskelyne's) Amendments proposed a great transfer of property from one class of the community to another, the view taken of those Amendments by his hon. Friend on his right (Mr. Waugh), who brought the Bill forward, was that they would effect no such transfer at all. The law at present was clear as to the questions that he brought forward, and all he asked was that Parliament should recognize the law as it at present stood. There were, no doubt, questions that might be disputed as to the nature of the proprietorship by lords and possession by tenants in some parts of the country, for the reason that as yet no legal decisions had been given in regard to the kind of tenures he alluded to. Where there had been actions at law, they had not been brought to a conclusion. No one knew what would be the decision of the Courts of Law on certain points—particularly in regard to mineral rights.

MR. TOMLINSON wished to know whether the discussion could be allowed to digress into a debate as to the law on the question?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member for Cricklade (Mr. Story-Maskelyne) is entitled to answer a question; but, of course, he cannot describe the law on the subject on the Motion that the Chairman do now leave the Chair.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he would suggest to the hon. Member for Cricklade that he should withdraw his Amendments for the present, and bring them up again on Report.

MR. STORY-MASKELYNE said, he did not see what object would be gained by following that course. If the question was to be decided at all it would have to be discussed—it would have to be debated in Committee or on Report. It could be just as well discussed now as on the next stage; but, of course, if it were more convenient to hon. Members to take the discussion on Report he would be willing to acquiesce. If the House did not want the Amendments at all it would be as well to take the discussion on them now.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): When we come to those Amendments on which there is a difference of opinion they should be put off to Report. I understood from the hon. Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh) that he was not going to press the Amendments. I asked him openly, and he said he was not.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I would appeal to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cricklade not to press his Amendments to-night, and to allow the Bill to pass through Committee. No doubt, on Report, he will be able to come to some arrangement with the hon. Member for West Somerset with regard to the Amendments.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER said, he did not consider the arrangement proposed by the right hon. Baronet at all satisfactory. From the few remarks the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cricklade had addressed to them his Amendments appeared to be and were of a very important character. The hon. Member said they would not alter the law as it at present stood; but one of the Amendments, as it appeared on the Paper, would repeal the 48th section of the Land Act, and thereby make a great change in the law. He would really appeal to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cricklade, and ask him whether he thought they could proceed with a Bill of this kind this Session? The short discussion they had already had showed that it was of a highly contentious character. Several of the clauses would be fought at considerable length; and he would appeal to the hon. Member whether he really thought they would be able to pass the measure into law in the present Session? If the hon. Gentleman went to a division on the Motion that the Chairman do leave the Chair he (Mr. J. W. Lowther) should certainly support him.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 16; Noes 86: Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 216.)

Mr. STORY-MASKELYNE: I beg to withdraw the Amendments I have put on the Paper for Committee. I hope to have an opportunity of bringing them forward on Report.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, he must complain of the course taken by the hon. Member. It amounted almost to a breach of agreement. He understood they had voted against reporting Progress on the understanding that the hon. Member might have waived his right of moving the Amendments he had on the Paper. Now, the hon. Gentleman wished merely to postpone the Amendments with the view of bringing them up again on the Report.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, it was impossible to take away the liberty of a Member to move an Amendment or postpone it as he thought fit; and whatever arrangement might be made with a Member another Member might not be a party to it. A great many Members were anxious that the Bill should pass; and it was, therefore, obvious that to attain the desired end they should not go against the wish of a large section of the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh) move any of his Amendments?

Mr. WAUGH: No, Sir; none of them.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 2 to 49, inclusive, *agreed to,* with Amendments.

Clause 50 (For accelerating enfranchisement by manors).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

Mr. HALSEY said, he would appeal to the hon. Member in charge of the Bill to report Progress. It was monstrous, after what they had already agreed to, to ask them to proceed further that night. It amounted to this—that five tenants at will, whose united quit rents might be under 6*d*. a-year, would be able to combine under this Bill, and have an inquiry held, which the lord of the manor would have to pay for, because he did not see that there was any other arrangement provided for in the Bill. These five men could then proceed to upset the whole of a manor extending, perhaps, over ten miles. The tenants on such a manor as that which he had in his mind might extend over a vast tract of country, and the great majority of them would not hear of this inquiry, and would not come up to vote, unless the lord of the manor went to the expense of bringing them up. The whole manor might thus be upset by five men who had no stake or interest in the matter. He would ask the Government to strike this clause out altogether, or to report Progress, and take time to consider it. He could not believe that a Government of honour, bearing such a high reputation as the present Government did, would consent to pass such a clause as this.

Mr. WAUGH said, this clause in Committee had been drawn almost entirely by the hon. Member for West Somerset (Mr. Elton), and he believed that hon. Gentleman still adhered to it.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 91; Noes 7: Majority 84.—(Div. List, No. 217.)

Remaining Clauses, with Schedule and Preamble, *agreed to.*

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next.

PUBLIC HEALTH (MEMBERS AND OFFICERS) BILL.—[Bill 114.]

(*Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Long, Mr. Cowen.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Sir John Kennaway.*)

MR. BIGGAR said, that there had been no discussion on this Bill; and the hon. Baronet notwithstanding rose at that hour of the morning, without giving the slightest explanation of its merits or provisions, to move that the Speaker leave the Chair. He was surprised that the Government should support the Bill, because its object was to enable members of Public Health Boards to perpetrate jobs amongst themselves. Under the circumstances, he felt it his duty to move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. HEALY said, he thought the House was greatly indebted to the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) for making this Motion, entirely in the interests of the British taxpayer, seeing that the Bill did not apply to Ireland. His hon. Friend had always been a consistent supporter of economical principles, and the course he had just taken showed that he was absolutely disinterested in this matter. He begged to second the Motion of his hon. Friend.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Biggar.*)

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY said, in his opinion the Bill had been sufficiently discussed last Wednesday. It was a Bill to remove a great hardship upon a deserving body of men—clerks and officers of Local Boards—who were at present subject to penalties on the information of informers, which penalties could be recovered in two places. The Bill had received the assent of both Front Benches; it was a most important measure, and it would be a great loss if it were not passed into law during the present Session.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, as the hon. Member for Cavan had made a Motion which precluded any Member from speaking on the Bill, he hoped that he would, at all events, withdraw it, and hear what his hon. Friend had to say on the subject, and then, if he thought it necessary, he could renew his Motion.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 12; Noes 80: Majority 68.—(Div. List, No. 217.)

Original Question again proposed.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY said, if his Motion for the Speaker leaving the Chair were agreed to, he did not propose to take the clauses to-night; they could stand over for future discussion. He pointed out that members and officers of Public Boards sometimes contracted with their Boards for the sale of land, and under the Municipal Corporations Act they were under no disability in that respect. He contended, therefore, that the same facility ought to be given in this case. The Bill proposed to relieve members of Public Health Boards from the disabilities under which they suffered in case any contract was made by the Boards of which they were members with any public Company. The officers in question were, for instance, now subject to great inconvenience if they were members of a Gas Company in the district.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir John Kennaway.*)

MR. COURTNEY said, he had been waiting in the House for two hours solely on account of this Bill, in the hope that with certain modifications it might get through Committee. The course proposed appeared to him rather inconvenient.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he must take upon himself the blame for what the hon. Member for Liskeard complained of. He had suggested to the hon. Baronet that he might take this course.

MR. HEALY thought it would be a great mistake if Progress was not reported. The Bill was introduced for the purpose of allowing members of Boards to sell their property to one another; and for that reason, if for no other, he contended that they should report Progress.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he had suggested to the hon. Baronet that he should put down the Bill for Monday.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

FACTORY ACTS (EXTENSION TO SHOPS) BILL.—[BILL 23.]

(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Burt, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Pell.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the object of this Bill was to extend to shops that provision of the Factory Acts which provided that no young person under 18 years of age should be made to work more than 12 hours a-day. He hoped the House would consent to the passing of this Bill, which he was sure would prolong the lives of many thousands of persons.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir John Lubbock.*)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) said, the Government were willing to assent to the Bill being read a second time on the understanding that it be referred to a Select Committee. The Government were not to be understood to pledge themselves to the principle of the Bill.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he thought there was some misunderstanding. He had a conference just now with the Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross) and his hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock); and it was agreed that if the House would consent to the second reading of the Bill now, and the Committee stage was put down for Tuesday, the Government would offer no opposition. At this late hour (2 o'clock) he would not detain the House; but he endorsed what had been said by his hon. Friend (Sir John Lubbock). He had waited five hours to support the hon. Baronet, simply because he was convinced the Bill was of national importance. It affected nearly 500,000 young persons in the country who worked 13 or 15 hours a-day, and who were often kept in very unwholesome and insalubrious localities for that work. The Bill would really do charitable and good work for young persons who were not able to defend their own interests. All that was asked was that Parliament should extend the Factory Acts—the great Act of 1847, which applied solely to factories, and the Act of the right hon. Gentleman the present Home Secretary, which was passed in 1878—and by that means relieve a large number of young persons from the burdens under which they now laboured. He hoped the House would allow the Bill to be read a second time. He was convinced, on the assurance of the Home Secretary, that the Government would not offer any opposition if the Committee was fixed for Tuesday.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, that if the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London would fix the Committee for Tuesday the Government would offer no opposition to the second reading. The Government must, however, reserve their opinion on the subject.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* next.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT PRACTICES) BILL.—[BILL 148.]

(*Mr. Richard Paget, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Bulwer.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. R. H. Paget.*)

MR. HEALY said, the Bill was read a second time without a single word of explanation. He had not had time to read the Bill, and therefore he asked the hon. Gentleman (Mr. R. H. Paget) to state what the Bill proposed.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, this was a Bill of one clause to remove the ambiguity which existed in the law as it at present stood. It provided that a person might absent himself from his employment on the day of poll to record his vote without any deduction being made from his salary or wages. It was an unopposed Bill; it was brought before the Attorney General (Sir Henry James) of the late Government, and it had the approval of the present Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster). On the back of it was the name of the hon. Baronet the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease), and he (Mr. R. H. Paget) had not heard a single word of opposition raised to its principle. It contained provisions to prevent any possible misuse of the permission to be given by an employer to his servant to attend at the polling booth to give his vote. The permission must be granted to everyone in a man's employ; indeed, the measure, as it stood, was entirely free from any Party politics. It had been virtually assented to by the late Attorney General, and he (Mr. R. H. Paget) hoped that, under the circumstances, the House would permit the Speaker to leave the Chair.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the hon. Member had stated that the Bill was assented to by the late Attorney General. He did not know whether the hon. Gentleman had seen the right hon. and learned Gentleman within the last day or two; but his (Sir Charles W. Dilke's) impression was that his right hon. and learned Friend had some doubt about the Bill. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was favourable to the Bill, and he should offer no opposition to it to-night; but he would like to ask, on behalf of his right hon. and learned Friend the late Attorney General, that the clauses should not be considered in Committee until Monday, in order to give the late Attorney General time to put down what Amendments he might think necessary.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he thought the Bill would need careful consideration, in order that care was had that all servants should be treated equally. There was just the danger of a person giving leave to a servant to claim his wages in a way that the servant might not be able to take advantage of it. Unless they were careful, the leave might take the form of a bribe.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Elector to attend poll without deduction of wages).

MR. HEALY said, it had hitherto been the custom to make Corrupt Practices Acts annual Acts, and to put them in the Continuance Bill. He would ask the Members of the Government to consider what was the good of putting Bills in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill when, in point of fact, they could not be amended? Would it not be well to codify the law relating to corrupt practices, and to make the Acts permanent?

MR. R. H. PAGET said, there was, perhaps, something in the point raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oldham (Mr. Lyulph Stanley). He did not wish to dispute that the Bill might be improved; indeed, if the Bill could be improved in a way to prevent the possibility of the danger which the hon. Gentleman contemplated, he (Mr. R. H. Paget) would be only too happy to propose the necessary Amendments. As he was unable to answer the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) before this, he must inform him that he had not had any communication with the late Attorney General within the last few days; and, therefore, if the right hon. and learned Gentleman had altered his opinion respecting the Bill, he (Mr. R. H. Paget) was not aware of it. He did not wish to occupy the time of the Committee further, and therefore would agree to the suggestion to report Progress.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE suggested to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) that he should put down a Motion to carry out the view he had expressed.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

RIVER THAMES (No. 2) BILL.—[BILL 90.]
(*Mr. Story-Maskelyne, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Elton, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Sellar, Colonel Makins, Mr. Molloy.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that those who were present yesterday would remember that objection was taken by the hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) to proceeding with the Bill. He had seen the hon. Baronet since, and he had waived his objection. He supposed, therefore, there would be no objection to the Bill proceeding.

Bill, as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

MOTIONS.

PLURALITIES BILL.

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Lord EDWARD CAVENDISH and Mr. CROPPER *nominated* other Members of the Select Committee on Pluralities Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Sir RICHARD CROSS be one other Member of the said Committee."—(*Mr. Acland.*)

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he must make an appeal to his hon. Friend (Mr. Acland) to content himself with the efforts he had made to legislate on this subject this Session. Many other Bills had been dropped, and it would be no greater hardship to the hon. Gentleman than it had been to others to forego his measure for a time. It was impossible that the Committee could hold a proper inquiry and present a Report this Session. His hon. Friend might have an idea that this was a small thing to undertake; but, as a matter of fact, it was a question of the first importance, affecting the whole of the clergy of the country. The title of the Bill was the Pluralities Bill, but that by no means covered the ground; a much better title would be the Clergy Disability Bill. The whole of the clergy in the country were deeply interested in an effective Bill. The Bill, as drawn, was the most inefficient thing that could have been proposed. Further than that, his hon. Friend had not given due consideration to the composition of the Committee. While the hon. Gentleman might now be willing to admit a slight modification, the modification would not really meet the necessities of the case. He did not hesitate to say that his hon. Friend had been going on the lines of proscription towards certain Members of the House.

MR. R. H. PAGET rose to Order. He wished to know whether it was open to the hon. Member (Mr. Illingworth) on the Question put by the Chair—namely, that certain Members of the House be Members of the Committee, to enter upon a discussion of the principle of the Bill?

MR. SPEAKER: The House is now engaged in nominating the Members of the Committee. It is not, therefore, competent for the hon. Member to re-open the whole subject.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, that upon the question of names put by the Chair he ventured to ask whether the House had security that the Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) nominated, and others who had been associated with him in the list of the Committee, would do what was fair and reasonable to all classes of the people? There had been a manifest intention shown, in the nomination of the Committee, to proscribe a large class of Members of the House. That belief was confirmed. [*Cries of* "Order!"] He was dealing with the Question. The Gentleman whose name had now been given from the Chair, and those with whom he was associated, belonged exclusively to one religious denomination; and, therefore, he thought the nomination of the Committee should be deferred to some occasion when it could be debated in a reasonable way. What he did object to, and what other hon. Members objected to, and what a great number of people worthy of their consideration in the country objected to, was that such a line should be taken by a Liberal Member. Moreover, there was no opportunity for anything which could be said at this period of the morning (2.20 a.m.) appearing in print, or of canvassing hon. Members to ascertain who would be willing to serve on the Committee in order to make it an efficient and representative one. The next name which would be given to them would be that of a Member of the Government (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and he did not know whether that right hon. Gentleman would be able to serve. He ventured to hope—with great respect and great firmness he ventured to hope—that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Acland) would not proceed further, because if he did it would be their duty to oppose further progress. He begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Illingworth.*)

The House *divided:*—Ayes 9; Noes 45: Majority 36.—(Div. List, No. 219.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. ILLINGWORTH: Before the name of Sir Richard Cross is put I should like to ask——

MR. SPEAKER: That name is passed. The next name is that of Mr. Beresford Hope.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. BERESFORD HOPE be one other Member of the said Committee."

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he could only appeal again to his hon. Friend, and express a hope that he would not consider that he (Mr. Illingworth) wished to pay him any disrespect. But the hon. Member was only in the same position as other hon. Gentlemen who were in charge of measures relating to questions which were very much "vexed questions," and who, therefore, had to wait for suitable opportunities to pass their Bills. The right hon. Gentleman whose name was before them (Mr. Beresford Hope) was a Gentleman of pronounced views, and he had been notorious throughout his career in the House for the opposition he had offered to everything which had savoured of an extension of the religious liberty and civil rights of certain classes of Her Majesty's subjects; and he (Mr. Illingworth) could not but think that his hon. Friend would, in the end, succeed far better by abandoning any present intention of going forward with the Bill, or of asking hon. Gentlemen to join him in Committee upstairs. With the names which had been passed, and the one now before them, they would find it very inconvenient to go into the questions which would be brought before the Committee. He, therefore, begged to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Illingworth.*)

MR. ACLAND said, he appreciated the hon. Gentleman's desire, and he would, therefore, move the addition——

MR. SPEAKER: It is not competent for the hon. Gentleman to make a Motion.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he wished to make a suggestion in the interests of peace. The hon. Member for Bradford was anxious to have Nonconformists represented on the Committee, so he (Mr. J. G. Talbot) understood. He had understood the hon. Member for Cornwall (Mr. Acland) to say the other night that he had asked one or two Nonconformists to be on the Committee, but that they had declined. He would suggest to his hon. Friend that he should now add the names of one or two Nonconformists at the end of the list.

MR. ACLAND said, he had been on the point of saying that he should be only too glad to accept on the Committee hon. Members of different views. He should be glad to add or substitute names which the hon. Gentleman might think more appropriate.

MR. WARTON said, the hon. Member for Bradford had had ample opportunity of giving Notice of names, but had not availed himself of it.

MR. HEALY said, he trusted that this wrangle would be a lesson to Members of the Radical Party. Here they found the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford objecting to a series of names one after the other, when, if the old Rules had remained unaltered, he could have prevented the whole of the names from coming on by blocking the Motion. The hon. Member had supported the alteration of the old Rules, and he must now stew in his own juice.

MR. CROPPER said, he thought it would be desirable to add more hon. Members to the Committee, so that every section of opinion might be represented.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question, "That Viscount EMLYN be one other Member of the said Committee," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, that on this name he wished to say a word or two.

Several hon. MEMBERS: It is passed.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY: I rose when Lord Emlyn's name was mentioned.

MR. SPEAKER: I passed the name of Viscount Emlyn, and was proceeding to put the name of Mr. Stafford Howard.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD be one other Member of the said Committee."

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, an appeal had been made to him by his hon. Friend who was in charge of the subject —an appeal which was very reasonable. But at that period of the Session they should not ask hon. Members to hurry through an inquiry of this kind. He was satisfied that justice would not be done to it. Many clergymen had written to him begging that he would do everything in his power to prevent the inquiry being hurried through. As matters now stood, he would have every justification for refusing to comply with the appeal which had been made, considering how persistently his hon. Friend (Mr. Acland) had refused to listen to what he thought a most reasonable wish.

Mr. ALBERT GREY said, that to carry out the wishes of the clergymen and others the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Illingworth) had referred to it would be well for him to see that some Nonconformists were appointed on the Committee. The hon. Member for Leeds, whom he (Mr. Albert Grey) had spoken to on the subject, had almost expressed a wish that he should serve. He had said he felt sure that the hon. Member for Southampton—who was away in bed—would, if appointed, be very glad to serve. It was almost a policy of obstruction, and dangerous for that reason, to proceed as the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had done. If that hon. Member would look at his Notice Paper he would see that a quorum of the Committee was to consist of five Members. There were already six or seven Members appointed, and there were nine or ten to come. If it was to be a good Committee, in order to prevent its having that vicious Church of England character which the hon. Member so condemned, he should see that some of his Friends were put on. He (Mr. A. Grey) hoped the hon. Member would not oppose the appointment of the Committee any further.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. J. G. Hubbard, Mr. Inderwick, Sir John Kennaway, Sir John Mowbray, Mr. Richard Paget, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Rylands, and Mr. Wodehouse, *nominated* other Members of the said Committee; Five to be the quorum.

DEEDS OF ARRANGEMENT . REGISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Bill to provide for the Registration, as in cases of Bills of Sale, of all Deeds of Arrangement with Debtors who compound and settle for their debts without process in Bankruptcy, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Joseph M'Kenna and Mr. W. Newzam Nicholson.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 225.]

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (MONEY) BILL.

On Motion of Sir Henry Holland, Bill to further amend the Acts relating to the raising of Money by the Metropolitan Board of Works; and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Henry Holland and Colonel Walrond.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 224.]

LICENSING LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Licensing Laws.

Resolution *reported:*—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Stafford Howard and Mr. Houldsworth.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 226.]

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 10*th July,* 1885.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—River Thames (No. 2)* (171); Shannon Navigation* (172); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 5)* (173).

Second Reading—East India Loan (£10,000,000) (164).

Select Committee — Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment (127), *nominated.*

Committee—Report—Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2)* (155).

Report — Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London)* (79).

THE ADMIRALTY—ADMINISTRATION OF THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK gave Notice that in consequence of the statement made by the Leader of the other House of Parliament with regard to the administration of part of the Vote of Credit by the Admiralty he should call attention to the subject on Tuesday next.

REGENT'S CANAL, CITY, AND DOCKS RAILWAY BILL.—RESOLUTION.

Lord BALFOUR, in moving—

"That Standing Order No. 93, be considered in order to its being dispensed with in respect of a Petition of the Metropolitan Railway Company praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill,"

said, that his Motion might be said to arise out of the decision at which their Lordships arrived on Tuesday last. He did not desire to go behind that decision, but only that the inquiry before the Select Committee should be a full and fair one. The House on Tuesday allowed the Bill to pass a second reading, containing clauses which were against one of the Standing Orders of the House. In 1882 the Company procured an Act authorizing the raising of a capital of £10,500,000. Since that time nothing had been done, and the object of the present Bill was to authorize £660,000 to be raised in order to pay interest on the £10,500,000 of capital during the construction of the railway. If his Motion were not agreed to, the promoters of the Bill and their witnesses would not even be cross-examined on their financial proposals. There was no doubt that the Metropolitan Railway Company, which was a rival undertaking, and was also affected as a landowner, had a *locus standi* in the matter; and they had not petitioned because they relied on their Lordships not reversing the decision of 1882, when they refused to allow the payment of interest out of capital. If the Metropolitan Company were not allowed to be heard against the Bill, a dangerous precedent would be created, as Companies would promote two Bills—one directed to the execution of the work, and the other to the financial proposals — and this separation might exclude those who would otherwise have a right to oppose one or the other of the Bills. The noble Lord concluded with his Motion.

Moved, "That Standing Order No. 93. be considered in order to its being dispensed with in respect of a Petition of the Metropolitan Railway Company praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill."—(*The Lord Balfour.*)

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (The Duke of Richmond and Gordon) said, he would not oppose the Motion, if he received the assurance that it was not intended to go into the merits of the case.

Lord BALFOUR assured their Lordships that the inquiry would be confined to the question of finance.

Motion *agreed to.*

Leave given to present the said Petition.

THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT—CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

The Duke of ARGYLL, in rising to call the attention of the House to the circumstances attending the recent change of Administration, and to the effect of them on the political prospects of the country, said: My Lords, I shall not waste the time of the House by offering any elaborate apology for the Notice upon which I now rise to speak. It appears to me very humbly that some such Notice was due from some one. It is now almost exactly a month since that vote took place in the House of Commons which led to the dissolution of the late Administration. My Lords, during a great part of that month we were without a Government, and at the present moment we are still in the rapids of a great political crisis. My Lords, not only is that true, but it may almost be said that we are but in the beginnings of these rapids. To the month which has now elapsed there will be added no less than four months before there can be any great Constitutional settlement of the questions which have been raised. This is a great public evil. In foreign affairs it is not possible that the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury), with all the strength of his mind and character, should speak as the Foreign Minister and the Head of the English Government ought to speak—as expressing the determination and the power of the British Parliament. In domestic affairs there are also great evils to be borne. There is no guidance of public opinion. At home, when everybody is appealing to a new constituency everybody is free, without the guidance of the Government. Everybody is free to bid for the applause and support of particular sections of the community, and there is no unity in the action of Party, which usually guides our public counsels. My Lords, I say that these are great public evils. In the Ministerial explanations which have taken place has there been any satisfactory explanation given of this state of things? It is impossible not to feel that under the existing state of things, when there is a sort of compact between the two Parties that nothing shall be mentioned that would raise contention, and nothing said which would enlighten the people upon the condition of public affairs, the noble Marquess has made a short statement of foreign policy marked by great moderation and great dignity, but also, if he will allow me to say so, by great and necessary reserve. Contrast this condition of Parliamentary discussion with the discussion out-of-doors. There is a truce within the walls of Parliament—there is no truce outside its walls. There is a most bitter Party spirit already abroad, and in the contest on which we are about to enter every appeal will be made to the ignorance, and, if possible, to the prejudices, of the new electors by both sides of politicians. Is that a right condition of things? Is it right that both Houses of Parliament, by a sort of implicit compact between the two Front Benches in the two Chambers, should be precluded from discussing one of the greatest political crises that has ever happened in the country? I hope that your Lordships will not think that I wish to introduce into this House the heated language and the partizan statements of the platform. Far be it from me to do so. But is there no medium between total silence upon the greatest questions that will affect the political future of this country and the partizan utterances to which I have alluded? I venture to think that in addressing your Lordships' House on this question I need not use partizan language. I wish to speak with perfect freedom in the interests of the country, and I hope I may be able to do so without giving unnecessary offence. It will be in your Lordships' recollection that in the first Ministerial Statement by the noble Marquess opposite he spoke somewhat in a tone of apology to his own supporters, chiefly explaining why it was he had taken Office without receiving those formal assurances which at first he thought necessary to his position. In commenting upon that speech the noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition in this House said, practically, to the noble Marquess—"You have no need of using a tone of apology." That is to say, that no apology was needed from the late Leader of the Opposition for assuming Office when he had upset the late Government; it was his duty to take Office. I am not now quoting the exact words; I am quoting the substance of the good-humoured banter, of which he is so great a master, and under which he sometimes contrives to insinuate the most important truths. Now, I venture to think that my noble Friend did not thoroughly realize the circumstances of the case. This is not a case where the Leader of an Opposition upset the Government in the usual course of Party warfare—it was upset by an accidental Vote, carried by a combination of the fractions of the House of Commons, largely aided by extensive abstentions on the part of the supporters of Her Majesty's late Government. I venture to doubt the Constitutional doctrine that, under such circumstances, the Leader of the principal division of the majority of the House of Commons is necessarily bound to take Office. I object to it on a great Constitutional principle that, if this doctrine were once admitted, it would make the normal majority practically dictators to the country. For instance, take the case of a Budget. Supposing there were any objectionable proposition in it—I am far from saying that that is the case in the present instance, I am only supposing a case—if the principle to which I have referred were admitted, then no combination of Parties would venture to dispute the Budget for fear that, if it were rejected, one of them would be forced to take Office. Therefore, I maintain that, under the circumstances in which that division took place, it was not absolutely incumbent upon the noble Marquess to take Office, and I think that his doing so was an act of great public courage. I cannot conceive that any public man in his position would have accepted Office, except under a high sense of public duty. Now, I pass to a more important matter. There has been very little explanation given to us by those in Office, and absolutely none has been given to us by those who went out of Office. Now, they are the principal occasions of this great political crisis. My Lords, I cannot help wondering, when I see the great political transformation which has taken place, and which is typified by the change of sides in both Houses. How is it that the great Administration of Mr. Gladstone, which came into Office with a majority ranging from 100 to 130, the most powerful Administration in numbers that has ever succeeded to power in this country in my recollection, and, I believe, the most powerful in point of numbers for many years before—how is it that that Administration came to such sudden grief, how has it gone upon the rock, and how has it compelled the Leaders of a comparatively small minority in Parliament to assume the responsibility of Office? That is a question which, I think, we have a right to look into, and which, in my opinion, is full of interest and instruction. Of course, I know that there were incidental causes at work, as I believe there must always be when any Government has been in Office for four or five years. They accumulate gradually and insensibly against it. Discontent, falsified expectations, disappointed wants gradually sap and undermine the popularity of such a Government. That, no doubt, is one of the causes which effected it. Then, again, there is the Irish vote, which is always an uncertain element in political affairs. But none of these causes can account for the great and sudden crash that has taken place. The cause of that crash I believe to be this—that there has been for a long time a waning confidence in the Leaders of the Liberal Party, due to a growing persuasion that they were not united, and that the policy which they pursued was a policy of compromise not completely fitting into the opinions of any one fraction of the Government. It is my wish to-night to point out the public evidences we have upon this subject; and before I do so, allow me to say that I will never believe in those newspaper paragraphs about splits in the Cabinet, which are so common in this country. My own experience leads me to believe that these rumours are generally wholly false, and that even when they have a ground of foundation they are greatly misrepresented. I do not go on such evidence as that. When one comes to me and says they have heard of splits in the Cabinet, I reply that I do not believe them, for nobody could know them to be true unless there was a want of honour in the Cabinet itself, and it is extremely improbable that that should be so. My Lords, I set aside all those rumours. But it has been an open secret; and I could not help observing that in certain newspapers paragraphs appeared on this subject which subsequent events proved to have been well informed. I do not know that it ever happened to such a great extent in any other Cabinet than the late Cabinet; but I only observed what everybody had observed. Then there is the evidence, however superficial, that during the last month it even struck me that in the streets, or at a party, or a garden party, if you saw any man coming along with a particularly elastic step, and a most joyful frame of countenance, ten to one that on coming closer you would find that it was a Member of the late happy Cabinet of Mr. Gladstone. They always seemed to say to themselves—and I am told that some of them said it in so many words—"We have got out of the mess; and not only that, but we have put the Tories into it." But I turn from these external evidences; and, by-the-bye, my noble Friend the Leader of the Opposition, in the speech he made the other day in answer to the noble Marquess, used what I thought was a very significant expression, for he mentioned that the Sovereign had invited Mr. Gladstone to resume the great Office he had so long held; and the answer to that, if I recollect the expression of my noble Friend aright, was that if Mr. Gladstone found that no other Government could be formed he would not desert his Sovereign, but would try to reconstitute the Government, although he would not even then promise Her Majesty that there would be smooth water. This expression appeared to imply that there were serious differences of opinion between the Leaders of the Liberal Party. But I turn from these slight indications of the evidence which we have in public, and will speak first of foreign policy. I wish to assure my noble Friend who leads on this side of the House that I do not, either in fact or in intention, reflect upon him. Nothing has happened—I say it seriously—which shakes the confidence I have long had in the eminent, I should say the pre-eminent, qualifications of my noble Friend for the great Office which he has so long held. I know the breadth of his views, the dispassionate nature of his judgment, his great knowledge of men, and his great tact in dealing with them; but I have never assumed or believed that, in conducting the foreign policy of the late Government, the noble Earl has ever been anything else than the mouthpiece of a compromise arrived at in a disunited Cabinet of which he was a Member. Now, my Lords, having expressed my personal confidence in so far as my noble Friend is concerned, I wish to direct the attention of the House to the fact that the first great blow which the late Government received was with regard to their policy in the Soudan. The House of Commons, by a majority smaller than the number of the Cabinet Members—namely, 14—consented to pass a verdict not of approval, but negatively of refusing to approve of their policy. A Government, which at the commencement of their career was supported by a majority of certainly above 100, to escape defeat by a number smaller than their own Cabinet, can hardly be said to have quite escaped a Vote of Want of Confidence. We have had the confession of, I think, not less than three Members of the Cabinet that, in consequence of that Vote, the Government considered the question of resigning. Now, as to the Soudan, I am not going to discuss the merits of the question; but I have never for a moment doubted that the long delay which took place in the release of General Gordon could not possibly have taken place unless there were great divisions in the Cabinet on the subject of Egyptian policy. It is incredible that so great a man sent out by the Government on whatever condition could have been left for so many months without a determination to send immediate relief—it is impossible that such a transaction could have taken place except with the most serious differences of opinion upon a question which deeply affected the honour of the country. I do not know whether your Lordships noticed in the journal of General Gordon, which has recently been published, a very curious fact. In the midst of the tremendous dangers and difficulties by which he was surrounded he never lost his presence of mind or lightness of spirit, and I am very much struck at the jocular manner in which he expresses himself. This is the paragraph to which I refer as describing the policy which I have attempted to sketch. General Gordon had received a message from Cairo desiring him to give particulars of his exact position, and when he wished the Relief Expedition to arrive; and then he puts down these words—

> "Now, I really think if Egerton was to turn over the 'archives' (a delicious word) of his office, he would see that we had been in difficulties for provisions for some months. It is as if a man on the bank, having seen his friend in a river already bobbed down two or three times, hails, 'I say, old fellow, let us know when we are to throw you the lifebuoy. I know you have bobbed down two or three times, but it is a pity to throw you the lifebuoy until you are really *in extremis*, and I want to know exactly, for I am a man brought up in a school of exactitude.'"

That is a sample of the humorous language in which he tells of what took place; and I confess, having regard to these facts, we have proof that there must have been great differences of opinion among the Leaders of the Liberal Party. It was that conviction, depend upon it, which led to the Vote of the House of Commons, and it is the thing which in the country has damaged the late Government more than anything else. For myself, I object to their policy on deeper grounds. It so happened that I was the first Member of this House to take up what has since become one of the Liberal principles, and that is the protection of the interests of the Native population. I took it up when the late Lord Derby was at the head of foreign affairs, and long before the question had become a popular cry of the Liberal Party; and some noble Lords will remember that when I brought forward a Motion in this House with reference to the insurrection in Crete I got no support from your Lordships. I remember very well that one of the Peers who got up to oppose me, and who took an opposite view of the duties of the English nation, was my noble Friend who lately presided at the India Office (the Earl of Kimberley). I now pass to another matter of immense importance, of which I have the clearest evidence of a want of united purpose—I refer to the condition of our naval defences. If there is one thing in the politics of this country for which the Government ought to be responsible it was the sufficiency of our naval defences. They should not allow this matter to be interfered with by any external authority whatever. It is for them to make up their own minds whether the Navy of Great Britain is sufficient for the duties it has to perform, and by their calculation they ought to abide against all comers. I do not blame my noble Friend the late First Lord of the Admiralty, for he must have differed from all the First Lords I have ever known if he would not have been delighted to have a larger sum to spend on his own Department. I have never known them to reduce their Estimates, and I never knew one who would not be glad to have a larger sum; but all I can say is that the present First Lord of the Admiralty, who has to see that the Navy is adequate for the defence of the country and the exigencies of the Public Service, is placed in a very awkward position indeed. In the month of November there was a great agitation, incited by anonymous articles in *The Pall Mall Gazette*. They produced an immense effect, and I confess I read them with complete and absolute incredulity. I did not believe that the Navy was as represented; but I made some private inquiries from naval friends, and they told me, for the first time, that they had serious misgivings that the truth was so. Still, I can say this with the utmost sincerity—that if a Vote had been challenged by the Opposition, and my noble Friend (the Earl of Northbrook) had asked me to support his Estimates, I should have voted for them through thick and thin. The Executive Government is responsible, and ought not to be run in upon by any Parliamentary Party or by others outside; and it does shake one's confidence very much in the sufficiency and the unity of the Government to find this ground was departed from. I was never more astonished than when my noble Friend gave way to that agitation, and proposed that no less than £5,000,000 should be added to the Naval Estimates to strengthen the defences and make the Navy more efficient. I cannot describe the effect that had on my own mind. I said to myself I know the tenacity of purpose with which the defences of the country are always regarded, and I know that it could not have been broken down without long and anxious debate; and here we have it proved that there must have been great disunion among the Leaders. Greater questions do not arise than with regard to our foreign policy and our naval supremacy; but I turn from them to perhaps a still more fundamental question—namely, that of finance. It so happened that I first became a Colleague of my right hon. Friend Mr. Gladstone in the Government of Lord Aberdeen. When that Government was formed there was a great financial agitation in the country over what was called the differentiation or graduation of the Income Tax. A noble Friend opposite will recollect it well. I remember hearing Lord Aberdeen say that unless the Government gave way on that point, probably before many months were over the Government would cease to exist. As a mere intellectual exercise I was interested in it at the time. Well, the Cabinet met. Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he had to face the difficulty in the House of Commons, and he faced it there in a speech which was one of the greatest triumphs of his financial genius. He resisted the breaking down of the Income Tax; he resisted its graduation; he resisted its differentiation, and from that day to this, when the question arose in the House of Commons, he said he would be no party to the breaking down of the Income Tax, that great instrument of finance. But now one of the most prominent Members of the Government, the President of the Board of Trade, goes out into the country and makes a great speech in which the graduation of the Income Tax is definitely laid down as the platform for the future guidance of the Liberal Party. What are we to think, we Members of the Liberal Party, who have been brought up in the school of Mr. Gladstone, who, at least as regards finance, have looked to him as a great prophet and a great teacher—what are we to think when we see Mr. Gladstone allowing one of his principal Colleagues to go about teaching the country in direct opposition to the doctrine which he has laid down with all his energy and all his genius? It shakes, and it ought to shake, confidence in the Liberal Party, and in its unity and consistency. It is all very well for the Members of the late Cabinet to say, as they have repeatedly said—"Oh, we are not responsible for our Colleagues' speeches in the country." Within certain limits that is true. Beyond those limits it is not true. But when I see leading Members of the Government—and young men who are likely to succeed, more or less, to some share or other of the Leadership of the Party—going about instructing the people to throw aside doctrines most sacred to the intellectual convictions of the

Head of the Party, it is a gross breach of usage. I now come to the case of Ireland. I am not going to trouble the House with my own opinions. I wish to stick to my case as far as I can, which is the public evidence we have or have had of disunion in the late Government. It was the duty of the Government, knowing that the Crimes Act was going to expire, to make up their mind whether they would renew it in whole or in part. In this connection we have had some curious prognostications which have come true. It was openly stated that there were great differences in the minds of Members of the Government upon this subject. There may, there must be, differences of opinion on such a question in the Cabinet; but the Cabinet is at least bound to make up its mind one way or another, and speak with no uncertain voice. Well, far on in the Session it is announced by my right hon. Friend at the head of the then Government that a new Act would be proposed, not, he said, what is commonly called coercive, and which, he thought, was improperly so-called. I entirely agree that an Act which is called coercive very often ought not to have that title given to it. I am entirely in favour of the cry of "No coercion;" but then, my Lords, on the condition that there is no coercion from below as well as no coercion from above. Let every Irishman be free to exercise his own talents, to invest his own money as it suits his own interest to do so according to law. Show me a state of things in which there is no coercion from below, in which it is in the power of any Irishman to take a farm which has been "Boycotted" without danger of injury to himself; show me a state of things in which that coercion does not exist, and I will say with all my heart—"Let us have no coercion from above." I understood my right hon. Friend Mr. Gladstone to have come to this conclusion—that in order to prevent coercion from below, in order to secure the liberties of the Irish people in their individual capacity, and to save them from the tyranny of secret societies, it was necessary for the late Government to renew some portion at least of the late Coercion Act. No doubt if the late Government had been in Office now they would have been bound to go on with their proposals in that direction. A few days afterwards my right hon. Friend, then at the head of the Government, also announced that he intended to bring in a Bill to render saleable, if possible, the land belonging to the Irish landlords. The best-informed persons affect to think that this would not have been tolerated by some portion of the Liberal Party; but I cannot conceive what connection there is between the two subjects. In my opinion, it is the first duty of the Government of this country to try, if they can, to relieve from absolute unsaleability the land of Ireland. It is not merely in the interests of the landowners, but in the permanent interests of the Irish people, that they should do it. There is no civilized country in the world except Ireland where the ownership of land is unsaleable, and not only is that proposition true, but it is true farther that in proportion to the welfare and civilization of a people the saleability of land increases and its price increases; and I say it is a standing reproach to you and to your land legislation and your Administration that the saleability of land has been destroyed in Ireland. My Lords, when I left the late Government I said that it would be so—I told you your Bill was not merely giving tenant right to the tenant, not merely reforming the ownership of land, but that it was destroying the ownership. It has destroyed all that in which the ownership of land consists; and I maintain that to a very large extent, if not entirely, as the result of the Irish Land Act you have passed, the ownership of land has become a *damnosa hæreditas* for which no man who is in his senses in Ireland will give sixpence. It is one of the duties of the Government to try and remove that state of things; but immediately Mr. Gladstone gave Notice of his intention to bring in a Bill for the purpose, we had an intimation in the Press that it would be a subject of serious difficulty. Directly the fall of the late Government took place, we witnessed the spectacle of the Members of the late Administration going into the country, making speeches, and declaring against any form and degree of coercion, but keeping entire silence as to the justice of the proposals for restoring the saleability of land. I contend, my Lords, that we have evidence by the course of public affairs, by the course of the public speeches of the late Government, that the Leaders of the Liberal Party must have been deeply divided upon a question of the highest and the most vital character. I am not going to detain the House with a long list of other minor incidents which lead up to the same conclusion. I think I have said sufficient to prove my case, and that your Lordships will agree that we who have generally supported the late Government have been forced into a most awkward position, feeling that we did not know where we were driven, or under whose guidance we were conducted. My Lords, I have referred to our foreign policy, I have mentioned the naval supremacy of the country, and finance in its most fundamental principles. I have also alluded to the question of law and order in Ireland, and to the restoration of land value in that country. But there is yet another subject with regard to the merits of which I never felt quite sure that they were united. That is in regard to the merits of a very old document called "The Decalogue." Not many months ago a Member of the then Government was going about the country proclaiming the doctrine that property must be held to ransom. It may have been that the expression was an accidental slip of the tongue, an unlucky metaphor; but the present times and the circumstances of our country at the present moment are such as, in my opinion, should have induced a Minister of the Crown to be more circumspect in the language he employed. Having now shown, my Lords, what are our reasons for thinking that we served those who were disunited, I wish to direct the attention of the House to what our present prospects are under the circumstances of the present political crisis. The very Leaders of whom I have been speaking now turn round and say to their followers—"There must be no disunion." A speech was lately delivered in Edinburgh by my noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery), who recently joined the late Government, of whose rising abilities I may say that, as a Scotchman and a Scotch Peer, I am sincerely proud. I hope my noble Friend will discover that a man in his position, with his great abilities, may hold to certain definite opinions and influence public opinion with regard to them, and that far on in summers I shall not see he may be among the most distinguished Leaders of the Liberal Party. Looking at my noble Friend's speech in Edinburgh I found this singular passage, in which he insists on the necessity of compromise. He says—

> "We all have to sacrifice points very dear to us. I venture to say that no one can realize that absolutely and completely until they have formed a Member of a Cabinet . . . . . though there must be constant compromise on lesser matters going on in a Cabinet, yet it manages to preserve a united face."

Not a united heart or mind, but a united face. It so happened that my noble Friend made one or two speeches some months before he joined the Government with which I, for one, to a large extent agree. I was sincerely rejoiced when I saw that my noble Friend had entered the Cabinet, because I thought it might tend to reinforce that element in it with which I have the greatest sympathy. I am sure he has been able to exercise the influence his abilities command; but I looked with astonishment at the end of his speech in Edinburgh. He had explained the principles upon which a man must learn to deal with the difficulties in which he is placed; but I was astonished to find him ending with a solemn denunciation against breaking the unity of the Liberal Party. The expressions my noble Friend used were very solemn. He said—"Let no man dare to lay his sacrilegious hand on the sacred ark of Liberal unity." I confess when I read this paragraph I did not quite know how to express my own feelings. An anecdote came to my mind which seemed to relieve me to a certain extent. It was an anecdote of a great Italian musician who for the first time heard the Highland bagpipes, when he exclaimed—"*Voilà, voilà! J'aime cela—c'est atroce.*" I do not know where my noble Friend has placed the ark of the covenant of Liberal unity. He may have carried it into the Cabinet along with him, or he may have packed it up and sent it off to Dalmeny; but I have no confidence that such a sacred ark ever existed in the Cabinet which my noble Friend joined, and I have something more than confidence that if it did it was touched by unholy hands indeed. I think my noble Friend joined the Cabinet at a very unfortunate moment. I joined a Cabinet at another moment which was of immense interest, for, as I said, it was the Coalition Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen. There were immense historical differences between the different Members at that day. It represented and included men who individually, and through their Predecessors, had sat opposite to each other for generations; and yet I will tell my noble Friend, as my experience of a Cabinet divided in this sense, that during the whole time I was a Member of it, there never was one division that ran parallel to the old Party lines; we discussed every question of Party policy with the most perfect freedom; but I never saw anything in the shape or the nature of differences of opinion running in the old Party directions. I will tell my noble Friend another thing. We had no fear that the decision of the Cabinet would be run into and invaded in the public speeches of one of our own Colleagues—trying to force the hands of the Government. When that Cabinet fell, it fell from an act which was in the nature of a personal difference; it fell because Lord John Russell, almost borne to the ground by grief and vexation on account of the calamities which were happening to our troops in the Crimea, lost, as I think, his sense for the moment of public duty, and declared against his Colleagues in the House of Commons that he could not resist Parliamentary investigation. But I can tell my noble Friend that there was no act of Lord John Russell's life which ever was so severely or so justly censured as that which brought down the Cabinet of that day. My noble Friend, in his speech at Edinburgh, said that we are to have united faces. Well, we may have united faces, but we have not a united policy. I decline to follow Cabinets who cannot make up their minds. I am ready to stand under an umbrella with anybody; but I decline to follow Cabinets which cannot make up their minds on the most fundamental questions of the day. I say distinctly that it would be infinitely better to go back to the customs and habits of the last century, when Members of the same Administration openly spoke and voted against each other, and when, in truth, the responsibility of Cabinets had not yet become firmly rooted in the Constitution of the country, than to revert to the more personal references to which my noble Friend invites us. I cannot help feeling, after all that has taken place, that this talk about united faces and this call to unity under the same Leaders whom we know to have been disunited, and to have brought the foreign policy of England into most serious jeopardy because of that disunion—to call upon us to unite under the same Leaders without due guarantees would hardly be an honourable policy towards the people of this country. If this goes on, we shall, indeed, have descended to a lower standard of political honour, and to a lower level of public opinion. I have very little further with which to trouble the House. I rejoice to think that there are large common grounds upon which men of many Parties may unite. For instance, I maintain that in the whole region of what may be called social reform we are just as likely to be well served at the present moment by the Conservative Party as by any other. My Lords, the social reforms of this last century have not been due mainly to the Liberal Party. They have been due mainly to the influence, character, and perseverance of one man—Lord Shaftesbury—whose early proclivities were not with the Liberal, but rather with the Conservative Party. At all events, these great reforms have not been carried by Liberal votes, but have been effected by the weight of conviction forcing itself upon almost all Parties in this country. With regard to fiscal legislation, Mr. Gladstone has been the great Leader in our fiscal legislation; and where did he learn the principles which he has carried out to so great a development? He learnt them in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, and I have myself heard him say that they knew little about it when they began their great work. The repeal of the Corn Laws and the necessity of revising our financial system led to the necessity of seriously considering the whole tariff. But there his great reforms began, and it is due to the development of his great genius that those great measures have been carried which will ever make his name illustrious. I have, therefore, no dismay on account of the accession for a time of the Conservative Party to power in this country—no dismay whatever. I do not know what may be the development of that rather mysterious left wing which is called Tory Democracy. Like certain wings on our side, they are regarded as dark horses. I hope that the noble Marquess will, if he succeeds in establishing his power, keep a firm hold upon them. But beyond that I do not know that we have anything to fear, because I believe that the Conservative Party will address themselves to such social reforms as are needed in this country with quite as anxious a desire as any other Party could do at the present moment. With regard to the future, I could not help observing that my noble Friend, in his speech, attempted a dangerous experiment — namely, a definition of what Liberalism is. I dissent from such a definition as he gave. He said that Liberalism meant always being at the head of any national movement—always a little ahead and never behind. Now, there is such a thing as a nation advancing into a bog as well as a nation advancing in the right path. I maintain that we are as genuine Liberals who keep our heads and hearts open to every experience of the past and every suggestion of the present which may tend to improve the happiness of the great body of the people. Well, I maintain that while we hold this tendency and disposition, which is the core and essence of Liberal policy, we are not the less bound to maintain and uphold certain great principles of immemorial right, and to assert our political rights in the development and application of these principles. My Lords, I see at the present moment deep differences in these respects between various Members of the Liberal Party; and I should be betraying my duty as a Member of this House if, in deference to any personal authority whatever, however high, I concealed from your Lordships and the country the intense anxiety which I feel with regard to the direction which may be taken in the future by the Liberal Party. We who are called Moderate Liberals have a system of doctrines to maintain. We are not actuated by personal antipathies. My noble Friend, in his speech at Edinburgh, said that a great many opponents of the late Government had no other qualities than bilious spite and bilious hatred against a particular politician. I suppose we can read between the lines. I would venture to suggest to my noble Friend that the next time he stands under the same umbrella with some of his late Colleagues he should look at the evidence which they have given of a bilious hatred shown towards their political opponents. My Lords, it is not long ago since, in company with one or two of my noble Friends whom I see near me, and with Lord Ripon, whom I do not see present, I ventured to join a society the object of which was to purchase plots of land and to re-sell them to small owners with a view to see whether it was possible under favourable conditions to establish small ownership in land. Our society had hardly been brought forward when a friend who stands under the noble Lord's umbrella immediately proceeded to denounce the society. Why? Because it was patronized by one or two members of a great land-owning class, one-half of his Colleagues belonging to that class, and my noble Friend himself belonging to it. I would recommend my noble Friend, the next time he gives advice about bilious hatred, to tell his political friends that there is nothing in the world so thoroughly alien or so injurious as this dislike or hatred of any particular class of men. What would be said of any of us if we condemned a society because it contained two or three manufacturers if the subject of it related to manufactures? We landowners know something of the value of land; and I should have thought that five or six great landowners, Lord Ripon among them, would of all classes in the community be most fit to conduct this interesting experiment. Who can doubt that this speech was influenced entirely by spite of the most narrow and most illiberal kind? I see a disposition to impugn some of the doctrines which we have held most tenaciously, and of which in our Constitution we are most proud. It has been hitherto the great object of the Liberal Party to make individual freedom as wide as possible and as secure as possible. It is a tendency of many of the new so-called Liberals—I call them reactionary Liberals—to make individual freedom as narrow and as restricted as possible. Take another matter. As I have learned during the last 30 years, there is no item in the Liberal creed which was more popular than that the ownership of land should not be limited. The abolition of limited ownership was the popular cry upon all hustings in my early days; and thoughtful men have been over and over again urging the policy of still further abolishing limited ownership. But the endeavour of the reactionary Liberals is to make every landownership as limited as possible, and bound with limitations which are absolutely fatal to the outlay of capital. I will not give my assent or give any support to united faces among men who are so deeply divided. There is another subject upon which I should be glad to say a word before I sit down. We hear a great deal now about local government. It is a stick which both Parties wish to pick up to beat the dog with. Each Party wishes to lay hold of it as a means of opposing its enemies in the political arena. The noble Marquess at the head of the Government has said very truly that that is a subject on which the Liberals have no patent monopoly, no right of exclusive possession. The noble Marquess is quite correct. Municipal government, as hitherto understood in England, is an institution of which we have all been proud. We are accustomed at Mayors' dinners in England, and at Provosts' dinners in Scotland, to praise municipal government. We all agree in that. But let this House beware, and let every individual politician who cares for the future of his country beware of the stratagem which lies before us—of confounding popular government in the form of municipal institutions with projects resembling the restoration of the Heptarchy. There are various things which the Liberal Party wish to see done and to get done. They know that these things will never be done by the Imperial Parliament, with its Imperial traditions of individual freedom; they wish to hand these great powers over persons and over property to local and provincial assemblies—to what my noble Friend called local politicians. Let us all beware of this. Municipal government, my Lords, is one thing; an agglomeration of small independent States and small Principalities, governed by Mayors and Provosts, is another; and it is not the acme of freedom which one should desire to see established in England. My Lords, I have troubled the House at great length, and I could not have said what I have felt it my duty to say without giving chapter and verse in proof of that which I advanced. I venture to say to the country, and to all Parties in the country, in the great appeal which is about to be made to a new constituency, do not go in for "united faces," but go in for great Constitutional principles—to choose, if they can, independent men, not to be humbugged by the cry of unity where there is the deepest division on the fundamental principles of human government—to choose, if they can, independent men of independent character. My Lords, what we want is men, not sheep—we want men who have studied these great questions, and who hold independent opinions in regard to them, and who will stand to them upon the hustings, where I am bound to say I have generally observed that men of this character are more respected than men who go down on their hands and knees and grovel with their heads in the dust before the sovereign mob, promising to do whatever it may bid them. We want, my Lords, in the words of the Poet Laureate, men

"Who never sold a truth to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with Eternal God for power."

These are the men whom all the nations, and especially our own nation, want. Happy is the nation that hath its quiver full of them. They will be able to speak with their enemies in the gate.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: My Lords, I think that no one who has listened to the eloquent, discursive, and didactic discourse to which we have just been treated could have had the slightest idea of the topics which were going to be dealt with from the Notice which the noble Duke was kind enough to place upon the Paper. It has been my fate to bring before your Lordships on a former occasion a Motion for a reform of the proceedings of this House; and therefore no one can be better aware than myself of the extreme occasional irregularity of those proceedings. But certainly I was not aware that it was usual, or desirable, or consistent with that high political experience with a little of the fruits of which we have just been favoured, that the noble Duke, who has belonged to so many Administrations, and has written the epitaph of at least one of them, when he has occasion to write an epitaph on a late Cabinet, should have come down to call attention to the circumstances attending the recent change of Administration, and to the effect of them on the political prospects of the country. I ask whether any Member of your Lordships' House, however experienced or however acute he may be, could have had the least inkling from that Notice of the nature of the matters contained in that most fruitful and profitable discourse? But, least of all, your Lordships, had I the faintest idea that a speech of mine, delivered, perhaps, at a casual moment, but at all events not remembered by me so well as by the noble Duke, was to form the main theme of his interesting oration. It would, therefore, of course, be impossible for me, without any previous warning or notice of the wide political range of the noble Duke's remarks, to follow him in a speech worthy of the occasion. But he began, if I recollect aright, with an ample apology for the course he was going to take, and I must say that I think that apology was not altogether without necessity. What was the part which the noble Duke undertook to play on this occasion? He undertook to play the part—he will excuse me for saying so—of a sort of Cassandra of the Cross Benches, warning the Liberal Party against itself, warning the late Government of the consequences of its action, and appealing to the one infallible prophet since whose secession from it that Government had languished and perished. I need not tell the noble Duke who that prophet was. When he left the late Government everything began to go wrong from that moment; his former Colleagues began to wander and go astray; and it was, I suppose, with the object of showing how far they had wandered into error that he devoted that part of his discourse which was not occupied with criticism of myself to an exhaustive criticism of the speeches of a late Colleague of mine. My Lords, there may be no harm in a Minister who has left a Cabinet writing the epitaph of that Cabinet on the earliest opportunity; but in the ample apology that he made for his speech the noble Duke said it was absolutely necessary that that epitaph should be written at once. He will forgive me if I say that I do not see the necessity of it. I believe that the noble Duke has attempted to do what was attempted in a famous University not unknown to your Lordships—the famous University of Laputa, where a learned Professor sought to extract sunbeams from cucumbers. The noble Duke has, in a similar way, tried to extract high moral sentiments from a perfectly ordinary situation. The late Government, being defeated by their opponents in the other House, felt it incumbent on them to resign; and I do not suppose they would have retained the respect of a single person in the country if they had taken any other course. After all, what is Constitutional government? It means that the House of Commons has the right of expressing an opinion on the conduct of the Government, and that the Government has to yield to that expression of opinion. The House of Commons, on an issue deliberately chosen by their opponents, on a field of battle carefully planned, thought fit to place the late Government in a minority. No one can complain of that. They took the course which they thought right. But Mr. Gladstone and his Colleagues resigned, and the noble Marquess opposite and his Friends formed a new Government. What is there in all this to provoke these fulminatory utterances, these terrible thunderbolts of debate, from the noble Duke? The situation is one which has been seen often even in my lifetime, and more often still in that of the noble Duke. There may be something unusual to the noble Duke's mind in a Conservative Government holding Office without a majority in the House of Commons. Well, in my lifetime Conservative Governments have held place four times, and only on one occasion with a majority. There can, therefore, be nothing very abnormal in a situation that has occurred three times in that period. Nor do I quite see anything to call for this intervention of the noble Duke at the moment of our downfall, whatever may have been the mistakes or misfortunes of the late Government, of which he was once a Member. The noble Duke went into a fragmentary allusion to the question of subject-races in the East. I confess, my Lords, that I fail to see what connection that had with the rest of his speech, or with the main basis of his argument. He then went into some cloudy narrative as to the question of the Navy Estimates. My noble Friend the late First Lord of the Admiralty will be able to deal with that matter. But when the country had awakened to the serious position of affairs in Central Asia, Egypt, and elsewhere, there was nothing unusual in its attention being called to the question of its naval strength; and surely it would be worse than futile for a Liberal Government to have refused to listen to the appeal that was made to it on that subject. My noble Friend the late First Lord of the Admiralty thought it his duty to respond to that appeal, and he asked for £5,000,000; and I do not see that there was anything connected with that proposal which indicated the disunion in the Liberal Cabinet of which the noble Duke has spoken. Then the noble Duke turned to the lamentable state of affairs which has existed in Ireland. He said that our great condemnation was that land was not saleable in Ireland. I do not suppose that anybody will consider that the state of Ireland is satisfactory. [*Laughter.*] We are now beginning a reign of peace and concord in Ireland under a Conservative Government, and that may be what has inspired the merriment of noble Lords opposite. As regards the question of Ireland, that, of course, must be a standing difficulty. We should not be able to deal with that difficulty by simply abstract arguments such as were contained in the speech of the noble Duke. What has happened in Ireland is this. There has been a great agrarian agitation, and that has been met by legislation of a drastic, vast, and far-reaching kind. We must wait for the effects of that legislation, and see exactly what the next step may be; but it was in the contemplation of the late Government to take that step. We cannot say whether it would have been successful or not; but we may yet have some opportunity of dealing with Ireland, and then we shall know whether or not we have been successful. But, my Lords, I come to that part of the speech of the noble Duke which concerns myself. The noble Duke dealt with me in a manner for which I must thank him very warmly. He has not only paid me a high compliment, but the much greater indirect compliment of having seemed almost to have learned my speech by heart. He said my language was solemn—and he made that a great reproach—in dealing with the question of Liberal unity. In order to show us what Liberal unity ought to be, he appealed to the example—I confess I was staggered for a moment by it—of the Aberdeen Administration. He said that if the noble Lord wished to know what Liberal unity should be, let him recall to his mind the example of the Aberdeen Ministry. My Lords, it has been my advantage to know a good deal of the Aberdeen Administration from reading documents which are not all published; and I confess I felt as if I had turned a stone when I heard the noble Duke cite the Aberdeen Administration as an example of unity of the Liberal Party. I speak with hesitation of that Administration in the presence of two Members of it; but I always understood that it was always at sixes and sevens, and that it fell, as the noble Duke remembers, not by a chance explosion, but by a somewhat deliberate explosion fired by one of its Members at the most critical moment of its existence. Then the noble Duke asked how there could be Liberal unity when Mr. Chamberlain goes about making speeches which show very great variations from the doctrines of the Liberal Party. I do not think it a fair thing for the noble Duke to gather into his quiver all the chance utterances, or all the deliberate utterances—I will give him the benefit of the word—of a Minister during the last two or three years, and to come down without previous warning and pour them in confusion on an overwhelmed House. I am not concerned to defend Mr. Chamberlain's speeches. Mr. Chamberlain is perfectly able to defend himself, and I cannot say whether the utterances attributed to him are authentic or not. The right hon. Gentleman said things about the ransom of property; but he subsequently explained that utterance, and said he meant that property had its duties as well as its rights. [*A laugh.*] Noble Lords opposite laugh; but I believe that is a maxim which was never laughed at in either House of Parliament before. I am very grateful to the noble Lord opposite for giving us so new a sensation. If Mr. Chamberlain meant those violent measures of spoliation which noble Lords opposite seemed to imagine, he must be a very self-denying politician, for he is a man of large fortune; and if he is prepared to divide it in the way insinuated by the noble Duke, he must be a very self-sacrificing politician. But, as I said before, I am not concerned to defend the utterances of Mr. Chamberlain. I consider it somewhat of an advantage that he is not here to-day, because he would have answered the noble Duke. But the noble Duke, whose remarks on the subject of Mr. Chamberlain I now leave, warned me against bilious rancour in political controversy. He said political jaundice was a thing to be avoided, and he gave warning; and one striking example was the way in which he dealt with Mr. Chamberlain. From the beginning of his speech to the end was one of the most striking examples of the peculiar form of political jaundice against which he warned me. I do not know that I have anything more to say on my particular part of the discussion raised by the noble Duke. I quite admit that there are variations in the speeches delivered by different Members of the Liberal Party; but I should be very grateful to the noble Duke if he will tell me if they ever professed to speak with one utterance, one trumpet, and one tone. There have always been sections in the Liberal Party; the Radical section, the Left Centre, and the Whig section; and there have been a section of seers who belong to no particular section, but who equally rebuke and chastise them all. But even in these circumstances it has never been found difficult to conduct the government of the country. That has never been rendered impossible because one Member of the Party went faster or slower than another. The noble Duke rebukes me very much for saying that my definition of Liberalism was "movement with and in front of national movements." Well, my Lords, I am quite willing to adhere to that definition. I do not mean fortuitous or occasional, or temporary national movements, but great national movements which are unmistakable, and which, if we do not place ourselves in front of them or move with them, will move over us. What are we to say just now, when we are in the midst of a new and great democratic wave? Are we to put ourselves out of harmony with it, even if it were desirable to do so? We find ourselves face to face with a great democratic constituency. It has been passed by the agreement of both sides of the House. Is it possible, under these circumstances, to do anything but accept my definition of Liberal unity? Take the example of noble Lords opposite. A month ago were they so violently in favour of doing without special legislation in Ireland? And yet the noble Duke addresses all his protests to the Liberal Party. Has he no candid words to say to the other side? Are all his condemnations reserved for his own Party and the family circle in which he moves? It does seem a little hard that in the language of rebuke so freely administered to us not a single syllable has been addressed to noble Lords opposite. They know, at any rate, if the noble Duke does not, that it is necessary to move with national movements. As he does not, let me say without presumption that the umbrella of Liberal unity, of which he, as well as myself, has spoken, will not be found in his custody; and, if I may say so without undue retort, I fear that wherever the ark of Liberal unity may be found it will not be at Inverary.

Lord TRURO said, that the Liberal Party consisted of a number of men who entertained Radical opinions, and of a large number who belonged to what was originally called the Whig Party, and who objected to those extreme opinions. The utterances of a Member of the late Government at Birmingham were pronounced by himself to be his own private opinions, and to be distinct from those which he had urged in the Cabinet. It was not unnatural that a large number of the moderate section of the Liberal Party should be indignant at his taking so unusual a course. There was no doubt whatever that to a large part of the moderate Liberal Party the formation of the late Government did not give satisfaction; and he very much doubted whether, if another Liberal Government were formed on the same standard, it would receive that amount of earnest moderate Liberal support which previous Liberal Governments had enjoyed. It was perfectly clear that it was intended to have in the late Cabinet not only men of moderate Liberal views, but men of extreme Radical opinions. From the Government point of view it was a success, as it returned a Minister to power with an overwhelming majority. But it was always an evil to have a Government with an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. There should be a sufficient majority to leave no doubt as to the sentiments of the country; but when they had a Ministry supported by an overwhelming majority, there could be no doubt that a feeling of apprehension was created in the country that the Government would have power to silence the minority, and pass measures to which a great section of the people were hostile. A feeble Opposition was a very great calamity, and never had that been so strongly illustrated as in recent circumstances, when there was no doubt that the Opposition had not that strength and did not show that amount of vigour which enabled it any way whatever to control the acts and measures of the Liberal Party. He could not but hope the Members of the late Government would take a lesson from their Predecessors in Opposition. He could not agree with the noble Duke in lamenting the fall of the late Administration. It was, he believed, a great advantage to the country that there should be a lull before the General Election, in order that people might have an opportunity of considering the past. The present interregnum would afford a breathing space, which, he trusted, would be utilized in such a way that men of knowledge and experience, and not men of fiery opinions, would be returned at the approaching elections.

EAST INDIA LOAN (£10,000,000) BILL.

(*The Lord Harris.*)

(NO. 164.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord HARRIS), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it gave powers to the Secretary of State in Council to raise in the United Kingdom any sum or sums not exceeding £10,000,000 by the creation and issue of bonds, debentures, or capital stock bearing interest; and it was based on the Land Act of 1879, which was similarly based on previous East India Loan Acts. The need for these powers had arisen from the following circumstances. In 1884 the Select Committee on East India Railway Communication reported that—

> "They considered the evidence in favour of a more rapid extension of railway communication to be conclusive;"

and soon after that Report was issued proposals were received from the Government of India for a scheme of Frontier railways and roads, estimated to cost £5,000,000, while at the same time they urged the rapid construction of lines needed rather for commercial purposes and development of the country, and its protection against famine. The noble Earl the late Secretary of State for India therefore was doubly urged to render the Government of India every assistance he could in pushing on these public works. Now, the Government of India had the power to borrow in India, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for India, but without coming to Parliament, and for use in public works; but their power of spending borrowed money on public works was limited to 250 lakhs of rupees in one year, and this Bill in no way deprived them of that power. They were still at liberty to borrow in India in preference to England when the state of the Market rendered it advisable; but what the noble Earl had to consider—and he believed the present Secretary of State in no way disagreed with him in carrying out the suggestions of the Government of India in the Select Committee—was not only what might be the manifest and immediate needs of India in the construction of public works, and what extra interest on borrowed money the finances of India could bear, but also what amount the Money Market was likely to be able to provide at a fair rate of interest. He came to the conclusion that instead of 250 lakhs the Indian Government might be allowed to spend 350 lakhs on public works in one year from borrowed funds; any further outlay deemed necessary must be met from surplus Revenue. Then, looking at the manifest need that this scheme of Frontier railways and roads should be prosecuted with the utmost vigour, that no interruption should occur from any uncertainty as to what sums of money might be forthcoming, and as far as possible that the other works contemplated, which amounted to about 4,000 miles of railway, should also be pressed forward, he decided to ask Parliament to grant the powers given under this Bill. At the same time, although it was intended to use these powers for public works, it might be very inconvenient if any pledge were given that they should not be used for general purposes. Previous to the placing on the Market on Wednesday of a loan of £3,500,000 the Secretary of

State had powers, under previous Loan Acts, of borrowing £7,000,000. Now, by the flotation of that loan, those powers were reduced to £3,500,000. The Secretary of State felt that that margin was not sufficient. A sudden pressure arising from external causes or from internal, such as famine, at a moment when Parliament was not sitting, might place the Government of India in such straits as might be most disadvantageous to the welfare of Her Majesty's subjects in British India. Therefore, though it was intended to use these powers for public works, no pledge to that effect was given. But it might be asked if the Government of India had the power to borrow in India up to 350 lakhs in one year for public works. Why should they not do so? There was nothing in this Bill to prevent their doing so, and, undoubtedly, when the Market there was more favourable, and they had fair prospects of the loan being taken up, they would do so; but we were face to face with this fact—that notwithstanding the absorption by India of large quantities of specie, at present the capitalists of that country showed a decided preference for loans on mortgage bearing a far higher rate of interest than it was necessary for us to give, or in the exceedingly unremunerative forms of hoards or ornaments. That want of confidence would, it was to be hoped, by degrees pass away; but until it did, or until the completion of such works as the Calcutta and Bombay Docks and the Madras Harbour, which had attracted Indian supplies of money, the Government of India would undoubtedly have to look to this country for some, perhaps all, of the money it was permitted to spend on public works in each year. These powers would only be put in force when there were not sufficient funds from surplus Revenue to meet the requirements of the year. It was hoped that the Frontier Works, on which the £5,000,000 were to be spent, might be completed in four years. They included 175 miles of railway from Nari to Shebo, with a branch to Quetta, costing about £2,000,000 sterling; 361 miles of railway from Lala Musa, with branch to the Indus, costing about £2,000,000 sterling; five miles of Ferozepore bridge, opposite Dera Ghazi Khan to Sher Shah, costing about £400,000 sterling; 250 miles of road from Dera Ghazi Khan to Pishin plateau, costing about £200,000 sterling; 190 miles of road from Dera Ismail Khan to Kushalgarh, costing about £300,000 sterling. Before sitting down he wished to refer to one circumstance arising out of the Frontier needs of British India. It was thought their prosecution would probably defer for a time the completion of those works, which, as being a protection against famine, were called protective works. That, if it proved to be necessary, was a matter of infinite regret; for, however great might be the horrors of war, they could not exceed the horrors of famine. Still, it must be clearly recognized that for the welfare of India, the protection of Her Majesty's subjects, and for the encouragement of trade, these Frontier lines were of paramount importance.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Harris.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he must congratulate the noble Lord upon the complete knowledge he had shown of the subject, and upon the ability he had displayed in so readily grasping a very complicated question. He, in common with the noble Lord, regretted the unfortunate necessity under which the Government lay at the present time in having to economize in the expenditure for public works; but that had been rendered unavoidable by the extraordinary outlay in consequence of the condition of the foreign affairs of the Empire. His noble Friend the Viceroy might be trusted to exercise the wisest and most prudent economy. Above all it was essential that they should have a sound finance in India, and he should never view with satisfaction any system which rested merely on borrowing. But, in the present circumstances, borrowing could not be avoided; and, whatever might be said on the question of obtaining the money in England or in India, there could be no doubt that in the present financial condition of the latter country it would be impossible to place on the Money Market there the amount necessary for the conduct of the administration.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

QUESTION.

Lord BRAYE called the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the fact that the Report of the Select Committee of this House on the law relating to the protection of minors was sent to the Commons as far back as 25th August 1881, and that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, founded on the evidence contained in that Report, is not yet passed into law, and inquired, Whether there is an intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to proceed with the Bill at the earliest possible date; also to inquire whether, considering the nature of the evidence in the Lords Report of 1881, showing an existing state of things in London which, but for such Report, would have been considered incredible, and considering also the incessant petitions presented to Parliament in favour of this Bill, Her Majesty's Government will make efforts to pass it without delay, even if a prolongation of the present Session for some days be necessary for the passing thereof?

The PAYMASTER GENERAL (Earl Beauchamp), in reply, said, that the noble Lord had doubtless learned from the ordinary channels of information that the Home Secretary had stated that it was the intention of the Government to adopt the Bill with certain modifications, and that he would on Tuesday state their character and extent. He had no doubt that when those modifications were presented to the House of Commons that House would, with the least possible delay, proceed with the Bill in the earnest hope that it might be passed into law in the course of the present Session.

WATERWORKS CLAUSES ACT (1847) AMENDMENT BILL.

Select Committee on: The Lords following were named of the Committee:

E. Milltown.	L. Carrington.
E. Brownlow.	L. Hartismere.
L. Monson.	L. Sudley.

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 10*th July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—New Member Sworn — Right Honble. William Thackeray Marriott, *for* Brighton.

Supply—*considered in Committee*—r.p.

Ways and Means—*considered in Committee*—*Resolution* [July 9] *reported*.

Public Bills — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Exchequer and Treasury Bills* [229]; Cholera Hospitals (Ireland)* [231]; Public Health (Ships, &c.)* [230].

First Reading—Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Birmingham, &c.)* [228].

Second Reading—Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment)* [180]; National Debt* [172].

Committee—Report—Third Reading—Turnpike Acts Continuance* [218]; Yorkshire Registries* [211], and *passed*.

Third Reading—Local Loans (Sinking Funds)* [189], and *passed*.

QUESTIONS.

BONDS FOR LOANS ISSUED BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER asked the President of the Local Government Board, If his attention has been called to the practice, by local authorities under his jurisdiction, of issuing bonds for loans signed by the clerk only (who also keeps the seal); and, whether, in the public interest, some additional precautions should not be adopted in dealing with those securities?

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. Balfour): Sir, there is no authority for the issue of securities under the signature of the clerk alone. Any such security must be under the seal of the Local Authority; and it appears to the Board that such arrangements should be made by the Local Authorities, that the seal should not be under the exclusive control of the clerk. Any such precautions as are necessary are within the powers of the authorities without further legislation.

NAVY—THE DOCKYARDS—DUTY PAY.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, How many men in Her Majesty's Dockyards are in receipt of the "duty-pay" authorised to be paid to them, and how many clerks receive it at Whitehall?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON): Sir, in the London Establishments there are about 70 duty-pay places held by Lower Division clerks. In the Dockyards there are no Lower Division clerks employed at all. The clerical staff consists of Higher Division clerks, who are paid on the Playfair scheme, and Dockyard writers, mechanic and otherwise. A Departmental Committee was appointed by the late Board to fix the number of writers to be allowed as a settled Establishment, and to report as to the necessity of granting duty-pay to this class of *employés.* The Committee completed their labours some months back. The late Board had the Report of this Committee under their review; but as it contained references to the Higher Division staff, and necessitated further references and re-references, no decision was arrived at when they left office. We hope shortly to take the matter up.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE BALTIMORE AND SKIBBEREEN MAIL SERVICE.

MR. BIGGAR (for Mr. DEASY) asked the Postmaster General, Whether, on account of the large number of men engaged in fishing at Baltimore, county Cork, the present Mail Service between there and Skibbereen will be continued until 1st September?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS), in reply, said, that there were no grounds for continuing the present special service beyond the 14th instant. It was considered that the ordinary service would suffice after that date.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK—LIMITATION OF DEPOSITS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been called to the practical inconvenience and hindrance to thrift caused by the regulations which limit deposits in Post Office Savings Banks to £30 in any one year; prevent a redeposit after withdrawal of the original deposit in the same year; restrict the maximum sum which may be invested in public securities at one time through the Post Office to £100; and the maximum sum which may be deposited to £200; to the fact that in many thousands of parishes there is no bank excepting the Post Office Savings Bank; and, whether, under these circumstances, he will favourably consider the expediency of raising the limit in the first case to £50, and in the second and third cases to £300?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS), in reply, said, that, since 1880, there had been two efforts made in Parliament in the direction suggested by the Question of the hon. Member; but both these efforts were defeated by the opposition raised in that House. Therefore, although he entirely concurred in the desirability of raising the limit of savings bank deposits, he feared that, in view of the circumstances, it would be quite hopeless to make any attempt in that direction during what remained of the present Session.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE GENERAL POST OFFICE, DUBLIN—SUBSTITUTION OF GAS ENGINES FOR STEAM.

MR. SEXTON asked the Postmaster General, Whether gas engines have been substituted for steam engines for the working of the pneumatic system in the General Post Office, Dublin; whether it is admitted that the steam engines gave satisfaction, and that the Technical Department and Mr. Preece, chief electrician to the Post Office, reported against the change; if this be so, why was the alteration made; was the work carried out by private tender, or was it publicly advertised; what was the cost of the alteration; how the new engines have been found to work; and, whether the cost of their maintenance is not greater than that of the steam engines?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS), in reply, said, that the gas engines had been introduced by the Irish Office of Works, who paid the costs of maintenance, except the wages of the attendants.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—SALARIES OF PRISON WARDERS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Irish Government have agreed to the unanimous recommendation of the Royal Commission that the salaries of warders in Irish prisons should be increased; and, if so, how soon it will take effect?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The Government will be prepared to give favourable consideration to this recommendation when the time is ripe for doing so; but that mainly depends upon the larger question of the consolidation of prisons, which the Royal Commission have also recommended, and which is now being dealt with.

MR. SEXTON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, when he comes to consider this question, to bear in mind that it has been in suspense for the greater part of a year, and, to ordinary minds, appears to be ripe for settlement now.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES)—CROYDON AND WEST BROMWICH SCHOOL BOARDS.

SIR ARTHUR BASS asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether the Government intend to proceed with the Bill relating to the Croydon and West Bromwich School Boards, in accordance with the promise given by the late Vice President?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr. E. STANHOPE): Yes, Sir; we propose to introduce a short Bill dealing with the cases of Croydon and of West Bromwich. We wish, at the same time, to legislate upon a matter which has been much pressed upon us, and to take powers to the Education Department to divide the enormous School Board Division of Lambeth into two parts. The Bill will probably be introduced in the House of Lords.

MADAGASCAR—PROTECTION TO PERSON AND PROPERTY OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

SIR HARRY VERNEY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, What protection there is in the waters of Madagascar to the persons and property of English residents in the Island?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. RITCHIE): Sir, the Senior Officer on the Coast of Madagascar is intrusted with the protection of British lives and property. The *Kingfisher* and *Dragon* are on the Zanzibar division. The *Dragon* was at Tamatave on June 16.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT—LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether he still adheres to the opinion which he expressed on the 3rd of June last, at the Tower Hamlets, that a Parliamentary inquiry into the Government of India Act is "an effectual and effective part of the policy now so absolutely necessary to strengthening the British hold upon India;" and, if so, what steps he proposes to take to carry out that policy?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that, as far as I am personally concerned, I agree entirely with the view I expressed on the 3rd of June last with regard to a Parliamentary inquiry into the Government of India Act. But the hon. Gentleman must not take that reply as in any way committing Her Majesty's Government, who have as yet had no opportunity of collectively considering this very important matter.

MR. BUCHANAN: Will the noble Lord, in some way before the end of the Session, endeavour to make a statement to the House as to the reforms of the Government of India which he is prepared to carry out?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA: I hope that possibly, when I have the honour of addressing the House on the Indian Budget, I may be able to allude to this matter; but the hon. Member will see that any appointment of a Commission this Session is obviously impossible.

EGYPT—M. OLIVIER PAIN.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any communications have passed between the Government and Captain G. F. Wilson, R.E., with respect to the proclamation alleged to have been issued by Captain Wilson, offering a reward for the capture of M. Olivier Pain, dead or alive?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH): No, Sir; no communications whatever have passed between the Government and Captain Wilson, R.E. The Government could only in such a case communicate with the General in command of the Expedition, and this was done, with the result which I have already stated to the House.

EGYPT—THE SOUDAN—EVACUATION OF DONGOLA.

MR. WINGFIELD DIGBY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What provision was made by the late Government for the accommodation of the population of the province of Dongola, which has migrated from that province since the late Government determined upon its evacuation?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BOURKE): None, Sir.

LAW AND POLICE—THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE"—OBJECTIONABLE ARTICLES.

MR. ALBERT GREY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can assure the House that orders have been given to the Police to use the utmost possible exertions allowable by Law to suppress the abominations revealed by *The Pall Mall Gazette*; and, whether the Government will introduce into the Criminal Law Amendment Bill such amendments as may, in the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, be necessary to secure that the perpetrators and abettors of such abominations be brought to justice?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): The orders given to the Metropolitan Police are that, on sufficient information given to them, every exertion allowable by law is to be used to suppress the alleged practices. The existing law, supplemented by the main clauses of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which was read a second time last night, is, in the opinion of myself and my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster), sufficient to bring to justice the perpetrators of such abominations.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—THE WESTMINSTER SEWER.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the President of the Local Government Board, If his attention has been called to the unanimous Report of the Select Committee appointed 18th July last, to the effect that

> "Evidence has been given . . . that the local sewer under the control of the Westminster District Board of Works emits most offensive smells from time to time, and your Committee are of opinion that steps should be taken by the local authority to put an end to a nuisance of a very serious character;"

if his attention has been called to a subsequent Report upon the subject by Major Hector Tulloch; if he is aware that yesterday an escape of sewer gas took place at the ventilator over the point of junction between the sewer of the Westminster District Board and that of the Metropolitan Board of Works at the entrance to New Palace Yard, which caused inconvenience to Members and officers of the House, and to the public; and, if, should that be his opinion, he will inform the Metropolitan Board and the District Board that, in addition to the temporary measures taken yesterday, permanent works will be required in order to prevent recurrence of danger to health?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR): The right hon. Gentleman is aware of the communications which were addressed to the Metropolitan Board of Works and the Westminster District Board of Works on the subject of the Report of Major Tulloch, on the inquiry which he undertook in consequence of the Report of the Select Committee. I have already addressed communications to the Metropolitan Board and District Board, asking for information as to the action which has been taken, and which is proposed to be taken, with the view of preventing the escape of sewer gas which is complained of. Anything that I can do to insure the matter receiving prompt attention from those who are responsible for the sanitary arrangements of the district will, of course, be done.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS — THE VOTING LISTS—OMISSION OF RECIPIENTS OF POOR LAW MEDICAL RELIEF.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked the President of the Local Government Board, If he is aware that the overseers are now engaged in preparing the voting lists for Parliamentary elections, and that in many districts they are omitting the names of those who have received medical relief; and, if he will cause a memorandum to be issued from his Department directing the overseers to put the names referred to on the lists, leaving it to the revising barristers to determine as to the validity of the votes?

Mr. LEWIS asked whether the duties of the overseers were not prescribed by Act of Parliament?

The PRESIDENT (Mr. A. J. Balfour): My hon. Friend the Member for Derry (Mr. Lewis) has really suggested the answer to the Question. However desirable it may be, as to which I express no opinion, it is altogether impossible for the Local Government Board to do as the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) suggests. It is the duty of the overseers under the statute to include only in their lists persons who, under the existing law, are entitled to be registered as voters; and the Local Government Board have no authority whatever to give directions to the overseers to prepare the lists otherwise than in accordance with the statutory requirements.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS asked whether the right hon. Gentleman could not call the attention of the overseers to the subject by way of recommendation, instead of a legal requirement?

The PRESIDENT: It is not the practice of the Local Government Board to recommend officers to perform acts contrary to statute.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS asked whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that, in many cases, the overseers were making out the lists with these voters on; and, whether, seeing that there was a difference of opinion between the officers on the subject, he would alter his opinion as to what was being done?

The PRESIDENT: No, Sir; I do not think I can.

Subsequently,

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, seeing that the voters in question would be left off the list, and that the 20th of the month would be the last day for making claims, and that the Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) Bill was down for Tuesday, the 14th, leaving only six days to get through with it, he would give all possible facilities for the consideration of the Bill on that day?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): Sir, I am not at all sure that the matter is quite so pressing as the hon. Member has stated; but I know that it is pressing, and we shall take care to deal with it as soon as we can, in order to avoid every possible inconvenience arising out of the fact stated by the hon. Member in his previous Question to my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, that this was a question of hours, and he should like to ask if the right hon. Gentleman would give a positive promise with regard to proceeding with the Bill on Tuesday? He would repeat the Question on Monday, if the right hon. Gentleman could not answer it now.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I shall be quite prepared to answer the Question on Monday.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—APPLICATION FOR FAIR RENT AND APPEALS.

Mr. MARUM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the following statement in the Press, in reference to the recent Return of the proceedings of the Irish Land Commission:—

> "At the close of the month of April the total number of applications to have fair rents fixed was 121,891, and the total disposed of was 115,528, leaving 6,363 still to be heard. The appeal business is in a still more unsatisfactory state. Only 143 cases were heard during the month, leaving the large number of 9,923 still to be decided. In their task of getting through these appeals the Land Commissioners are likely to be very much assisted by the suitors themselves of these Courts, for the number withdrawn every month is considerably in excess of the number heard, a fact not to be wondered at, considering that several appeals have been now awaiting trial for two years;"

and, whether Her Majesty's Government will take into consideration the propriety of devising some means to remedy this delay of suitors and frustration of justice in the Land Commission Courts in Ireland?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke): I explained yesterday, in answer to a Question, how matters stand with regard to original applications before the Land Commission. The total number of appeals pending from both Sub-Commissions and Civil Bill Courts on the 30th ultimo was 9,316, of which number about 900 have been lodged for more than two years. The Land Commissioners inform me that withdrawals have considerably increased since, under new rules, valuations for the use of the Appeal Court must be paid for by suitors. This is not a satisfactory state of affairs, and calls for further consideration on the part of the Government.

NAVY—FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE ADMIRALTY—THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether, after the statement made on Thursday by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, showing an excess of £500,000 over the Estimates previously given to the House, a Parliamentary inquiry as to the financial affairs of the Admiralty should not be instituted?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON): Sir, it is the intention of the Government to institute an inquiry into the excess of the expenditure at the Admiralty over the Vote of Credit, and the exact shape and scope of the inquiry is at present under consideration.

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): Having consulted my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board, which I had not the opportunity of doing before, I may, perhaps, be allowed to supplement what I stated just now on the subject referred to by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Jesse Collings). Her Majesty's Government have very carefully considered the question of medical relief, and having so considered it we think it would be better to propose legislation on the subject ourselves. This evening my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board will give Notice that on Monday he will move for leave to bring in a Bill, which will be pressed forward as speedily as possible.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would give the terms of the Bill?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked whether the Bill would be confined to the question of medical relief, or whether it would deal with other matters?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I think the right hon. Gentleman had better wait until my right hon. Friend states the provisions of the Bill when he moves for leave.

DR. CAMERON asked if the Bill alluded to would refer to Scotland?

MR. CARBUTT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will be prepared to state on Monday the terms of the Bill dealing with the question of medical relief, and at what date it would be in the hands of Members?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he had already stated that, on Monday, the President of the Local Government Board would move for leave to bring in the Bill. The Bill would be a very short one.

PARLIAMENT—THE DISSOLUTION—POSTPONEMENT OF SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he would like to give Notice of a Question on this subject after the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had had an opportunity of consulting with his Colleagues. It was, Whether the Government would take steps to carry out what had been the intention of the late Government—to give power to the Education Department to put off those School Board Elections, which would fall at the exact time of the General Election? Many School Boards did not attach importance to the postponement of their election, and the late Government had a strong impression of the inconvenience which would be caused to Parliamentary candidates and others, especially in London, where the School Board Elections would fall at exactly the same time as the General Election.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—POLICE ENFRANCHISEMENT EXTENSION BILL.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will be good enough to offer facilities for the discussion and progress of the Police Enfranchisement Extension Bill?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I cannot at present promise to do what my noble Friend desires me to do. I am afraid I cannot go beyond the statement I made on Tuesday as to the Business with which Her Majesty's Government propose to ask the House to deal. We have our own Business to consider; but I hope, however, that my noble Friend, and those who are interested in the Bill, will do the best themselves to bring the subject under the consideration of the House.

SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES.

Sir **ARTHUR HAYTER** said, that, in the absence of the noble Marquess the Member for North-East Lancashire (the Marquess of Hartington), who would be in his place at the beginning of next week, he wished to ask the Secretary of State for War three Questions in connection with the Army Estimates, which were, he saw by the Notices, fixed for Monday next. At the present time, the first six Votes, being up to and inclusive of the Yeomanry Vote, had been already taken. He wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to begin with Vote 7, being the Vote for Volunteer Corps, on Monday, then going on in succession with Vote 8, for Army Reserve, and taking afterwards the large Votes connected with the Department of the Surveyor General of the Ordnance? If the right hon. Gentleman proposed to follow the order of the Votes, he wished to ask, secondly, whether Vote 8, for Army Reserve, was to be regarded as the legitimate opportunity of a discussion upon Army questions in general, as had been the practice lately, when the late Government were in Office, or whether it would be confined to the subject-matter of the Vote itself? He asked this not from any personal desire to raise a general discussion, but because the practice alluded to had been permitted in Committee of Supply during the term of Office of the late Government, and might now therefore, he presumed, be regarded as legitimate; thirdly, he wished to ask, whether, in the view of the right hon. Gentleman, the discussion on the Contagious Diseases Acts, if any, had not better be taken on Vote 15, which contained the larger provision for the general expenses arising out of the Contagious Diseases Acts, than on Vote 9, which contained only a small provision for the police employed under the Act? That was the course which he thought he might safely say the late Government would have preferred.

The **SECRETARY of STATE for WAR** (Mr. W. H. Smith), in reply, said, with the consent of the House he would propose on Monday to go on with the Supplementary Estimates for Men which had been omitted by the late Government, and of which Notice had been given, and then proceed with the other Votes. He would propose to proceed with the Votes in order. Probably, on the Supplementary Estimates for Men, an opportunity would be given to hon. Members of making any observations they might think necessary. On Vote 8 there would be the opportunity which the hon. Baronet (Sir Arthur Hayter) suggested. He should not wish to say within what limits the discussion should be confined. It would be for the Chairman of Committees to deal with that; but the Government had no wish to put an undue limit on the discussion, and would leave it to the House to say how far it should go. He had hoped that, after the conversation which took place in that House on the Motion for time, there would be no discussion with reference to the Contagious Diseases Acts, seeing that this year no change could be made in the arrangement for carrying out those Acts. If, however, there was to be any discussion it would be more convenient to take it on Vote 15 than on Vote 9.

INSPECTORS OF PRISONS (IRELAND).

Mr. **BRODRICK** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in consequence of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Prisons in Ireland, the three inspectors under the General Prisons Board have been reduced to two; whether these two gentlemen have been required to reside in Dublin; and, why the increase of £100 per annum salary, recommended by the Commission to meet the required change of residence, has not been accorded them?

The **CHIEF SECRETARY** (Sir William Hart Dyke): The Royal Commission recommended in connection with the reconstruction of the Prisons Board that the number of Inspectors should be reduced to two, with increased salaries on a scale rising from £600 to £700. The Inspectors have accordingly been reduced to two, and they will be obliged to live in Dublin; but their taking up residence in Dublin has been postponed until the autumn at their request. No increase has been made to their salaries, which are £600 a-year. The arrangement which resulted in the appointment of Dr. McCabe as medical officer of the Board was sanctioned by the Treasury on the understanding that the Inspectors' salaries remained as at present.

Mr. BRODRICK gave Notice that, in consequence of the answer of the right hon. Baronet, he would call attention to the subject on the Vote for Prisons (Ireland).

STREET TRAFFIC (METROPOLIS)—NEWSVENDORS AND THE POLICE—SALE OF OBJECTIONABLE PUBLICATIONS.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I wish to put a Question to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of which I have not given him Notice, but which, if he desires, I will repeat on Monday. My Question is, Whether he is aware that the authorities of the City of London have taken proceedings against men, women, and boys who have been selling very undesirable publications, and have stopped altogether the sale of these publications in the City; and, if so, I wish to know why the Metropolitan Police have not taken similar proceedings against the same class of persons within their jurisdiction, so as to remove from before the public eye most offensive and obscene placards in the neighbourhood of Charing Cross and at other places, where newspapers of the stamp of *The Pall Mall Gazette* and *Town Talk* are being sold, not only by men, but by women and children?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Sir R. Assheton Cross), in reply, said, he demurred to the statement made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven as a statement of fact, and would prefer that Notice should be given of the Question.

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, he would give Notice, that on Monday he would ask the Pesident of the Local Government Board, If, when he asked leave to introduce the Medical Relief Bill, he would at the same time state its precise terms?

The PRESIDENT (Mr. A. J. Balfour), in reply, said, that he would, of course, explain the provisions of the Bill at the time of its introduction. The Bill would be circulated on Monday or Tuesday.

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES—HOBART PASHA.

Mr. BRYCE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is intended to bring on the question of Hobart Pasha's allowances on the Report of Supply?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), in reply, said, that the Report of the Resolution agreed to in Committee of Supply, upon which the question could be raised, would be taken on Monday.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

DESTITUTE CHILDREN (COMPULSORY INDUSTRIAL TRAINING).

RESOLUTION.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH, in rising to call the attention of the House to the extreme destitution and overcrowding in our great cities, especially among the class of unskilled casual labourers, and to move—

> "That it is expedient to establish a system of compulsory industrial training for the children of the destitute classes, in night schools, from the age of 12 or 13 to 16 years, in order to fit them to earn their living either at home or in the Colonies,"

said: Sir, this subject is one of vast social importance. It springs out of the painful conditions which exist in all our large towns. It may be considered by some almost superfluous to enlarge upon destitution and overcrowding in our great cities, as there has been such abundance of evidence of late years upon the subject, especially in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor; but I crave permission to call attention to one or two brief extracts from that Report which will vividly bring before hon. Members the necessity for some remedial legislation of the kind I am about to suggest. One of the most important points brought out in that Report is the prevalence of overcrowding and the existence of a large class of the population living in single rooms. It has been estimated by Mr. Marchant Williams, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, who has been investigating the condition of a large section of the East End of London, that there exist in the Metropolis at present fully 60,000 families who live in single rooms, and that these families must represent at least 300,000 persons. In regard to life in these single rooms, I will read a few lines from the evidence of Lord Shaftesbury before the Royal Commission, who says—

> "The effect of the one-room system is, physically and morally, beyond all description. In the first place the one-room system always leads, as far as I have seen, to the one-bed system. If you go into these single rooms, you may sometimes find two beds; but you will generally find only one bed, occupied by the whole family, in many of these cases consisting of father, mother, and son, or of father and daughters, or brothers and sisters. It is impossible to say how fatal the results of that is. It is totally destructive of all the benefits derived from education. It is a benefit to the children to be absent during the day at school; but when they return to their homes they are such that in one hour they unlearn everything they have acquired at school during the day."

I think most hon. Members will agree that these painful statements are only too true; but I would also refer to the disastrous physical effect of this system upon the energies and industrial power of the people. Lord Shaftesbury says on this point—

> "Some years ago the Board of Health instituted inquiries in a low neighbourhood, to see what was the amount of labour lost in the year, not by illness, but by sheer exhaustion and inability to go to work. It was found that, upon the lowest average, every workman and workwoman lost about 20 days in the year from simple exhaustion, and the wages thus lost would go towards paying an increased rent for a better house. There can be little doubt that the same thing is going on now, perhaps even to a greater extent. That overcrowding lowers the general standard; that the people get debilitated, depressed and weary, is the evidence of those who are daily witnesses of the lives of the poor."

These two paragraphs will bring to the mind of the House the sad condition in which a large part of the population of the Metropolis is now living. I think I am not over-estimating the number when I say that 500,000 people in the Metropolis virtually belong to the semi-pauper class. In the old days of profuse out-door relief these would have been counted as State paupers; but, under the present system, whereby the workhouse test is applied with great rigour, we are year by year reducing the number of State paupers, and thereby giving a false impression of the condition of the poorer part of the population. I have been startled to find, from the figures of the Local Government Board, that in the last year for which we have a Return, rather more than one-fifth of all the deaths in the Metropolis occur in workhouses and hospitals, much the greater portion being in the workhouse. Some of these are, no doubt, the deaths of patients from the country who have come up to the great hospitals; but there can be little doubt that the great mass of the deaths are the result of the wretched lives of people in the Metropolis, who are virtually paupers, and who are obliged to die in the workhouse or the hospital, because they have no home of their own. Similar instances may be drawn from circumstances connected with the School Board. It has been proved over much of the East End that something like a fifth of the children come to school without breakfast, and the 1*d*. dinner system is to a large extent a failure, because, in some schools, not even one-half of the children are able to find that small sum. There is no city, I believe, in Europe or America that contains anything like the amount of wretchedness which exists in this Metropolis, and it is a tremendous social danger. But London does not stand alone; the same state of things exists in all our great cities, though, perhaps, not to so great an extent; but, speaking for Liverpool, I will say we have just as great a proportion of the population living on the verge of starvation as there is in London. If you have a seventh or an eighth of the people here virtually paupers, I believe we have at least a sixth or a seventh in Liverpool. Taking the Island of Great Britain alone, there are at least 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 people verging on pauperism, who in the old days would have been reckoned as paupers, and probably another body of the population about as large who are just a very little removed from these. The statements furnished by the Statistical Society as to the condition of the working classes in no degree apply to the lower stratum of society. The lower stratum is as poor, as wretched, as demoralized, as helpless now as it was 50 or 100 years ago. ["Oh! oh!"] Well, I can only refer hon. Gentlemen to the mass of evidence by which these statements will be amply supported, and, certainly, my experience has led me to the opinion I have expressed. The depression of trade which has lasted for 10 years is adding to this evil. In all the great industries, masses of people are only partially employed, and in the agricultural industry, in particular, the state of things is deplorable. It has been reckoned that over 600,000 persons have passed from the rural districts into the large cities within the last 10 years, and a great portion have come into London, adding very much to the difficulty of life among the lowest class of labourers; and when we remember that our population is increasing faster than ever before, the gravity of the case must be apparent. During the present century, the population has almost trebled itself, for within that period it has risen from 10,500,000 to 31,000,000. The life-saving tendency of our improved sanitary arrangements is so great and marked, that, in this present century, the population has increased in actual numbers two or three times as much as in the 700 years preceding it. Indeed, the same rate of increase will carry our population next century to 120,000,000. Remember, too, this is taking place in spite of a very large emigration. The population of the Metropolis has increased five-fold since the beginning of the present century, and if we proceed at the same rate, this portentous result will be reached—that by the end of next century, London and the suburbs will contain 30,000,000 of people. This prospect is little short of appalling. It points to a fearful struggle for existence in this country in the future; for, by the end of the next century, somewhere about seven-eighths of the food of the country will have to be imported. It is only by a rapid increase of our foreign trade in years to come that we can hope to be able to pay for the supply of food our ever-increasing population requires, and of such an increase of trade we have no prospect. The outlook, at present, is a starving proletariat at no distant future. This subject is far more important than those with which our time here is mostly occupied. It is, I consider, high time the best and highest thought of this nation should be given to these tremendous social problems which will have to be solved in the future. The first and natural question that occurs to us to ask ourselves is, Why do we not use more largely the enormous safety-valve of our Colonial Empire? That seems the natural outlet for our superabundant population. Well, the remedy is already largely used by the self-reliant class of the population. The vigorous and intelligent artizans, the agricultural labourers, and the middle class, have sent out 10,000,000 people in the present century. From those classes have been built up the United States of America, and, more or less, all our Colonies; and I am not afraid but those that classes, in the future, will be quite able to look after themselves. What I want to bring to the attention of the House is the fact that the pauperized classes of our population cannot avail themselves of emigration. They are too poor, and worse, they are helpless and shiftless. They have learnt no trade that is of any value in the Colonies. I have myself tried to send them out as emigrants, and have been baffled by the fact that amongst the great mass of poverty-stricken and semi-starved people there is almost an absolute incapacity to use their hands in any useful manner. The Colonies will not receive such people. They will become paupers in any country they go to. The London Emigration Societies tell only a tale of failure. These Societies number nearly 30, and are conducted by many able, energetic, and philanthropic men; and yet, last year, scarcely 3,000 adults were sent out of London, although 103,000 people were added to the population. The true reason of the failure is mainly that the London poor are not fit to emigrate. Here they must remain rotting in our midst—a constant festering sore in the community. We have heard a great deal about State-aided emigration. Well, within certain limits and for certain purposes, I am an advocate of State-aided emigration; but we fail to deal with the pauper class in that way, because they are not fit for it. The gist of my case, then, is to invite the House to consider some means of fitting this class of the population for useful life, either at home or in the Colonies. I wish to ask whether it would not be possible to pass these people through a kind of moral sieve, and so turn them into useful material. Our poor population are made utterly unfit for ordinary life by their wretched upbringing in youth, after they have left school, by their roving life on the streets without any parental control, learning habits of idleness, entirely unfitting them for industrial life hereafter. Generation after generation this pauper class reproduces itself; and I think the time has come to break through this hereditary entail of vice and crime. The State has laid down for a good many years past that children shall not be allowed to grow up in absolute intellectual ignorance, and the time has come when it should go a little further and decide that children shall not be allowed to be brought up in such utter helplessness as to make them a burden to the community. I have taken the trouble during the last year or two to get the opinion of competent authorities on this subject, and I am surprised to find that among educational leaders, among the heads of industrial schools, among all clergy who labour amongst the poor, and among all people who examine the economic condition of the poorer classes, the unanimous opinion is that the real remedy is a system of industrial training. We may be told that we have already an excellent system of industrial schools and reformatories. Quite true. I have had much pleasure recently in going over some of these schools, and I would recommend those who wish to study the subject to pay a visit to some of these well-conducted institutions. If they do, they will find they are little hives of industry and cheerfulness, where children lead happy and useful lives, and get a special training for ordinary life, who would otherwise be a useless burden on the community. We have also an immense number of private institutions, among which I would specially mention the case of Dr. Barnardo's Homes in the East of London, where many hundreds of children taken out of the very cesspools, so to speak, of the city, are being turned into useful citizens. These schools are worked on what is known as the half-time system, half the time being given to head-work and half to hand-work. That is an excellent system, and nothing can be more striking than the health which the children enjoy under it. The fact is that human nature, being a complex machine, requires to be dealt with physically as well as mentally, and I believe that the system of half-time for intellectual-work and half for hand-work is far more in harmony with the laws of Nature, and far better for the children and the State, than a system of exclusive mental training; but the enormous benefits of these institutions are limited to a mere handful of children. There are only 25,000 in the certified schools of the Kingdom, the cost of which is about £500,000 a-year, and, supposing the private homes bring the number up to 60,000 or 70,000, there are probably 500,000 of the same class out-of-doors. It is, therefore, quite impossible that a system of this kind could be extended to all this class, for the cost is far too great. But these 500,000 are just as destitute and going just as much to waste as were the 70,000 children before they were rescued from the mire. Is not the time come for extending to all the immense advantage of an industrial training? Why should the boy who has committed a small theft get the benefit of industrial training, while his brother, who has not committed any crime, is left on the streets to lead the life of either a knave or a fool? My plan is that the State, which now has control over the education of children, should not let go its hold of them at the age of 13. Once having got these children under the control of an Inspector, with their names registered, it should keep its hold of them till the age of 16 at least. I do not recommend that these children, as a mass, should be put into day schools, and have to attend them until they attain the age of 16, for I know that it is necessary for most of them to be doing something for their living; but I recommend that we should require them by law up to the age of 16 to attend night schools for industrial training. I would open in all large cities a certain number of night schools where, say, from 7 to 9 o'clock, the same kind of teaching should be given as is already given in our reformatories—such as carpentry, tailoring, shoemaking, printing, and any other rudimentary trade which boys can easily learn. We might, to a considerable extent, use our existing schools, which, with some slight alterations, would be suitable for the purpose. I propose that this scheme of attendance at these night classes should be made compulsory; because, without that, we should never get the attendance of the very class of children whom we have in view, their parents being too careless and ignorant to send them, and themselves being too wild to come. My belief, however, is that, in a very short time, little compulsion would be required. There is nothing children enjoy so much as handling tools. They like using a hammer, as much as playing cricket. In a short time, then, a boy accustomed to useful work would far rather be at the school than running about the streets. It is, of course, much more difficult to reach the girls, and yet girls in large towns need such training even more than the boys; and it is the want of that training that lies at the root of many of the evils of our social system. The wives and mothers of the poorer classes are, to a large extent, slatterns; they keep such miserable homes as account for much of the drunkenness of the people; therefore, girls must be trained in useful domestic work, if those homes are to be made less wretched. I would propose that the schools for girls should be devoted mainly to such things as sewing, laundry work, and cooking, and perhaps to the rudiments of some of the lighter trades, for there are a considerable number of trades requiring dexterity of hand which women can carry on as well as men. I do not mean that the State should undertake to convert the population of the slums into first-class mechanics; and I quite admit that even if that were desired, these night classes would not furnish the means for doing so. That would be too much. All the State should undertake by them would be to give the boys a rudimentary training, and above all to teach them habits of industry and discipline which would produce a liking for steady, useful labour, which, in itself, would be a prodigious gain. If those children were kept in hand till the age of 16 under the discipline of intelligent men, they would then be able to go to work, and to understand and to know something of the desirability of doing something for themselves in the future, to form higher views of the duties of life, and they would not be content to settle down to the wretched life of the slums. They would form to themselves ennobling resolutions as to the future, and many of them would emigrate. I may be asked how I intend to draw the line between those who are semi-paupers and those who belong to the working classes? The latter, I do not propose to force into these night schools; but, at the same time, it will be highly desirable to keep a hand upon them, and I hope the time will soon come when it will be possible to do so. At present, I propose to apply this system only in such cases where the Inspector is not satisfied that a child is properly employed by the parent. Where a child is apprenticed to a regular trade, or to an employment where he gets regular wages, I do not propose to interfere. With the very large class of children who pick up odd jobs in the streets, I would employ compulsion and gather them into the night schools. In all large towns, it is most lamentable to see the deterioration of these wretched children in a few years after they leave school. They leave school with habits of cleanliness and regularity, they are bright and happy; but in a short time they lose all their brightness and intelligence, all the habits of regularity which they have been taught at school. The critical period is from 13 to 16, which is the period when a child acquires habits which last for life; and it is the same with the upper classes. The time at which, of all others, children require a steady hand to guide them is from 13 to 16. I think our whole educational system has much too little regard to manual training. I wish to supply the want on the part of the large class which stand in need of it. Instruction is given too exclusively in literature, and on the basis of mere mental training. In the so-called middle classes, there are a large number of young men unable to obtain a living, most of whom can only use their pen but not their hands. Many who are sent into offices descend to utter poverty, and are entirely unfit to help themselves; and if they go to the Colonies, they fail on account of their helplessness. For every vacancy for a clerk, there is a shoal of applicants. I believe that an inestimable boon would be conferred on this country if in all classes of society manual training were added to the school curriculum. We should then see the unhappy men in large towns, now unable to earn a living, get plenty of employment. Any man who could use tools could make £2 or £3 a-week in the Colonies in ordinary times; none need starve. The British people, as a whole, have a greater number of dependants than any other civilized State. Even in the middle classes, multitudes of fairly educated young men are, as I have said, unable to make a living; they are capable of using their pen, but utterly incapable of using their fingers. There can be no doubt that all the trades and professions which live by brain labour are overstocked, and the purely mental training of our youth has a tendency to draw the population into this one direction. On the other hand, when trade is brisk, many of the departments of skilled labour are not fully supplied. It would be well if, like the Jews, each man learned a trade; and we shall never see the end of the present state of things till we make education more practical. Another point I have to bring before the House is the question of health. I believe three hours of brain work is as much as can be given to many children with advantage. All beyond this is purely wasted time. If manual training was given half the day, there would be a much stronger and healthier population. In connection with this point, it should be remembered that in the industrial schools the Standards are passed nearly as soon as in schools where the children have nothing else to learn. I therefore contend that the training of the hand and eye ought to form a more important part of education than it has done in the past. Our Continental rivals are far ahead of us in this respect. Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, and other Continental nations give a training to the hand and the eye which is very much in advance of what exists in this country. I am not pleading so much for technical education, although I should like to see the system largely extended. What I do wish is to give that amount of industrial training to our poor children which will enable them to fight more advantageously the battle of life. The scheme which I propose is simply a rough sketch, and I hope that many hon. Members, who understand the subject better than I do, will fill in the outlines. If the House likes the sketch, and if my suggestion bears fruit, it is quite within its power to organize a system within a few years which would almost change the social condition of the country. I believe that no reform of the present day would be so fruitful of good results to the nation as a general system of industrial education for the young. It is a question of vital importance, which will excite the greatest interest in the constituencies. [The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.]

MR. JAMES STUART said, he had much pleasure in seconding the Resolution, because he regarded it as merely a portion of a very great question, of which he believed the Resolution was but one of the earliest echoes of which they were now beginning to hear. He conceived that, with a wide franchise, they would have the question of secondary education—of that education which was to go beyond and come after our primary education—considered for the whole population. He trusted it might be at no late period of the history of the new Parliament, that they might see some system worked out, if not entirely established, for the evening education of those persons who had left our primary elementary schools, and to carry further the education which they had received. He would be the last to take any part in supporting a Resolution of this kind, if he thought that its tendency, or its object, was to diminish the efficiency, or to diminish the amount of the elementary education in our schools. On the contrary, he had himself seen, in many instances, young boys and girls who, leaving school with a wonderfully fair amount of elementary education, had gradually lost the power of applying it, because they had not been placed in circumstances in which such application was either encouraged or rendered necessary. He hoped that they might see a system established somewhat similar to that which was found in Switzerland, although better adapted to the needs of this country, in which the general science of the world, which was now so comparatively familiar to the wealthier classes, could become familiar to the poorer classes. He maintained that every person ought to be acquainted with the common facts of this science. They ought to be the common possession of mankind; and without calling in the aid of Inspectors of Nuisances, the people should know whether their houses were healthy or not. There was no doubt that the children to whom the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) referred got much less benefit from our elementary schools than children belonging to the better classes in society. The reason of this was hunger. The children of the poorer classes attending our schools in the East End of London—the number, he believed, in some schools was quite one-tenth of the whole—were insufficiently fed and insufficiently clothed. It was certain when they left the school each day they returned to poor homes, where the benefits obtained at school were soon lost. He supposed this question was starting from below, and assumed that it was for these little children who went out merely to roam in the streets after finally leaving school, that the hon. Member wished to apply his Motion. One of the principal things to be observed about the abject poor was their want of "handiness," and he believed it to be the object of the hon. Member to try to make the children of these people a little more "handy" after they left the primary elementary schools. The position of the children of casual labourers was one of deep misery; and in this connection, he (Mr. J. Stuart) had taken part in an experiment some time ago at Cambridge. He thought it would not be out of place if he were to mention the statistics regarding that experiment. This undertaking at Cambridge grew out of a similar movement where they endeavoured to provide handicrafts for the sons of the rich, and in which the necessity for giving some handicraft education to those richer young men who were emigrating to the Colonies was one of the strongest reasons for undertaking the experiment. Feeling it to be a necessity in the case of the rich, he was struck much more with the necessity of a similar experiment in the case of the poor. This experiment at the present time consisted of 17 boys. The time of their attendance was from 7 to 9 o'clock on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and the age of those boys ranged from 12 to 16. Latterly they had paid a small fee of 2*d.* per week. There was no charge beyond that fee. The articles made were sold to defray the expense, and the cost of carrying the school on was 6*s.* a-week. Of course, that cost would be very greatly diminished were they able to increase the number of pupils. The expense of the experiment he had described would be reduced by making use of some of the elder scholars as pupil teachers. The children might be described as those of the unskilled labourers of Cambridge, and some of the children were employed during the day in running errands—an occupation which might sharpen their wits, but failed to give the general handiness that was so necessary for emigration and for success in life. The object of the training was to make them handy at home, and to facilitate their acquiring a trade if opportunity should offer. There was no attempt made to teach them any trade. Among the things taught were carpentering, rough carving, French polishing, japanning, soldering, and other branches of the mechanic's work, and the experience and skill they thus acquired it was hoped would render them useful in their own future homes when there was anything to be done in the way of alterations or repairing. The boys were kept there for a year, and there was always a competition among candidates to enter the school. The cost was very moderate, the expense of the plant having been about £50; but that had included the provision of two lathes, so as to give the children some acquaintance with machinery. If use was made of the London Board Schools, all the things could be easily cleared away, and the expenditure need not be so large proportionately as it had been at Cambridge. One objection that might be made to the proposal of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) was that it would involve an increase of inspection and of Inspectors, and an intrusion into the private life of families; but having the names of the children on the school records, the necessary inquiries as to whether they were employed or not could be carried out without the introduction of any more machinery than already existed. The plan, therefore, could be carried out without additional Inspectors. It was well to ascertain whether each pupil intended to follow a trade or not. The system had proved attractive at Cambridge. There was scarcely anything so valuable to a young man as facility in using his hands. The great attraction of many games was not only the physical exercise, but also the pleasure of doing anything with accuracy. Look at the mass of our proletariat, and ask how many of them could do anything with accuracy or with delight. There was an absence of accuracy in their actions and of pleasure in their lives. The very beginning of what was proposed would be attractive, and development would increase the attractiveness. It was said that there was a difficulty with regard to girls; but girls, as well as boys, might benefit from instructions in the laws of health, and the difficulty might be got over by properly instructing them with regard to cookery. Indeed, he believed that 20 per cent might be added to the wages of the working classes if only the women were taught to cook properly. There was nothing alarming in the Socialistic aspect of the question, arising from the gift of the free instruction of the kind shadowed forth by his hon. Friend, and he (Mr. J. Stuart) had no fear of its being in any way advanced through the adoption of the Resolution. It was the duty of the State to endeavour to render its population capable and efficient. He accepted so much of Socialism as to maintain that it was the duty of the State to endeavour to produce a population efficient, enterprizing, and self-reliant. The State had the right to bring about the state of things in which its interference should become less necessary; and that should be the tendency of State interference in education. By doing what was proposed for the poorer classes, we should only be paying them part of the debt we owed them in respect of advantages of which they had been deprived by being left too much to the natural evolution of things. They had been deprived of their naturally fair share of the advantages produced for the nation by the nation, because of their incapacity, and in this they were too largely the victims of our imperfect institutions.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is expedient to establish a system of compulsory industrial training for the children of the destitute classes in night schools, from the age of 12 or 13 to 16 years, in order to fit them to earn their living either at home or in the Colonies,"—(*Mr. Samuel Smith,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. PELL said, there was a difference in the character of the speeches made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) who had moved, and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Hackney (Mr. J. Stuart) who had seconded, the Resolution. The hon. Gentleman the Mover had shirked some difficult points; but the Seconder had dealt with the question less in the abstract, and more in the concrete. The hon. Member for Liverpool had drawn a pitiable picture of the condition of the country; and the question naturally arose, whether the fact that there were 500,000 children growing up in the country in a state of destitution and absolute ignorance—a statement which he (Mr. Pell) had heard with surprise—was the outcome of the efforts of the Church and of the setting up of a complete system of elementary education. It was surely, if it was true that there was so much destitution, a confession of the failure of all these influences, and an indication of the uselessness of that sort of effort. His experience of emigration as a remedy for the evil complained of had not been very encouraging, and he thought a great deal of good might be done in the poor districts by individual duty and by individual action. He believed that when boys and girls got to be 13 years of age, the less they came in contact with the Government Inspector, the better for society at large. If they could get rid of some existing institutions and bring the rich people of the West End of London into legitimate communication with the poor people of the East End, he had no doubt that good would result from it. By legitimate communication, he meant that communication which existed between the owner of property and the occupiers. Speeches at the Mansion House and music parties were all very good in their way; but the rich could not shirk the question in that manner. If they desired to do their duty, and improve the condition of the lower classes, they must go among them in a legitimate way as the owners of property. Complaints were made of houses in the poorer districts being injured by the tenants; but he submitted that that was not the case, except in houses that were jobbed and let for the purpose of making high rates of interest by concessions to immorality. If the rich would, out of their superfluous wealth, take the trouble to provide good house accommodation with perfect sanitary arrangements for the working classes, he was sure they might make a fair percentage—5 per cent—and they would be received with respect and attention and interest by the people. Let any one of them buy a street, put the houses and drains in proper order, see that the property was thoroughly kept in repair, and that the rents were paid, and he would do more than by any other means to improve the condition of the people. He wished to raise his voice in favour of individual duty and action, as against a mistaken philanthropy and the Inspector, and to invite all those who took an interest in this subject to go down into the poor districts, and see for themselves what could be done to benefit the people. Above all, he did not think it expedient to introduce the compulsory element into the question. He doubted the practicability of the scheme of the hon. Member for Liverpool as a cure for the serious state of things that no doubt existed.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he was sorry to say that, although he agreed with very much in the Resolution, he was not able to support it as it stood; because he objected to compulsion in the matter, and to the expression "the destitute classes." He agreed a great deal more with the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Seconder of the Resolution (Mr. J. Stuart) than he did with the wording of the Resolution itself. It was not, he thought, expedient to introduce a compulsory element into any question of this sort. One of the points of the speech of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) was that, at present, our general elementary education was too purely theoretic and mental, and that there was too little handicraft and physical education. There was a substantial element of truth in that charge; but, surely, the remedy was one which should be applied to the whole body of persons subjected to our present system of education. There was too much of a penal taint in the mixture of the old ragged school and the reformatory in the speech of the Mover of the Resolution. He could not altogether agree with the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) in the extreme spirit of individualism and isolation which characterized his remarks. Of course, nothing good could be done without individual efforts; but he (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) felt perfectly sure that the present evils would never be met by mere isolated efforts of individual philanthropists or reformers. What they wanted was the spirit of philanthropy in its true sense—the sense in which the hon. Member for South Leicestershire spoke when he referred to the legitimate connection between the rich and the poor. It was no good to show a spirit of patronage, or the spirit of Lady Bountiful benevolence; what they wanted was a spirit of common citizenship and common humanity. To bridge over the period of transition between the elementary school and wage-earning, there must be some organized effort based upon some public resources; and if that was to take effect, it would involve a large expenditure of public money. It was said that the education of the children was too intellectual, and not sufficiently physical; in fact, they were told that the children did not know how to play. But if they wanted to develop the physical powers of the children, they ought to have not only playgrounds, but gymnasiums where they might receive a regular training. Then it was suggested that in addition to the intellectual and physical training, there should be some training for the eye and the hand. He was glad to say that we had now in the Code a more distinct recognition of drawing. When drawing was recognized as an ordinary part of the curriculum of schools, it would be found a great relief to the children as regarded their intellectual training. But if they had these things it must cost money, and hon. Members who were prepared to welcome the results must be prepared to accept the means by which the results would be accomplished. We were behindhand in England as compared with other countries, even with such a poor country as Sweden, which had an intelligent harmonious school system for the development of all the faculties of school children. In Sweden there was a system of training the children to produce adroitness and skill in the use of the hand and eye, so that they might become afterwards intelligent workmen. In London the School Board was endeavouring in a small and tentative way to introduce the same system. On Saturday mornings some 20 or 30 boys attended an instruction given by a lady who had spent some months in Sweden studying the Swedish system. He repudiated the idea of regarding this as a criminal interference with the children of criminal or semi-criminal parents. If the system was good for some it was good for all. He objected to its being left exclusively to individual efforts. If it were to be done at all, it must be done by national effort.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS) said, he should like to make a few remarks on the subject before the House, as he had listened with great interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith). For his own part, his attention had for many years been called to the state of the people of London and other large towns; and he could confirm the truth of the picture which the hon. Member for Liverpool had drawn of the state of the poor of London. He would wish, however, to say that, in comparing the present state of London with what it was 50 or 60 years ago, Lord Shaftesbury, while admitting the great misery and poverty which still prevailed, had stated that London was a paradise now compared with what it was at that time. Although its condition might have somewhat improved during the last 50 years, there was still much to do; and he hoped that the investigation into its condition, which had lately taken place, would bear good fruit. When he introduced the Bill with which his name was connected, now some 10 years ago, he felt bound to say, and he would now repeat the statement, that we must not look for too great results for a long time. The state of London, for instance, was the growth of many generations, and we could not, as by the stroke of a magician's wand, remedy all the evils which prevailed; but by the continuance of good work much might be done. They could only hope to do so by great perseverance, and after many disappointments. Still, if the good work were continued, he believed that success would eventually crown our efforts; and he would only further touch on this part of the subject by expressing a hope that the House, when the Bill which was the result of the labours of the Royal Commission was presented, as it would be within a few days, would allow it to pass, even within the short remainder of the present Session. He agreed with the hon. Member for Liverpool that it was perfectly idle to talk of emigrating the class of people to which he alluded. They would not know what to do abroad. They would not be able to earn their living there; they would be a burden to the country to which they were transported, and they would have to be brought back again to this country at great cost and expense. Emigrants were of no use unless they were properly trained and were fit for the work they had to do. It was, therefore, a great matter, before they left these shores, to fit people for their calling and for the life they would have to lead if they were to go abroad. He would like to point out that something had been done in the way suggested by the day industrial schools which we had. A very great improvement had taken place in those day industrial schools, and the teaching carried on in them. We now had very large and good day industrial schools in Liverpool, Sunderland, Leeds, Bristol, and other large towns, and the education given in them was very good. He quite agreed with what had been said as to the value of mixed education, as it might be called—an education by which the children should not be kept at their books the whole day, but should be trained during some part of the day so as to fit them for industrial pursuits. In the schools to which he referred three hours a-day were devoted to education and three or four hours to industrial training. Anyone who had examined the Reports on these industrial schools would see that the industrial training did the physical condition of the children so much good that the education they got had a better effect upon them than if they had no industrial training; and, for his own part, he believed that if this system were carried out in our other schools, a much better effect would be produced than at present. If the education given in the elementary schools of the country were more mixed in its character, it would be very advantageous. A great deal might be done with regard to the education of girls. He agreed with the hon. Member opposite that cookery was one of the most valuable arts which girls ought to know. Needlework, he was glad to see, had now entered largely into the education which they were given, and altogether the training which they now received was much better than that which they formerly had. It might then be asked what was it he objected to in the Resolution of the hon. Member for Liverpool? Well, he objected to two things—the compulsory part of it, and the extensive powers which it was proposed to confer on the Inspectors. There would, he believed, be great objection to extend the age at which the State had hold of the children in the manner proposed by the hon. Member for Liverpool. In his opinion, the time had not arrived for taking such a step. It might be true that, in many cases, parents did not look after their children as they ought to do; but he was not sure that if the compulsory system were carried out in its entirety parents would not feel that the State was taking upon itself a great part of their responsibility, and that they would not be glad to part with their responsibility. An article written by the hon. Member for Liverpool a short time ago suggested that legislation should be accompanied with a more strict enforcement of parental obligations; but the scheme which the hon. Member had propounded that day was one which would release the parent from his obligations to a great extent. Then, what was the Inspector to do? According to the hon. Member's proposal, he was not merely to inspect the schools, or the children in them, so as to see whether they were properly taught, but he was also to inspect the families of anything like destitute parents, and to decide whether the children were to be taken out of the house or not. Now, he thought that the people of England would hardly stand such a step as that. He did not know whether the hon. Member intended that the parents were to contribute anything to the support of their children or not. He understood indeed that the education was to be free; but if the children were taken away, the parents would lose the services of their children at an age when those services were of great advantage to them. In his opinion, a parent was entitled to have the advantage of the earnings of his children when they arrived at the age of 14 or 15. On the other hand, if a boy was working for his parents all day long, it would be rather hard that he should be taken by the Inspector and compulsorily sent to a night school, without having the opportunity of being at home in the evening. What he would suggest was that, so far as industrial schools were concerned, the Home Office would be prepared to make arrangements, for persons who so desired, to use them as voluntary night schools in the evening for the purpose of such training as the hon. Member for Liverpool thought desirable, such, for instance, as they were told could be obtained at Cambridge. He saw no reason why we should not endeavour, by voluntary contributions, to offer the people of this country the advantages which the hon. Member desired to confer upon them. It had been said that if such schools as he had described were offered they would be very attractive and very useful. He quite agreed in that view, and his only desire was to offer the hon. Member for Liverpool, and those who agreed with him, every opportunity to make use of the day industrial schools for this purpose, if they would only meet those who had charge of them with some voluntary assistance to meet the necessary expenses. He should be exceedingly glad to see industrial night schools for children established; but differing, as he did, from the manner in which the hon. Member for Liverpool proposed to attain that end, he trusted the Resolution would not be pressed to a division, although, at the same time, he would say that the discussion had been a very interesting one.

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, we are very much indebted to my hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) for raising this interesting, instructive, and suggestive discussion, a discussion which, at least, brings this plainly before us—a point upon which, in my own mind, my conviction is strong and growing daily — that if you are to deal with the wretched, thriftless classes of this country, you must begin with the children. When these have passed beyond the age of parental control, when they have become young men, it is hopeless to attempt to deal with them in the way suggested. If they have been neglected in their childhood, taught no useful trade or occupation, they have no enterprize, no incentive to help themselves, and are really a curse and a burden on society. This one good thing my hon. Friend's Motion has brought out—that the root of the evil is parental neglect of children in early life. I do not, however, agree with all the statements and all the conclusions he has submitted to the House. I am inclined to concur with the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Sir R. Assheton Cross). I believe in the statement by Lord Shaftesbury, that the condition of the masses of the people in this country is infinitely better than it was 40 or 50 years ago. They have much larger means of securing, and much more sense and appreciation of comfort, less pauperism and misery, and some intelligence. That there is much more thrift is shown by the growth of the Savings Banks Returns and the increase of temperance. Indications of this are not wanting in all directions around us; but I do not want the House to come to the conclusion that it is possible by legislation, or by anything this House can do, to train up the neglected classes among our people in useful handicrafts. I cannot conceive anything much more dangerous than to suppose that these 500,000 children are to be selected from the other portions of the community, and trained to industry at the expense of the ratepayers or taxpayers. The real way to deal with the whole question is to begin early and wiser, with day and industrial schools as the first step. Much more legislation and encouragement are wanted for industrial schools. We have before the House the Report of the Industrial School Commission, and an excellent Report it is. The recommendations of this Commission are among the questions the House ought to deal with as soon as possible. I hope the new Parliament will deal with them in a large and liberal manner, sparing no determination to encourage day industrial schools. The mischief begins when the child becomes truant, when he begins to associate with bad characters, when he runs about the streets, lanes, and markets, and lapses into a condition from which he never emerges. The right course is to lay hands upon the child at once; and if the parents cannot be made responsible for him he should be made to attend a day industrial school where he would obtain manual training simultaneously with educational training. The hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. J. Stuart) has made a most useful suggestion as to night schools; and I may say that there are many school boards in the country who are trying a little supplementary manual instruction—but not in handicraft instruction, in the use of tools, the file, the saw, the plane, the axe—and they make this instruction a reward for good conduct in the school. At present this is not incorporated in the Code. The time has not come. We have not had enough experience of the working of it to justify me in asking for a special grant for giving manual instruction. But really and truly there is no country in Europe—I except Belgium—where the term of training children is so short as in this country. In many countries the compulsory training continues to ages from 13 to 16. I do not propose that we are not prepared for it; but, unhappily, we do not get the children up to the age of 13. In the rural districts large numbers of children pass from school at the age of 10; and in hundreds of rural parishes children are employed, contrary to the requirements of the Education Act. They have not passed the Third and Fourth Standards; but as soon as a child is able to earn a shilling, he is allowed to slip from the attendance officers and the schoolmaster, and much of this is winked at by school committees. There are large districts in England, I do not hesitate to say, where the Education Act has not come into force at all, where, although you have the machinery — a school attendance committee — nominally a school attendance is practically not enforced, and you find the result in large measures of ignorance still in various parts of the country. My hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) spoke of 600,000 who passed from the rural districts during the last 14 years to the great centres of population. Now, I do not think all the helplessness in London is the creation of London itself. Into cities like London, Liverpool, and others, the helpless portion of the population have, in a great measure, drifted, for various reasons, to escape their wretched surroundings, to find employment, some because they have lost their character and cannot remain in the place where their fault was committed. London is not altogether responsible for this state of things; but in London and other large towns the condition of things which has so painfully been brought before us is the result of generations of neglect. It is not the fault of the Education Act of 1870. Some hon. Members speak as though we had had 15 years of compulsory education in this country, when, in truth, we have only had four. The Act was purely optional up to 1881. Besides that, the supply of schools was altogether insufficient then, and indeed we have not yet overtaken the requirements. There is a state of things which I commend to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope), and if he remains long in his present Office I hope he may find a remedy—I mean the low Standard of education necessary for employment in thousands of parishes, sometimes as low as the Third Standard, and often Fourth, when children between the ages of 10 and 15 are at work in the fields, or on the farm. In large towns, however, the work of education is telling marvellously, not only on the intellectual but on the physical and industrial condition of the population. The last Report of the Factory Inspector for the present year—from Chief Inspector Henderson—says—

> "The most interesting testimony is submitted to me daily of the great and beneficial influences of the Education Act in England and Scotland. Employers and others are unanimous in acknowledging a marked improvement in the intelligence, behaviour, and character of the children. They are more amenable to discipline and much less mischievous."

There is also a long statement, with which I need not trouble the House, showing the result of the Education Act upon the industrial condition of the population. The town of Preston is specially referred to, and the beneficial effect of the Act upon the factory people there. The children, who passed a good preliminary Standard, made, with half-time education, half-time employment, as much progress as children who passed the whole day at school. But the condition precedent is this—that the child should have passed a good Standard before he begins that half-time. Thus it was with the factory people in the Lancashire towns, where such half-time children of 13 and 14 passed the Seventh Standard, beginning half-time at 11 years of age. If we raise the Standard all over the country, and declare that no child shall begin half-time until he has passed the Third Standard—and that is low enough, surely—and that he shall not begin full-time employment until he has passed the Fifth, and, until he passed that, making it obligatory to attend a night school, we should make our educational system much more complete, more effectual, with more result for the money we spend so lavishly. In saying this, I am not setting up a very high Standard. Germany and Switzerland have been quoted to the House, where children must attend full time until they are 12 or 13 years old, no matter how engaged. In Prussia it is 12 years. After that they may go to work half-time, but must attend half-time at school until 14 years, and then, if the education is not completed, they must attend a continuing school for two years more. The result is, you do not have the complaint there of classes who cannot use their hands, who cannot find employment, who are shiftless and helpless, and wretched dependers on charity or pauperism. Scotland is another illustration. You do not find the same wretched dependers, a class hanging like a millstone round the neck of the country, or, if you do, they are not natives to the manner born. The only way to get rid of this curse is to take the children in hand promptly and early. By developing the intelligence of the whole population, enterprize is infused into them. As to the industrial school system, I have always been of opinion that the right way to begin is to begin with a truant school. Up to the age of 10 or 11 years, a child can earn no wages, and therefore when a child can be at school and is not at school, then is the time for compulsion. I am not quite sure of the meaning of the remark of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, as to the encouragement of night schools supported by voluntary contributions. I would refer again to Colonel Henderson. I remember him saying—

> "We used to be reducing the stream of wretchedness at its mouth; we are now attacking it at its source."

And I believe it is only by the existing industrial school system, you can get a hold over the children, giving them intellectual and manual training, but not attempting to teach them trades. The workshop is the place for that. I know there are schools where trades are taught in Paris, where £12 or £14 per head is spent per annum on each boy in teaching a trade, one school having 300 or 400 boys thus taught at the expense of the rates. But, in the result, they produced no better workmen than our industrial schools. No child learns so quickly and can work so well as an English child. Comparisons are odious; but experience among Continental children—in Italy, in Germany, and in France—has shown me that our boys have more energy, more go in them, than any others in Europe. The girls especially are most rapid workers, as they have so much deftness of eye and hand. All that we want in many cases is to keep some of these children from their own parents. Upon this subject I was glad to hear the last remarks made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite to the effect that he would be glad to see a greater enforcement of the parents' responsibility. This lies at the root of the whole question, for in Germany and almost every country but our own it is made penal for a man to neglect his children. In this country, a man may half-starve his children and not send them to school, but he is not responsible for his conduct and his neglect. I was glad to hear from my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), of the help that the rich people of the West End of London were giving to the poor people of the East End over this matter. I think that this is a very good sign. I have often heard of the good that the rich Jews living in the West End do for those residing in the East End. In the East End of London there are about 40,000 poor Jews, many of them refugees, yet no Jew is ever found applying to the Guardians for relief.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR): They have Guardians of their own.

MR. MUNDELLA: But the relief is paid for entirely by Jews. I am thankful to my hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) for having brought this matter before the House. I have great sympathy with his Resolution; but I should recommend him to withdraw it, because I feel that I could not vote at once to make a selection in this matter of the poorest from amongst the poor, and to grant to, say, 10 per cent of the community, what is denied to the rest because they are better off. I think the right thing to do is to follow upon the lines upon which we are already going. A great deal has been done in the education of our children in the direction of domestic economy. The sewing of the girls has wonderfully improved, and I believe that English girls are being taught sewing in a way that will make them the best hands at sewing in Europe. Then, again, thousands of girls are being now taught cookery, which will be of the greatest advantage to them. I think that one of the most important things that can be taught to boys is drawing. I mean not pictorial drawing, but drawing that gives accuracy of eye and hand, and which is useful in every condition of life. I have been spending my Whitsuntide holidays in the country, where I came across a Scotch gardener with half-a-dozen boys. In reply to my question, this man told me that he had had all his sons taught drawing, and that he considered it of the greatest advantage to them. There is nothing so useful to a boy as good mechanical drawing. Another thing I think should always be taught to boys. They should be taught the geography of the Colonies. In saying that, I do not mean that they should simply be taught the physical geography, but that they should be taught the resources of them. My hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool drew an alarming picture as to the results of the growth of our population. That growth has been caused, in my opinion, by the better feeding of the poorer classes, by better clothing them, and by the better sanitary arrangements made for them. There is no doubt that better education will produce a class of men who, if they emigrate, will do well, and will not allow those whom they leave behind to be a burden on the community. I feel that a successful emigrant is not only a blessing to himself but a blessing to those he leaves behind, and whose manufactured goods he consumes in the Colonies.

MR. ECROYD said, he also thought the House was much indebted to the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) for raising this discussion, which might do something to prepare the public mind for a solution of several social problems. It was a good thing to have their attention drawn to these matters, for, though no practical results might immediately follow, such discussion of social questions drew forth their sympathies with the great mass of their poorer brethren in their difficulties and miseries. He (Mr. Ecroyd) placed the highest value upon every kind of education; but he would associate with it a certain amount of industrial employment during some portion of the day. He did not believe a remedy could be found for the great evils described by the hon. Member for Liverpool, and those which had been discussed the previous night, without first recognizing that they arose to a great extent in large cities like London and Liverpool from the complete divorce of the wealthy and industrial classes. It was by directing attention to the great need of establishing industries outside, but within some reasonable distance of these great cities, that they might take a first step towards the solution of this difficult problem. Following out the plan so successfully adopted by Sir Titus Salt, when he established Saltaire, they must take out the people of these congested regions to places within some reasonable distance, where they could have more constant employment at remunerative rates, and obtain decent houses at a moderate price, No amount of philanthropic effort would attain the end. They must clear the ground, in the first instance, by recognizing the fact that a population partially and fitfully employed and inadequately paid could never be respectably and decently housed. Therefore, if they would remedy those vast congestions of misery, they must, in the first place, turn their attention to the real root of the mischief, which did not lie so much in the want of education, as in the want of sufficient employment and adequate remuneration for the work which was done. Labour in the East End of London was not adequately paid. Let society discharge its just debt in this respect; let them pay the poor women for making their shirts before they began to treat the matter from a philanthropic point of view. So long as poor women were allowed to make shirts in the East End of London at a third of the remuneration to which they were fairly and reasonably entitled, it was impossible for them to provide themselves with healthy homes, and it was inevitable that many of them would be tempted to add to their miserable pay the wages of immorality and shame. There was one element in this problem which was too little kept in view by those who discussed it. The adoption of mechanical aids, the general progress of industry, and the division of labour had continually concentrated their great industries in certain localities. That process was still going on, and there was something like a survival of the fittest localities with respect to special industries. In his own county, it was instructive to notice that among a population generally intelligent, and of an eager industrial character, Oldham was rapidly absorbing to itself the great business of cotton spinning. In the same way North-East Lancashire was rapidly absorbing to itself the weaving industry. Thus, even in strong and energetic industrial communities, the strongest and fittest survived. Those who failed in the race did not remain in the prosperous neighbourhoods, but drifted away to the congested masses of misery in our large towns; and the lesson he wished to press home was this — if they would understand the cause of the enormous development of the melancholy and disgusting social evil which they discussed the previous evening, and of the inadequate housing of the poor, they must go to the root of the difficulty and recognize that, after all, whatever might be the apparent gain to portions of the community by an opposite policy, the duty of the State and of individuals was to care for and to nurse their industries, in the first place, and to look anxiously to the employment and well-being of the productive population. By so doing they would enable them to earn their own living and preserve their independence, and would foster the spirit of self-reliance, by giving them a reasonable remuneration for their labour, and putting them beyond the need of charity.

He was convinced, therefore, that to find honourable, fully-paid employment for the people was the only possible way by which the slums of our great cities could be improved. When they had realized that fact they would see the necessity of encouraging national industries. He held that the mistaken legislation which had destroyed the silk industries of Spitalfields, and the cruel national policy which in times past had destroyed industrial occupations in Ireland, was largely responsible for the misery and destitution which existed. With reference to the proposals of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) in regard to a peasant proprietary, he (Mr. Ecroyd), said there was no man in the House who felt a profounder desire to see a larger proportion of the population enjoy healthy life and employment on the land as cultivators than he did. If he was unable at all times to follow the hon. Member in the particular methods by which he proposed to carry out his scheme, he would say, at the same time, that any agency of a sound and healthy character, possessing conditions of permanence, and likely, therefore, to accomplish this desirable end effectually, would not fail to receive his cordial support. He thought that unless they could find some means of enabling a larger proportion of the population of this country to exercise their industry upon the soil, with profit to their employers and themselves, and to the owners of the soil—for they all hung together—they would fail to stop one of the greatest causes of the existing misery. As for emigration, he knew the value of their magnificent Colonies; but the mischief was, that the conditions at present existing were making larger and larger masses of the population unfit for emigration to those Colonies.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, many hon. Members on his side of the House could subscribe to the sentiments expressed by the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. Ecroyd). All these difficult questions came back to the immense mass of poverty which existed among the people; and he was glad the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) had ventilated the subject, though he had only touched upon the fringe of it. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) hoped that it would continue to receive more and more attention on the part of the House, and that Parliaments, in the future, would conceive it to be their duty to spend a much larger amount of time than they had hitherto done in the contemplation and solution of these social problems. The hon. Member for Liverpool had a great notion of training up children individually, and he (Mr. Jesse Collings) agreed with him in all the ideas he had put forward, except in that of sending them abroad, as he believed we had facilities enough for keeping them employed at home. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) replied to the hon. Member for Liverpool, relying on individual effort; but he (Mr. Jesse Collings) would ask the hon. Member whether individual effort was ever more active than it was at present? The solution would come when the people of the East of London saw how they lived in the West; and he demanded an answer to the question, How it was that in the richest country in the world—in a country with riches incalculable—there should be an amount of poverty unexampled anywhere else; and, how it was also that by the side of a comparatively small number of highly opulent individuals, there was a proletariat so enormous? The last Census showed that these inequalities were still on the increase. The Census Returns showed a very large increase in the total population, amounting to 14½ per cent. That increase was the more remarkable, because nearly all the rural districts, like Wilts, Dorset, and Devon, showed a decrease. Emigration had had very little influence on the question, and the conclusion was that the rural population had migrated into the towns. In prosperous times, the towns had always been able to absorb the surplus labour flowing into them from the country, but they had long ceased to be able to absorb it. The hon. Member for Liverpool wanted to train up the children to industrial handicrafts. But for what handicrafts or industries did he intend them? They were all overdone already. But there was one industry which was not overdone; and he said boldly that the only industry which, at that present moment, was capable, with profit to the workman and the nation, of absorbing this surplus population was the agricultural industry. In Birmingham they had an industrial school with 150 boys eight or 10 miles out in the country, so that they might be brought up in the technical details of the agricultural industry. They did not bring them up as brass-founders, because they knew there were now five brass-founders where four were wanted, and the same with other trades. He would recommend that training schools should be established in every village and in every parish in connection with the rural schools, for the purpose of giving technical training in matters connected with the rural industries. The boys could be taught fruit-growing, bee-keeping, and the care of poultry, &c.; while the girls could be instructed in general dairy work, such as the making of butter and cheese, great quantities of which we now imported from abroad. The result of the establishment of such schools would be to keep the youth of the country upon the land, where they might enjoy all the simplicity of country life, combined with the advantages of education, and so lessen the labour competition in the large towns. He hoped attention would be directed to these subjects hereafter, as he was certain it was upon those lines that our village life was to be restored.

Mr. SALT said, he considered that the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) had suggested two very remarkable solutions of the social problem with which they had to deal. The first—namely, that the East End should see how the West End lived—was quite incomprehensible; perhaps the hon. Member would on another occasion explain exactly what he meant. The next solution was almost as remarkable. The hon. Member said the agricultural system was capable of indefinite expansion for the benefit of those who lived by it. That was just what they had all been looking forward to in vain. How was that to be attained? No one but the hon. Member knew how his magnificent scheme for the development of the agriculture of the country was to be carried out so as to yield those profits which he anticipated, and he (Mr. Salt) could not help thinking that it was rather selfish of the hon. Member to keep this great secret to himself; and he thought the House, therefore, had some cause of complaint against the hon. Member. He (Mr. Salt) had listened with great interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith); but he was afraid that the hon. Member took too sanguine and hopeful a view of the results he anticipated from the adoption of the proposals he made. He had shared the hon. Member's surprise at the statistics relating to the condition of the poor, which gave such satisfactory results, at a time when one's own experience of facts led one to know that so much misery prevailed. But the explanation might be that, during the past 25 years, the people who lived by manual labour had been dividing themselves into two classes—the prosperous and the unfortunate—and the satisfactory statistics as to the improvement in the dwellings of the working classes and the increase in the savings banks' deposits were furnished by the prosperous class. There could be no denying that the condition of a large number of the class who lived by manual labour had been deteriorating owing to carelessness, or ill-health, or great depression in some special branches of trade. The hon. Member had spoken of emigration. Many agencies were at present at work, doing much good; but he thought they were in a very confused state, owing to the want of some directing hand. What was wanted was information; and it might be well if this work was undertaken by some Government Department, which would furnish, month by month, information as to the class and amount of labour required in different Colonies. He sympathized altogether with the spirit in which the hon. Member for Liverpool had made his suggestion; but he was afraid that the innate goodness of heart which actuated the hon. Member tended to lead him into the region of hopeful speculations, rather than into the sphere of practical possibilities. He (Mr. Salt) could not see that the proposal of compulsory industrial training for night schools was, on the whole, either practicable or desirable. If they could establish a system of training that was partly physical and partly intellectual, they would teach young children quite as much and lead them to like the schools, and they would not require the power of compulsion to force them into night schools. He was glad to hear what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman opposite the late Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) as to the system of industrial homes. That system, he thought, might be very usefully extended so as to maintain, at far less cost and with much benefit to the children themselves, many poor children who were wandering about the streets uncared for. In conclusion, he would appeal to his hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool to be satisfied with the valuable discussion that he had elicited, and not to press his Motion to a division.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr. E. STANHOPE) said, he thought they must all have been interested in that debate, which had ranged over a great variety of topics, and had drifted away from the scheme proposed by the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith), and introduced to their notice almost every possible subject which could be discussed in reference to education. He had risen chiefly because a special appeal had been made to him on one or two points. Amid the various suggestions that had been made, a very substantial agreement appeared to exist on one or two main points. They were in that House all heartily agreed as to the desirability and the importance of trying to improve the technical education of the children. The hon. Member who introduced this subject had proposed to attempt this object by the establishment of industrial night schools. Well, he should like to see the experiment tried. But he himself did not look very hopefully upon it. He was rather inclined to think that the view of the right hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) was the correct one, and that it would be well if they could establish in all the large towns day industrial schools, a system which might receive every reasonable development. When he himself served upon the Commission on Industrial and Reformatory Schools, the evidence led him to the conclusion that it was hopeless to expect, and useless to attempt, to teach children the particular trades which they would have to carry on in after-life. What they had to teach them was some trade or other, in order to quicken their intelligence and fit them in a general manner for their duties in after-life. The hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) had put forward a scheme of wide application, and would add an agricultural department to the schools in the country. But what were the boys in the agricultural districts now doing? Why, they were withdrawn from school, generally speaking, at about 10 or 11 years of age; and it seemed to him that at that early age they need not think much about industrial training. They should rather endeavour to make the best use of the opportunities they had for giving the children a sound education in elementary subjects which would stick to them in after-life. The case of girls was different; and now considerable efforts were made to give them industrial training in elementary schools. He did not speak of sewing only, but of cooking, training in which, he was glad to say, was extending. Seventeen years ago he found in a village in Shropshire—Stokesay—instruction in cottage cooking being given on a system that was then novel; and since that time the system had gone on developing to a very large degree. He would do everything in his power to encourage that training in cookery, because he believed that by it, perhaps, more might be done for the happiness of the population than in any other way. Those, however, were subjects on which he should have more to say next week; and he now desired simply to make an appeal to the hon. Member for Liverpool in regard to his Motion, with the objects of which they all sympathized. The hon. Member for Liverpool had done good service in bringing so important asubject before the House; and he would appeal to him to be content with the discussion, and not to press the Motion to a division.

MR. MUNDELLA said, the right hon. Gentleman had understated the fact. There were 500 centres of instruction in cooking; but there were many schools at which cookery was taught connected with some of these centres.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that he had often observed that the breaks in the Party organization of the House which changes of Administration produced afforded scope for free and friendly interchange of opinion. In this debate everyone had recommended education as a remedy for the poverty and the social evils described by the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith). It was proposed to make education compulsory, and to make this a charge, not upon the rates, but upon the Imperial Revenue. What were they coming to? The proposal meant an enormous charge upon the Revenue, brought about by the displacement of a great industry, and by the removal of a large part of the population, not to the Colonies, but to the large towns of this country, where the people found employment almost as deficient as in the country districts which they had left. He had always feared, and he had not been ashamed to say it, that he had long foreseen, and declared his opinion, that the policy of free imports would turn out more expensive to this country than the policy which it superseded. He (Mr. Newdegate) was not solitary in that opinion. It was now generally known that the German Empire had recently adopted a Corn Law, and that the French Republic had still more recently adopted a similar measure; while England was obliged to cast forth a population so unprepared for labour, that the United States had passed a statute to the effect that no such people should be allowed to immigrate into that country. The hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) had stated that farmers should turn their attention more than they had done to dairy produce. The hon. Member ought to know something about Birmingham, but seemed not to be aware that through poverty in Birmingham itself, or from the extent that land had been laid down in the Midland Counties for dairy purposes, that the price of milk in that town had fallen one-third, while the superiority of the quality of English cheese was gradually driving American cheese out of the market. He (Mr. Newdegate) submitted that the Legislature had no right to enforce compulsory education until they had the knowledge to inform scholars from 13 to 16 years of age where they might employ their industry. He contended that it was cruel and impolitic to force this advanced education upon lads without furnishing them with information as to where they could obtain spheres for its use. The Government of the day alone possessed, or could promptly obtain, this information from foreign countries and from the Colonies, and ought to publish it monthly. With respect to the training of girls, he was of opinion that all girls ought to marry. He himself was a bachelor; but if he were to marry he would have to bless the Government, who had made his wife a good cook.

MR. CLARE READ said, that the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) was perfectly right when he said that for a long series of years the rural population was flocking into the towns. Some 20 years ago this arose from the better employment given in the towns; but during the last 10 years there had been going on a considerable migration into the towns, which resulted mainly from the quantity of land that was laid down in grass. When the hon. Member told them that the salvation of farming would be attained by the production of more cheese and butter, he hardly knew how small a quantity of labour was employed in the production of cheese. There was scarcely anyone employed on the great cheese farms, and the same might also be said of butter; but when they considered the amount of labour employed in growing an acre of wheat, it would be seen that the laying down of land in grass, while much more profitable to the farmer, would be a loss to the country and to the labouring population. A farmer could not grow an acre of wheat unless he spent something like 40*s.* in labour upon it, while 10*s.* would be ample when the land was laid down in grass.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. CLARE READ, continuing, observed that the hon. Member for Ipswich had said that there was a very successful future before the farmer; but that future must depend upon the production of fruit, butter, and cheese. Why, butter had been selling at from 9*d.* to 10*d.* per pound, and milk at 6*d.* per gallon. Fruit was never more cheap than at present, and vegetables were absolutely given away. He saw a bill the other day for three cartloads of rough vegetables sent into Birmingham, and all that the man received for them was 14*s.* 6*d.* Cabbages were actually sold for 1*d.* a-dozen. If they were to grow corn, mutton, and beef, they would have a very much larger quantity of labour employed than at present, and they would stop the migration into the towns. The hon. Member said that they ought to have in all the rural schools an acre or two upon which the boys should be taught agriculture. He would ask the hon. Member whether the boys could tend stock, or girls make the cheese, on this acre or two? Many practical suggestions had been made in the course of the debate; but those which had been put forward by the hon. Member for Ipswich would not tend much to the benefit of the rural population.

Mr. RANKIN said, he was prepared to give a general support to the Motion. He thought that more information should be given to persons intending to emigrate than was given at present. It would be well if an Office could be established which should collect all the information on the subject, and diffuse it throughout the country. He would suggest that that might be done without difficulty through the instrumentality of the Post Office. He agreed with what had been said as to the importance of industrial training for the children of the country. Though it might be almost impossible, as his hon. Friend who had last spoken observed, to make a profit out of small items, yet these might form an important element in the industrial life of the rural labourer. Though the labourer might not be able to sell his vegetables, he might be able to consume them himself very profitably. A great deal was being done by voluntary effort for emigrating children to Canada from industrial homes; and if those homes were encouraged by a Government grant a much greater work might be done. If children physically and mentally fitted for emigration were selected from the schools and sent to Canada, where the demand for young emigrants appeared to be inexhaustible, much good would be effected. Considering how magnificent a Colonial Empire we possessed, it seemed a great pity that our surplus population should remain at home instead of going to Dependencies, where energy and intelligence were highly valued.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH said, he was perfectly satisfied with the instructive discussion that had taken place upon the matter, and, therefore, would not ask the House to divide.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

SCOTLAND—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS.—OBSERVATIONS.

Dr. CAMERON, in calling attention to the administration of justice in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with special reference to statements set forth in depositions sworn to on the 19th ultimo by the postmaster and telegraph clerk of Portree before David Ross, Esquire, J.P. for Inverness-shire, said, that under the Telegraph Act of 1868 it was constituted a felony in England and a crime in Scotland for anyone employed in the Postal Telegraph Service to divulge the contents of any telegram. That Act was one of the Post Office Acts, and in all the Post Office Acts it was laid down that any person inciting to the commission of a felony or crime was himself guilty of a felony or crime, and was liable to two years' imprisonment. The case he had to refer to was that of a gentleman in a high and powerful position, who had been apparently guilty of the offence which he had described. About a month ago a statement appeared in the newspapers, substantiated by the signatures of two witnesses, to the effect that Sheriff Ivory, Sheriff of Inverness-shire, had gone into the Post Office of Portree, and had used intimidating language towards the telegraph clerk and the postmaster, to induce them to divulge the contents of certain telegrams which had passed through that office. A Question was asked the late Lord Advocate on the subject, and another Question was asked of the late Postmaster General. The late Postmaster General said he had communicated with the postmaster at Portree, and his Report entirely bore out the statements in question. He said he had handed the matter to the late Lord Advocate; and the Lord Advocate, being asked whether he would take steps in the matter, replied that he had received from Sheriff Ivory an explanation on the subject, and that he did not intend to take any steps. Since then sworn depositions had been made by the two men who heard what was going on, and by the postmaster and telegraph clerk. They were all to the same effect—that Sheriff Ivory did, on the 25th May, go into the Post Office, force himself into the private room, and in a most imperious and unlawful way incite the officials to commit a felony—namely, to disclose the contents of telegrams which had passed through the office. The Sheriff in Scotland was not merely a Judge, but held an important administrative office; and it was entirely in his administrative and not in his judicial capacity that he should have occasion to criticize his conduct. They had all heard a great deal about the military expedition to Skye; but it was not generally known that the chief mover in connection with those military expeditions was Sheriff Ivory. He did not state that on hearsay authority; he stated it on the authority of a Report presented by the Commissioners of Supply of Inverness-shire to Sheriff Ivory. In 1882, there was considerable commotion in the Highlands. The Commissioners of Supply found themselves obliged to supply police or some other protection to Sheriff officers who went there to serve notices either of interdict or eviction, and they put themselves in communication with the Imperial authorities. Sheriff Ivory impressed upon the military authorities the necessity of sending a Government steamer with Marines; but the late Home Secretary absolutely refused to sanction any such expedition. Later on, the representations of the Police Committee of the Inverness Commissioners of Supply were more successful, and Sheriff Ivory was the moving spirit. Pressure was put upon the Government, and at last a military expedition was sent. Sheriff Ivory went with that expedition; and a statement was published, signed by a clergyman in Skye, to the effect that in his presence Sheriff Ivory had said that he had power to order the Marines to shoot the people. When an observation was made that he could not make the Marines shoot them, he said he could; and he used language which, in the opinion of the rev. inhabitant of Skye, was of a very irreligious and unbecoming character. A statement to that effect was published, signed by the men who heard what Sheriff Ivory had said. It was Sheriff Ivory's duty, as the officer in charge of the expedition, to send a Report to the Government, and he sent a Report. That Report cast aspersions broadcast. Sheriff Ivory was the Judge in the county, and naturally any case that was for trial would come before him. But he showed in the course of the Report the most extraordinary resolution to make statements without evidence, and to judge cases beforehand; and he thought himself justified, without any sanction from the Government, in publishing his own Report in the Scottish newspapers. He did not do so even in a straightforward fashion. The Report was dated on the 10th February, and on the 12th it appeared in *extenso* in *The Scotsman*. It was prefaced with this introduction—

> "The following is the Report of Sheriff Ivory, which has been laid before the Commissioners of Supply of Inverness."

What could be the object of that introduction but to lead the country to believe that it had been supplied to *The Scotsman* by the Commissioners of Supply at Inverness? He found that there had been no meeting of the Commissioners on the 11th, and he asked the late Lord Advocate a Question on the subject, and was told that Sheriff Ivory had admitted to him that he had published this official document—which the Home Secretary subsequently refused to lay on the Table of the House—entirely on his own responsibility. In view of such conduct he asked the House was that a man who ought to be allowed to dragoon a highly-strung portion of the population of Scotland? Was that a man on whose word the Government should send military expeditions to Skye, involving the country in expense, and taking steps which might lead to bloodshed and other deplorable results? He maintained that the conduct of Sheriff Ivory in publishing that confidential Report, and again in committing the breach of the law which was laid in the charge in the depositions to which he had referred, was such that he could not be safely entrusted with administration of a disturbed district such as that over which he ruled. An even-handed administration of justice in the Highlands was essential in order to prevent the people from regarding the law and the officers of the law as their enemies, and to prevent it being in their power to defeat the law. The hon. Member then proceeded to refer to the cases of the mutilation of animals. The Lord Advocate had admitted all the facts that Martin had so mutilated the crofters' sheep that they died, and the authorities had thought it necessary to take action in the matter; and when he (Dr. Cameron) had questioned him on the subject in the House of Commons, the Lord Advocate explained that there was no evidence that Martin had wantonly or intentionally mutilated the sheep. But was there no law against cruelty to animals in Scotland? And if there was, why was not that law enforced? Well, Martin brought his action for the mutilation of his ram, and the crofters their counter-action for the deterioration of the value of their ewes; and the Sheriff awarded to each party £3 in the shape of damages, and the crofters found themselves minus their expenses, and the value of their time occupied in the action. And when the crofters followed him afterwards, calling him "ba!" in reference to what had really occurred, they were brought up before Sheriff Black and sentenced to 30 days' imprisonment with hard labour, without the option of a fine. And the late Home Secretary, when questioned on the subject in the House of Commons, said that it was necessary to maintain the strong arm of the law in Scotland. It might be necessary to maintain order in the Highlands by a stern administration of the law; it might be necessary to imprison the crofters for 30 days with hard labour, for in their natural resentment, and in their ignorance of the consequences of saying "ba!" to a tacksman; it might be necessary to interpret the law in the most literal fashion to hold that any man breaking it should be punished by the extremest penalties of the law; but if they laid it down so in one case they ought to do so in all cases, but, as he had pointed out, the severity of the law was not vindicated in the case of Martin. There might have been some excuse for those ignorant Highlanders for collecting in a mob. They had not much experience of mobs; they did not know it was a crime to walk behind a person who had denounced them as thieves and robbers; but Sheriff Ivory was a Judge and an administrator of the law, and it was his business to know the law, and yet they had him going into a post office at Portree, and committing the offence he was alleged to have committed—an offence which the statutes of Parliament declared to be a felony in England and a crime in Scotland, punishable with two years' imprisonment. He (Dr. Cameron) did not want to assume the guilt of Sheriff Ivory, although he should like to hear what explanation he had to offer, if he had any; but it seemed to him that no explanation of Sheriff Ivory's was comparable to the sworn evidence of those four witnesses. The Sheriff might have the authority of the State for the course taken by him; but, if that was so, he had not produced his authority. When the postmaster said he was the servant of the Postmaster General, Sheriff Ivory was reported to have replied that he did not care for Mr. Shaw Lefevre; that these Englishmen knew nothing about Scotsmen; and that he did not care for the hard-and-fast rules of the Post Office, and was determined that the Post Office should not be made a medium to convey intelligence for the purpose of defeating the ends of justice, and he threatened that he should have the postmaster apprehended, and charged with being "art and part" in the offences in question. He did not, as he had said, desire to assume the guilt of Sheriff Ivory as to the offence ascribed to him; but, according to the law of Scotland, the prosecution of offenders was the duty of the Crown officials, and it was their duty in this case, as in that of the wretched Highlanders who mobbed the tacksman, or in the expedition to Skye of Sheriff Ivory. Why, instead of trying them with a jury in Inverness in ordinary fashion, they put them to the inconvenience and expense of a jury trial, without the corresponding benefits to be reaped from a summary trial at Portree, and in a manner altogether unprecedented. The public of Scotland had been so scandalized by the proceedings that they had signed and published in *The Times* a protest in the matter, for a more miserable fiasco was never enacted in a Scotch Court. It might, as he had already observed, be necessary under existing circumstances to administer the law in Scotland with severity, to inflict penalties for offences against the law which might, under ordinary circumstances, be overlooked; but unless it was desired to prejudice the minds of the people against the impartiality of the law, he would call upon the Government to administer even-handed justice—to let the law be what the Houses of Parliament declared it to be, and not the dictum of the Procurator Fiscal.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH wished to impress on the Government the necessity of making a full inquiry into the charge against Sheriff Ivory, of having, as it was alleged, taken upon himself, without authority from the Secretary of State, to enter the Post Office at Portree and threaten the postmaster, if he did not disclose the contents of telegrams, that he would have him up before himself. Now, that had caused much excitement in Scotland, and he himself had received several communications on the subject; and the answer given by the late Lord Advocate, when questioned by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) on the subject, was not by any means a sufficient answer to satisfy the House of Commons. But since the hon. Member for Glasgow had asked the Question of the late Lord Advocate the matter had assumed greater gravity. The matter then rested on the evidence of the two witnesses who were accidentally present; but since then their statements had been fully corroborated by the official testimony of the postmaster at Portree, and the telegraph clerk. He urged on the Postmaster General to undertake a full investigation into the charges made by the two responsible witnesses, fortified by the postmaster and his clerk, and that the noble Lord would afterwards inform the House of the result of the inquiry; and he (Mr. Mackintosh) hoped that, should it be found that this person (Sheriff Ivory), however high his position, was guilty of the charge brought against him, an equal measure of justice and of punishment should be dealt out to him as had been dealt to the crofters.

MR. MACFARLANE said, he had put a Question on this subject to the late Lord Advocate, and the answer was perfectly unique. A serious charge had been made against a high official in Scotland; it had since been affirmed by three or four persons on oath, and the Lord Advocate's reply was that the person inculpated had given an entirely different version of the case. He did not wish to charge Sheriff Ivory with any criminality; but he supposed it was usual for criminals to give an entirely different version of a case; yet he had never known high officials like the Lord Advocate or the Judges to accept the criminal's version as a settlement of the matter. But this was not a dispute between two individuals in Portree. It was a question between the dignity and honour of the law and the people. He denied that there was any necessity for enforcing the law with severity in the Highlands. The crofters for the most part were wholly ignorant of English, and on that account they frequently did not know when they might be committing breaches of the law. But the moment they discovered they had done so they voluntarily surrendered themselves to the Court to take their trial; and it was not likely that people who would walk such great distances as they had in order to reach the Court to take their trial could be such very great desperadoes. Whether the Highlands were disturbed or not, the administration of the law should, as far as possible, be above suspicion. That was not the case. He did not wish to give his own judgment on this occasion. All that they asked for was a strict investigation; and if on that it was proved that a high officer of the law had misused his position to terrorize the people—as he had good reason to believe he had—then he hoped Her Majesty's Government would make an example of him that would be remembered by the Highlands and by all Scotland. Apart from this matter of the telegrams, they had had innumerable instances of the want of discretion on the part of this high officer. He travelled through Skye when the people were in a great state of excitement, and a judicious man would not have treated the people as he did. It had been the same from the time the man-of-war went to Skye and the Marines fraternized with the people. From that time, and before that time, he had been practically a firebrand. The people did not believe in him or his justice; and it did not matter whether he was just and impartial or not. So long as the people did not believe in his justice and impartiality he was unfit to be an officer of the Crown. During recent years the House of Commons had had brought before it a great many cases from Ireland, perhaps some good and perhaps some bad; but he did not believe the magistrates and justices had anything like a chance of carrying on their practices in Ireland as they did in the Scottish Highlands. There was a public opinion in Ireland that kept a watchful eye on them; and within the last few years they had done nothing amiss without being called in question. He wished to see the same vigilance exercised in regard to the Highlands also. There ought to be a trial of this Sheriff, and, if found guilty, justice ought to be meted out to him. He would not dwell upon the subject, because another opportunity would be afforded for discussing it, by moving the reduction of the Vote for the salaries of the Scottish Law Officers.

THE LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. DALRYMPLE) said, he had paused before rising to address the House, because he thought it possible that the only Member of the late Government who was on the Bench opposite (Mr. Mundella) would have taken the opportunity of making some reply to the statements regarding affairs with which the late Government alone were concerned. It was quite obvious that Her Majesty's present Government had not been concerned in any way in the matters under discussion, and, indeed, it would have been only natural—indeed, it would have been very much to be expected—that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield should have taken notice before quitting the House of the speeches that had been made. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) put his Notice on the Paper only on Thursday night, and it was quite impossible to obtain fresh information on the subject from Skye in time for this debate. He believed it was a matter of convenience to various Members that the question should be brought on to-night; but he thought it was unfortunate that it should have been brought on in the absence of the late Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour), who must have been much better informed on the subject than any Member of the present Administration could be. He was, moreover, of opinion that it would not have been inappropriate if the discussion had been delayed till the Vote on Law and Criminal Expenses in Scotland was brought before the Committee, especially as the hon. Member for Inverness Burghs (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) had intimated that he intended to raise the whole discussion again on that Vote in Committee of Supply. He had no complaint to make about the hon. Member for Glasgow for bringing forward the matter, although he had said a great deal in the course of his speech which was not in the least foreshadowed in his Notice on the Paper. The hon. Member had entered into a review of the conduct of Sheriff Ivory from first to last. It was no part of his (Mr. Dalrymple's) business to defend Sheriff Ivory, and he had very little to say in reply, because there was no information in possession of the Government independent of that which was within the reach of the late Government, nor was there anything in the papers which the hon. Member for Glasgow had been so good as to send him which in any degree covered the hon. Member for Glasgow's speech, for the papers had reference alone to the matter of the telegrams. Her Majesty's Government had taken no action in this matter because they had no new information. On the 8th of June he observed that a Question was put to the then Postmaster General (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) in reference to the telegrams. The Question asked whether his attention had been called to the letter in *The North British Daily Mail* of May 9th; and the answer was that the Postmaster General had received a statement from the postmaster at Portree to a similar effect, but that the Lord Advocate had received an essentially different account. The matter had since been made the subject of certain depositions. These were brought before the notice of the Home Secretary, and were dealt with after communication with Sheriff Ivory, who gave a distinctly different account of the proceedings. The present Government had not got in their possession the communication from Sheriff Ivory. He (Mr. Dalrymple) did not know where it was, and he could give no account of it whatever. His hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow said he had not seen it. Why, if he had not seen it, should the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) assume that it was a valueless document, and was not to be taken as evidence any more than any part of the evidence? The hon. Member thought it incredible that the communication should be relied on; and yet, it was to be observed, though the present Government had not seen it, it was thought sufficient by the late Government. He could but state that the late Lord Advocate had made inquiry, and had seen no cause to take steps. No new information having reached the present Government, the Secretary of State did not see any ground for re-opening the case. This answer might be unsatisfactory to the hon. Member for Glasgow. He entirely agreed that even-handed justice should be dealt out in a district which had been the subject of considerable agitation in times past, and, as the hon. Member for Carlow had said, the administration of justice should be above suspicion; but the whole case seemed to have been under review of the late Government, and as the present Government had no fresh information on the subject it was impossible to re-open the case.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, there was great force in some of the remarks which the hon. Gentleman had just addressed to the House. He did not think the hon. Member for Glasgow had any intention of putting the responsibility on the present Government; and the question had been brought forward to-night in order that the new Government, or whoever might now be responsible for Scotch affairs, might have the opportunity of giving some assurance to the people of Scotland, and particularly the Highlanders, that they would see that justice should be now administered fairly and impartially. There was no doubt that there was the greatest dissatisfaction with the administration of justice in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. So far as he could make out, there was great reason to doubt that justice was impartially administered in that quarter of the country. He deeply regretted that the Law Officers of the late Government did not give sufficient importance to the subject when it was first brought before their notice. He was also sorry to call attention to the circumstance that there was not one of the late Law Officers now in the House —that there was not present one Member of the late Government—although he understood that the Notice of his hon. Friend had come under the notice of the late Law Officers. There was no doubt whatever that a large proportion of the disturbances that took place recently in Skye was due to the want of confidence among the people in the administration of justice. They felt from long experience that they could not look to the Crown to protect them from injustice; and they were driven as the only resource to attempt, very unwisely and injudiciously, to take the law into their own hands, though the result of that had been that they had had an attention drawn to their case which it otherwise would not have received. The new Government would put the people of the West of Scotland to a great amount of indebtedness if they would take means to have a fair inquiry into the administration of justice in the Islands of Scotland. So far as the case of Sheriff Ivory was concerned, he thought it was the duty of the Government to place the sworn affidavits before the Law Officers of the Crown for Scotland, and ask their opinion whether there was not *primâ facie* evidence to justify a prosecution of Sheriff Ivory. There were sworn affidavits by two persons in authority, and by two respectable householders. All these concurred in making the same statement, not from hearsay, but on the evidence of their own senses; and he did not see how the Lord Advocate could set aside these affidavits on the simple explanation of Sheriff Ivory of what took place. In the particularly excited state of the Island, and the ideas of the people as to the administration of justice, he thought there ought to be some public inquiry, in order to satisfy the people that impartial justice would be meted out to all. This was not the only case in which Sheriff Ivory had contradicted evidence of individuals given on affidavit. Complaint was made of him on a previous occasion when certain arrests were made, and of the undignified and unbecoming language used in discussing the matter with the crofters. Sheriff Ivory denied the language attributed to him, whereupon those who made the statement went before a magistrate and made affidavit that the statement was correct. Five witnesses agreed on that occasion. Under these circumstances, he thought that it was the duty of the Law Officers of the Crown to take steps to satisfy the people that the law would be fairly and justly administered. The conduct of Sheriff Ivory had been principally dealt with on the present occasion; but on a previous occasion he had called attention to the conduct of the Procurator Fiscal and of Sheriff Black, which he begged the House to consider for a moment in relation to the position of the people in the Highlands of Scotland. The population of Lewis amounted to about 26,000 people, and the whole Island belonged to one proprietrix, and, with the exception of the Sheriff Substituteship, every place of emolument or power was in her hands, or those of her nominees and officials. The Procurator Fiscal—a Law Officer of the Crown—was also the law agent for the proprietrix. There was, therefore, no independent individual to whom the islanders could trust, except the Sheriff. He had called the attention of the House by Question to the conduct of the Procurator Fiscal in the case of Murdo Graham, when the Procurator Fiscal, as agent, obtained a warrant from the Sheriff for the demolition of a house, and at the pulling down of the house a disturbance took place. In connection with the subsequent trial Sheriff Black had shown such a partizanship in favour of the proprietrix that the people did not believe that they could have impartial justice. The Report of the Royal Commission indicated very clearly that the Commissioners had reason to believe that there were grounds for the dissatisfaction at the administration of justice in the Highlands; and they strongly recommended that all the officers of the Crown—Procurator Fiscal, Sheriff Clerk, and Sheriff—should be placed in a position entirely independent of the landlords in those districts. He therefore thought it was the duty of the present Government to apply to Parliament for sufficient power to deal with existing circumstances; and he appealed to the Home Secretary to give them an assurance that the whole matter would be inquired into. He also desired to urge on the Government, as probably one of the best measures for the pacification of the Western Highlands, to issue a Commission of Inquiry on the spot as to the manner in which justice had been administered during the last six or 12 months in that part of the country.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross) said, he felt bound to thank the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) for the courteous way in which he had brought his case forward, and had given all the information in his power to his hon. Friend who sat beside him, to himself, and to the Lord Advocate. Considering, however, that it was a question of the administration of Scotch law, he thought the hon. Member would agree with him that it would be wrong for him to enter further into the case at present. In the absence of the late Lord Advocate, who had had this matter before him, it was quite impossible for him (Sir R. Assheton Cross) to express any opinion on the facts. He hoped the hon. Member (Mr. J. W. Barclay) would excuse him; but he had never heard the name of Sheriff Black before, and had certainly received no complaint in regard to him. He could assure the hon. Member for Glasgow that this matter would not be lost sight of. He would take care that the matter would be thoroughly looked into, and, of course, the only object of his Friends and himself would be to see that justice was administered in the Highlands to the satisfaction of the inhabitants. At the same time, he hoped no one would go away with the impression that he was expressing any opinion on the subject. He had no information on which he could do so, and he only wished to give an assurance that he looked upon the satisfactory administration of justice in the Highlands and Islands as one of the most important parts of his duty, and, as far as he could render assistance in that direction, he should be most happy to give it.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he considered the case one of great hardship, and one that no Government could tolerate. He was much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the spirit which he had shown, which contrasted very favourably with that of his Predecessors.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—CASE OF DISTRICT INSPECTOR MURPHY.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND, who had the following Notice upon the Paper:—

> "To move, That the interests of justice require that an independent inquiry should be made into the circumstances attending the dismissal of District Inspector Murphy from the Royal Irish Constabulary,"

said, that so unsatisfactory and evasive were the replies given to the representations made on former occasions to the officials of the late Government, that the Irish Party had felt it to be their duty, on the first possible opportunity, again to press the matter of the dismissal of District Inspector Murphy. He rejoiced exceedingly that this fresh appeal was to be made to a new set of Irish officials rather than to those who, being responsible for the injustice done, would be unwilling to remedy it. He had been much gratified by the remarks made in "another place" by the new Viceroy, who said he went to Ireland with an open mind. He hoped that that would be the spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Hart Dyke) and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) would consider this matter. The case was a painful one, for it raised again the question of those horrible Dublin scandals, which all would be glad to see buried in oblivion. But they could not be allowed so to rest until justice had been done. The Irish officials had endeavoured to ruin the accusers of their political associates; and when obliged by a jury to take proceedings, so contrived them that the chief criminals escaped, and it was with difficulty that one of them—French—was convicted. In fact, he was only convicted after he had threatened the Irish Government that he would publish further disclosures concerning them. District Inspector Murphy was the victim of the Irish officials, who had, so far as lay in their power, ruined him. He had been in the Force from December, 1856,. until October 10, 1884, when he was dismissed, without pension or compensation; and his record for that period of 18 years was that he had rendered long and valuable service. Indeed, it was only by a breach of the rule that acts of indiscipline could not be revived against a man after the lapse of 12 months that the Government could find any pretext for his dismissal. He (Mr. J. Redmond) joined issue with the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) with reference to the question of Inspector Murphy's alleged drunkenness and indiscipline. Inspector Murphy had been many times, and in various parts of Ireland, recommended for favourable records. In June, 1882, considerably more than a year before *United Ireland* breathed a syllable against James Ellis French, the late Government had in their possession evidence showing that accusations of a grave nature were made against him by members of the Constabulary Force. At that date District Inspector Murphy, in connection with others, had sent a round robin to Earl Spencer and Colonel Brackenbury on the subject of French's infamies; and yet the officials of the late Government in that House refused to institute an inquiry into his conduct, and even had the audacity to stand at the Table and defend him when he was attacked in debate. In July, 1883, Mr. Murphy made up his mind that he would communicate with some Members of that House, and have the matter probed to the bottom. In October, 1883, a letter was opened by one of Mr. Murphy's subordinates, which disclosed the fact that he was the person who was prompting hon. Gentlemen, and giving information to them. From that time this system of persecution commenced against Mr. Murphy. The persecution was continued persistently for some time. Mr. Murphy was removed from place to place, his life as a Constabulary officer being rendered almost intolerable. As, however, he had more endurance than was expected, the persecution culminated at last in a distinct charge made against him. That charge of alleged drunkenness was trumped up from the first; it was not substantiated; and eventually it was withdrawn by the Government. Moreover, the official inquiry was conducted in a most irregular manner. During the trial a letter, with the seal of Dublin Castle, was handed to the President of the Court, read by him and by other officers, one of whom made the significant remark, in a slight whisper—"It's very pleasant to know what we have got to do." Eleven witnesses were called, eight of whom were for the prosecution. Of these eight, four swore absolutely that Mr. Murphy was sober; two knew nothing; and two, one of whom was the accuser, County Inspector Sheehy, and the other, a broken-down hanger-on at the officers' kitchen, gave evidence which was uncertain. That charge having failed, another was framed, that of insubordination in his correspondence, and for this he was dismissed. Now, no written charge to that effect was made against Mr. Murphy. He was not tried for it, and it was contrary to the Rules of the Force that he should be dismissed without trial. Another regulation provided that no man should be called upon to answer any general charge of misconduct, but only specific and definite allegations. He challenged the Government to say that there was any charge against Mr. Murphy but a general one of insubordination in his official correspondence. For 18 years Inspector Murphy had been a trusted officer in the Force, and he had only been dismissed upon vague charges of insubordination, in contradiction to the Code dealing with the Force, when it was found that he had been an agent in exposing the practices of Mr. French. In doing so he contended that Inspector Murphy had done a lasting service to the interests, not only of the Irish people, but of humanity itself. He (Mr. J. Redmond) now asked for an independent inquiry into the case. There were precedents for that demand being granted. Lord Spencer, having failed to ruin the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), found that he had one man on whom he could wreck his vengeance, and so Mr. Murphy was offered up as an atonement for the blasted reputation of his quondam adviser and friend, Mr. James Ellis French, and the infamous gang associated with him. The new Viceroy had promised that he would inquire for himself into the Irish question; and he would ask his Representative in the House that night that he would inquire himself into this case.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES): Rising, Sir, as I do, for the first time to address this House, I find myself placed in a position of considerable difficulty, and I feel that I must ask the indulgence of the House. I need hardly remind the House that the circumstances to which the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. J. Redmond) has referred, occurred long before either my right hon. Friend (Sir William Hart Dyke) or I myself became connected with the Executive of Ireland. I may also say that the principal matters which have been mentioned have been brought before my notice and that of my right hon. Friend for the first time. The position in which we found this matter of Inspector Murphy was this. Mr. Murphy had been a District Inspector in the Royal Irish Constabulary, and had been dismissed as long ago as September last by the Inspector General of the Force, with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant; and I believe that at a later period the question of his dismissal was the subject of discussion in this House; but with these facts we became acquainted simply as members of the general public. Under these circumstances, my right hon. Friend and myself naturally expected that the right hon. Gentleman who had formerly been Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would have been present, and would have risen at once to express his views upon this subject. As far as we ourselves are concerned, we are not acquainted, in the same degree, with the facts which have been brought before the House. At the same time we have been enabled within the last 24 hours to acquaint ourselves, to a certain extent, with the details of the matters now under discussion; and in venturing to express an opinion upon them, I am obliged to say that, as I now understand the facts, I cannot agree with the hon. Member, although I listened carefully to his speech, in the conclusion at which he desires the House to arrive. I will ask the House, in the first place, to consider the position of the Constabulary Force in Ireland, which hon. Members opposite will admit is a most important factor in that country. It is most necessary that its discipline should be preserved, and that anything tending to a want of discipline or insubordination should be suppressed. [Mr. HEALY: By the landlords.] Now, the government of that Force is placed by statute under the direction of an Inspector General, and the Inspector General has conferred upon him very large powers. He has power, with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant, to dismiss any person in the Force upon facts proved, or which come under his own notice; and if any Member of the Force is guilty of insubordination the Inspector General has the power of dismissing him. [AN IRISH MEMBER: Without a court martial?] The person dismissed has, under these circumstances, no right of demanding an inquiry by court martial. I understand that if the circumstances come under the Inspector General's own notice, or that he feels no doubt about them, he has power, at his own discretion, to dismiss the officer offending, with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant, and the officer has no right of appeal. If the Inspector General of the Force has got the ability and intelligence to exercise a correct judgment on a question of this kind, and he exercises his judgment in good faith and honesty, I think the House would not be disposed, under any circumstances, to retry the question, because in doing so they would be trying the Inspector General, who, as I have said, would have acted in good faith and honesty. It therefore appears to me that the question before the House resolves itself into this—whether the Inspector General (Colonel Bruce) of the Royal Irish Constabulary acted with good faith and honesty; and if the House comes to the conclusion that he has done so, I think it would be the duty of the present Government—apart altogether from what may have influenced their Predecessors—to approve the Inspector General's action, or, at least, at this distance of time, not to have a matter of this character re-agitated. A great portion of the speech of the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. J. Redmond) was taken up with an investigation held in the month of September into a charge of drunkenness against District Inspector Murphy. Now, I confess that if I had been informed that Mr. Murphy was dismissed from the Force on account of that charge I should have great hesitation in accepting such a judgment as that; and if the Inspector General of Constabulary had acted solely on the finding of that Court of Inquiry, I should think that there would be strong ground of complaint on the part of Mr. Murphy. The reason I think it unnecessary to enter into that inquiry is that admittedly, as I understand, the Inspector General of Constabulary and the Lord Lieutenant, in confirming the decision which dismissed Mr. Murphy from the Force, did not rest upon the finding of the Court of Inquiry at all. They put the matter in this way. Previous to the time of holding that Court of Inquiry the conduct of District Inspector Murphy, as a member of the Force, and as regards the discipline of the Force, was under consideration. It appeared to them that, commencing as far back as 1875, under successive Inspectors General, District Inspector Murphy had been guilty of what was considered in the Constabulary to be insubordination. That course of conduct was said to have gone on down to September last; and, accordingly, when a full inquiry was made into the subject, the authorities came to the conclusion that District Inspector Murphy's insubordination was of such a character that he ought not to be allowed to retain his position in the Force. On that ground, and on that ground alone, the sentence of dismissal—he having refused to tender his resignation—was passed upon him. The material point of the complaint of the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. J. Redmond) was this; and the hon. Member said that he would not have addressed the House on this occasion, nor asked that the matter should be reopened by the Government, if he had not reason to believe that the Inspector General, in passing the sentence, had not acted in good faith. He said that it was not on account of acts of insubordination that Mr. District Inspector Murphy was dismissed, but for a very different cause—that it was really because the Inspector General ascertained that Mr. Murphy had been the means of bringing to justice County Inspector French, and on that account he had incurred the odium of the Constabulary Office, and, therefore, that proceeding was instituted against him. I think I have now stated clearly the issue which has been raised in this House, and everyone must admit that an issue of that description ought not to be found against a person in the position of Inspector General of Constabulary except upon very convincing evidence. The Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary has been for some years in his present office; previous to that he held the position of Deputy Inspector General; and he has always borne, at all events before the public, an honourable character and a high reputation. [An Irish MEMBER: So did French.] Having had the privilege of becoming acquainted with him in his official character during the Earl of Beaconsfield's Administration, the Inspector General of Constabulary always struck me as being an active officer and a fair-minded man. What, then, is there in the case which should lead the House to believe that the motive in the mind of Colonel Bruce was a desire to injure District Inspector Murphy for the reason that has been suggested? Now, while knowing nothing myself of District Inspector Murphy, I am quite certain that, although he may feel aggrieved and annoyed at his dismissal, he would not state what he did not believe to be true; but I can well understand that, smarting under what he imagined to be an injustice, he might be led to believe that which was not the fact. On the other hand, I claim that hon. Members coming to scrutinize the conduct of the Inspector General of Constabulary will give that officer credit, when he makes a statement, for believing it to be true. Mr. Murphy stated that in 1882, prior to the publication of any article in *United Ireland*, he addressed two letters, one to the Lord Lieutenant and the other to Colonel Brackenbury, then in the Department of Dublin Castle connected with crime, in which he referred to the charges then circulated that French was living a grossly immoral and criminal life. I believe him when he says that he sent these letters. I understand that Mr. Murphy did not retain a copy of them; and the Lord Lieutenant said that, according to his recollection, he never received the document at all. Colonel Brackenbury and his Secretary make a similar statement about the letter addressed to him. Whether or not the letters were overlooked in Colonel Brackenbury's or in the Chief Secretary's Office by some oversight, one thing is perfectly certain — namely, that those letters were never brought to the notice of the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and Colonel Bruce has stated most distinctly and positively that he never saw them. Therefore, we have it that, although the letters may have been written by Mr. Murphy and sent to Dublin Castle, they never came in any way to Colonel Bruce, because we have it stated by the persons to whom they were addressed that they never sent them to Colonel Bruce.

Mr. O'BRIEN: How do you account for his sending for the witnesses?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND: I will come to that in a minute. Colonel Bruce says that, so far as District Inspector Murphy was concerned, he was never aware, either directly or indirectly, that Mr. Murphy had preferred any charge against Inspector French until the day after he was arrested. The day after French was arrested he did receive a communication from Murphy making charges against French, and immediately put himself in communication with Mr. Harrold of the Metropolitan Police, who prosecuted further inquiries. If I am correct in what I am stating, there could not have been any feeling on the part of Colonel Bruce against Mr. Murphy on account of the charges he had made against Inspector French, because he could not have known, until after French was arrested in July, that Inspector Murphy had been working in the matter. After the charge against French was made, and after he had been arrested, the inquiry was pursued very vigorously, honestly, and efficiently—[*cries of* "No, no!" *from the Irish Members.*] That, of course, is a matter for the late Administration to answer; but I can assure hon. Members that there were difficulties at the time connected with the prosecution which were very hard for anyone to cope with. [An hon. Member: What were they?] It will be found that up to that time it was impossible for Colonel Bruce to have had any feeling against Murphy on account of French, nor can it be alleged that, because he happened to know that Murphy sent in some information after French was arrested, such a feeling of animosity was got up against Murphy as to make Colonel Bruce determined to ruin him. I certainly do feel that unless much stronger evidence is brought before the Government it would be wholly impossible for the Irish Administration to re-open this inquiry. I am not in a position to discuss the matter further. I had certainly expected that the right hon. Gentleman opposite the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would have contributed something towards this discussion, because there may be matters connected with it of which the present Executive know nothing; but, taking the general facts of the case, I am disposed to say that the Irish Executive at the present time would not be justified in recommending the inquiry asked for.

Mr. SEXTON said, he gathered some hope from the closing declaration of the right hon. and learned Attorney General that this was a matter the Government would not feel disposed to run away from in one way or another. The last Government had some cause to run away; but the present Government were in a position to face it with courage, and arrive at a different conclusion. He was, therefore, disposed to hope that the language of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was intended to lead the House to infer that the matter was not finally closed, and that when he and his Colleagues had had a longer time than 24 hours to devote to the consideration of it, it would be found that the demand made upon them by his hon. Friend (Mr. J. Redmond) was not only justice, but which the necessities of the case called on them to obey. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had referred to difficulties which had arisen in a prosecution in which he had been lately concerned. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, as a lawyer, might have been expected to enlighten the laymen of the House upon some of those difficulties; but the right hon. and learned Gentleman had been silent, and had kept his legal lore to himself. He (Mr. Sexton), as a layman, would humbly admit that the prosecutions to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had referred had some difficulties connected with them except to the prisoners in the dock. They had had exceptional facilities, and the facility with which they were allowed to leave the dock, by reason of some black letter unexplained difficulties of law, contrasted painfully with the fate of those poor peasants in the West of Ireland who had been prosecuted by the same Legal Advisers, and sent to the gallows by their political enemies. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that this case arose before he and his Friends took Office. No doubt it arose—was prosecuted and culminated—before the right hon. and learned Gentleman and his Friends assumed power. It was on that ground that the Irish Members presented the case to the new Government with great confidence; because they hoped, and reasonably expected, that the Gentlemen now in power would not so foolishly deny justice to an officer who happened to be an honest man, simply because in the backbonelessness of official life in Ireland one man's word was preferred to that of another. He was not surprised at the obstinate silence of the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), nor yet at the reserve of the late learned Attorney General (Mr. Walker). They were conscious of the complexity and true character of the proceedings. They were fully acquainted with the policy of Dublin Castle, and they had a memory more keen than pleasant of the appearance they had to make on this subject; and, with a modesty which all prudent men would appreciate, they now refrained from making a further exhibition of themselves. He gave the right hon. and learned Gentleman credit for the frankness with which he had dealt with the charge of drunkenness. It redounded to his manliness, and afforded a creditable contrast to the manner in which the case had been dealt with by the late Chief Secretary. The late Chief Secretary, with all the cunning of a lawyer, but none of his skill, had endeavoured to get rid of the case of drunkenness by a course of special pleading; but after the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite, what had become of the charge of drunkenness? When District Inspector Murphy was put on his trial there was a charge of drunkenness against him and nothing else. There was not the remotest hint or suggestion that any other cause existed for dismissing him from the Force. The Court of Inquiry reported to the Lord Lieutenant that the drunkenness was very slight, and in the letter of Earl Spencer, by his Secretary, from Dublin Castle drunkenness was no longer held to have been the cause of District Inspector Murphy's dismissal; but, as a matter of fact, it disappeared altogether. Inspector Murphy and the public were told that the dismissal was not at all on account of drunkenness. So that the sole charge upon which Mr. Murphy was impeached upon the Court of Inquiry was now declared to have had nothing whatever to do with his dismissal. Was there ever so complete and astonishing a transformation? The right hon. and learned Attorney General had gone a step further that night in reference to the charge of drunkenness, because he had conveyed an intimation that if drunkenness had been the cause of the dismissal of Inspector Murphy, and the case against him had rested on the charge of drunkenness, he would have felt bound to grant the inquiry asked for. He asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman to run over the evidence as to the charge of drunkenness. The Court of Inquiry said that the evidence of drunkenness was very small; the Lord Lieutenant said that it was not the cause of dismissal, and now the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself declared that if it had been the cause of dismissal he would feel bound to re-open the case. How, then, did the right hon. and learned Gentleman dare, in addressing a rational Assembly, to say that the Inspector General of the Irish Constabulary had acted in this matter with honesty and good faith? It was notorious that District Inspector Murphy was sent down to Nenagh to be entrapped; to be put in the hands of Inspector Sheehy, who was playing into the hands of those in superior authority. He was sent down there to be ruined and dismissed, and the "trip" or the "stagger" which Inspector Murphy gave, according to one witness, in the street, might be taken as a figure of the "trip" which the authorities at Dublin Castle were waiting for in order to make out an order for Inspector Murphy's dismissal. Inspector Sheehy would never have presumed to contravene the Constabulary Code and violate its settled law by sending a confidential communication to the Inspector General if he had not been previously authorized to do so. What was the meaning of that private and confidential communication? It took Inspector Murphy entirely by surprise. The Code said that any charge against a member of the Constabulary Force must be written and communicated to him before it was sent in; that he must give a specific answer to it; but in this case the doctrine of Thuggee was applied to Inspector Murphy, and he was choked off on a Report drawn up by means of a collusion between the Inspector General and the County Inspector, the Inspector General taking upon himself the double capacity of prosecutor and judge. By this stealthy process Inspector Murphy was dismissed from the office, having been tried upon one charge and condemned upon another. What was the honesty of saying that he was not dismissed upon the charge for which he was tried, and yet allowing the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to stand up at that Table and endeavour to maintain the charge of drunkenness which had been preferred? The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had not gone so far as to say that the evidence of a County Inspector in such a case as this was to be regarded as something sacred, and certainly the sequence of dates in this case was most irresistible. Inspector Murphy sent in his round robin in 1882. He wondered that the right hon. and learned Gentleman was not ashamed, even after a lengthened practice in the Four Courts of Ireland, to come there and suggest that the terms and phrases used in the round robin were a matter of no importance. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said it was a communication which, by its nature, would hardly compel anyone to fix his attention upon it, no matter what the language was in which it was couched. But the nature of the charge was so terrible and so unprecedented that it must have commanded the startled attention of all who saw it. If one letter was lost it must not be forgotten that two were sent, one to the Lord Lieutenant and one to Colonel Brackenbury. They were asked to believe that those two letters, sent in different envelopes, to two different officials in Dublin Castle both miscarried. He (Mr. Sexton) did not believe it, and he was fortified in his unbelief by knowing that when the matter could no longer be kept from the action of the authorities—when his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had, in his newspaper, drawn public attention to it, the Government proved their own guilt by prosecuting his hon. Friend, by threatening his newspaper, by dogging him with detectives, and by delaying and refusing to indict the criminals until the public indignation made it no longer possible for the Castle officials to throw their shield over the culprits. It was then too late in the day for the Government to endeavour to defeat the application of the law, or to delude the public by keeping back the facts of the case. How was it that if the letters addressed to the Government had miscarried, having been sent in 1882, they allowed Inspector Murphy to retain his position until 1883? It was because it was not until 1883 that they discovered by chance that Inspector Murphy was the person who had sent these letters to the Castle. From that moment Inspector Murphy never had an easy day; from that moment the die of his fate was cast. Wherever he went he had enemies about him. Some cause or other must be found for his dismissal; if not drunkenness then insubordination. If the Court could not find him guilty of drunkenness the Chiefs of the Department would find him guilty of something else. He (Mr. Sexton) had always thought that civilians were badly off in Ireland; but it would appear that members of the Royal Irish Constabulary were far worse off. It now appeared that if a police constable dared to be honest it was not necessary for the Government to go through that ceremony of bringing him to trial at all. They gave him no venue and no jury; but if the Inspector General thought it convenient to ruin a Constabulary officer his own mere will was amply sufficient for the purpose. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had endeavoured to make the House believe that the Government at Dublin Castle did not derive their knowledge of the witnesses against French from the letters which were sent to them. Yet the day after they arrested French the Government sent for Inspector Murphy and examined him. They also examined every Inspector who had been named in the round robin—five Inspectors in all, who were declared in that round robin to have a personal knowledge of the unnatural crimes of French. No other person except District Inspector French was in a position to make the statement, and the Government sent for these Inspectors before they arrested French. It was said that the round robin miscarried in its passage through the post, that the Lord Lieutenant never got it, and that the Head of the Department of Crime never got it. They would, therefore, know nothing of the persons who had been named in the round robin. How was it, then, that they summoned the very persons who were named in the round robin, and no others? There were 5,000,000 of people in Ireland, and only five persons named in the round robin. How was it that, out of the 5,000,000 of people in Ireland, the Government only summoned the five persons named in the round robin, and no one else? Would the right hon. and learned Attorney General, or anybody else on the Treasury Bench, get up and attempt to answer that question? It was quite evident that from the round robin, and from it alone, they derived the knowledge which led to the conviction of Inspector French; and on that he (Mr. Sexton) was entitled to maintain that Inspector Murphy met with dismissal because he was found to be an honest man, and for that simple reason he had been met with malignant persecution. Because Inspector Murphy dared to be vulgar enough to think that the law, which was intended to punish crime, was ever intended to be applied to an official of Dublin Castle, he was dismissed in disgrace from the Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes), at the commencement of his speech, had expressed some surprise that neither he himself (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) nor his right hon. and learned Friend near him (Mr. Walker) had risen to reply to the speech of the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. J. Redmond); and the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Sexton), in the beginning of his remarks, had made an observation to the same effect. Now, it would have been extraordinary if they had risen, because, so far as he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) was concerned, he had listened attentively to the speech of the hon. Member (Mr. J. Redmond); and, from the beginning to the end of it, the whole gist of it was that it was an appeal from the decision of the late Government to the more candid and impartial minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite. It would, therefore, have been most unbecoming on his part if he had disappointed the hon. Gentleman by interfering with the progress of the debate for the purpose of expressing his tainted and discredited opinions, and attempting to corrupt the innocent minds of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite. It was a question of an appeal from a decision of the late Government to the present Government; and, therefore, he had thought that the proper course was to hear, in the first place, the decision the present Government had arrived at on the subject. He had now to tell the House that he had nothing to add to the explanation of the conduct of the late Government which he gave to the House some weeks ago. On that occasion the matter was very fully discussed and debated. He had made a speech, and his right hon. and learned Friend beside him (Mr. Walker) also made some observations, and he had no more recent information in his possession than that which he had then. Therefore, he had nothing further to say in the matter. What he said then remained on record; but there were one or two things which appeared to have been dwelt upon, and which might call for a few remarks. In the first place, it was said that District Inspector Murphy was accused of one thing and dismissed for another. It was said that the offence for which he was tried was drunkenness, and that he was afterwards dismissed on account of insubordination. It had further been alleged that, in the first place, the charge of drunkenness was the only charge; and, in the second place, it was afterwards stated to have been proved, but to have been of a very slight nature. Then, when pressed a little further, it was said that the Government admitted that drunkenness was not the cause of dismissal at all; and, finally, they were informed by the right hon. and learned Attorney General that if the dismissal had taken place on the ground of drunkenness, he thought there might be a case for re-opening the inquiry. Now, the facts of the case, as he had explained them before, were simply these. District Inspector Murphy had been for a long course of years guilty of acts of insubordination. He had again and again been reprimanded and warned, not only by Colonel Bruce, but by that gentleman's predecessors in command of the Royal Irish Constabulary. He had confessed his faults, and had promised amendment; and he was warned that if a difficulty of the kind occurred again he would render himself liable to dismissal. It was on the top of these proceedings, such being the character of Inspector Murphy in the eyes of his superior officer, that he was accused of the offence of drunkenness, and tried for that offence. It was said that the inquiry ought to have embraced the whole subject; but in this case, as had been pointed out by the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite, where there was an accusation of writing insubordinate letters, and of displaying an ill-disciplined tone in his correspondence, which were the principal matters of which Mr. Murphy was guilty, they were not subjects which could be remitted to any Court of Inquiry. His superior officers had a whole body of evidence before them; but no verbal evidence could be taken. The offence was contained in the letters which Inspector Murphy had written, and his superior officers were the best and the natural judges of what constituted want of discipline. The ordinary clauses of the Constabulary Code, which had been quoted, as to the necessity of having a Court of Inquiry, did not apply to this sort of offence at all, but to such an offence as that of drunkenness, which was capable of proof by evidence in Court. The reason why Inspector Murphy was dismissed from the Force was that he had been guilty of a series of acts of insubordination. The drunkenness was a very slight matter. It was not right to say that it was not proved. It was proved; but as it was slight, that alone would not have been sufficient, in itself, to have led to his dismissal from the Force. It had this effect, nevertheless—that, coming after a long course of misconduct, of which complaints had been made, although they were in reference to a different matter, his whole position in the Service, and his conduct while he had been a member of it, were looked into; and it was thought better, as he had been guilty of these intemperate and ill-disciplined acts, that, in the interests of the Force, he should cease to belong to it. That was all he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) thought he need say as to the cause of Inspector Murphy's dismissal. But there was an additional matter imported into the case—namely, the allegation on his part that a considerable time before his dismissal occurred he had communicated to Earl Spencer and Colonel Brackenbury certain facts which had come to his knowledge. The House had heard a good deal of a round robin. As far as he could make out, it was alleged to be an "anonymous round robin"—a kind of document which was seldom heard of on this side of the Channel. He was not certain whether District Inspector Murphy signed it; but he had never heard of anyone else who did, and a round robin was usually signed by a good many people. There was certainly no allegation that it was signed except by Inspector Murphy; and if Inspector Murphy did sign the letter, all that could be said was that it must have miscarried in the Post Office.

Mr. SEXTON: There were two letters sent—one to the Lord Lieutenant and one to Colonel Brackenbury.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that made it still more extraordinary, and he thought they were entitled to have distinct evidence that the letters were ever put into the post. They had nothing at present but Inspector Murphy's *ex post facto* statements to induce them to believe they were sent; and all he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) could say, on the part of Earl Spencer and Colonel Brackenbury's Secretary—who still occupied an official position in Ireland—was that neither of them had any recollection of having received such a letter, and there was no trace of them, either officially or unofficially, in any way whatever. It was inconceivable that if letters of such importance were received, the fact should have passed completely from the minds of those to whom they were addressed. As the case stood, the House had before them a distinct statement by Earl Spencer and Colonel Brackenbury, and an *ex post facto* allegation, on the other hand, by District Inspector Murphy. The Irish Government said the first they heard from Inspector Murphy on the subject was the day that French was arrested, and then Mr. Murphy wrote, stating that he could give certain important evidence. He was sent for at once, and brought up to Dublin; but it turned out that the evidence he had to give was not worth a farthing. It was of no value whatever. It consisted merely of hearsay evidence that was perfectly incapable of substantiation in Court. He must say, in truth, that the round robin was obviously an afterthought to account for the unfortunate termination of Inspector Murphy's career. He was sorry to say that, because Inspector Murphy had undoubtedly on some occasions done good service. [*Ironical cheers from the Irish Members.*] If he made a concession of that kind, surely it was not a point to be jeered at. He was prepared to admit that on some occasions Inspector Murphy had done good service; but, on the other hand, from first to last, the letters and communications in possession of right hon. Gentlemen opposite would prove that he had, unfortunately, been endowed with considerable facility for letter writing and using improper and intemperate language towards his superior officers. He had created around himself an atmosphere indicative of want of discipline, which was quite incompatible with his being retained in a Force of this kind. That was the whole cause and reason of his dismissal. The question, as he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had already stated, was discussed at great length some weeks ago. He had stated then the different occasions on which Inspector Murphy had been reprimanded and warned, and the way in which he had accepted the warning and promised amendment; and it was only after his dismissal that anything was ever heard of his having made accusations against Inspector French. It was said that after his dismissal he heard, for the first time, that he had been accused of insubordination; but that could not be the fact, because he had himself admitted it and promised amendment, so that it could not have been new to him. As to the round robin, he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) was sure the House would not believe that Earl Spencer would for a moment conceal the fact, either from the public now or from those who acted with him at the time, that he had received so startling a letter as this would have been which was alleged to have been sent to him. And he would, further, point to the fact which he had just stated — that when Inspector Murphy came to make a clean breast of it, and came to give all the information of which he said he was in possession, it was found to be of no material value. On those grounds, he trusted the House would believe that the Irish authorities had been actuated, in dismissing Inspector Murphy, by no other motive than the desire to maintain the discipline of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. HEALY said, he thought the strength of the case against Colonel Bruce was increased rather than diminished by the course which the late Chief Secretary had taken in defending him. Instead of replying at once to the speech of the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. J. Redmond), the right hon. Gentleman laid back upon the Bench in order that he might hear what the Members of the new Government had to say before committing himself to a reply. As soon as he found that the new Government had not been able to devote their minds to the consideration of the question, the right hon. Gentleman repeated the arguments he had addressed to the House some weeks ago; but from first to last, throughout the speeches they had heard both from the present and from the ex-Government, no explanation had been offered of one remarkable fact

—namely, that although nobody received the letter which had been spoken of as a round robin, yet the moment the charges against certain officials connected with the Government were preferred in *United Ireland,* the five gentlemen who had been named in Inspector Murphy's letter were sent for and examined. [*A laugh.*] The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) laughed when he stated that those five gentlemen were sent for and examined directly the charges were made by *United Ireland.* Instead of indulging in idle laughter, it would have been much better if the right hon. Gentleman had explained various points in the matter which were very strongly open to doubt. Such laughter as the right hon. Gentleman indulged in might be intelligible, perhaps, in Scotland; but in the House of Commons it was not likely to be regarded as a complete answer to a serious charge. The right hon. Gentleman said that the evidence given by Inspector Murphy himself, when he was called before the Castle Authorities, was merely of a hearsay character. It must be remembered that he was speaking of hearsay evidence in the case of accusations against individuals for the perpetration of abominable crimes. Did the right hon. Gentleman expect to get the evidence of the principals themselves?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he had, perhaps, used a slipshod phrase when he had stated that Inspector Murphy only gave hearsay evidence. What he had meant was that they were merely statements in the nature of idle gossip, with no substantial facts that could be acted upon, and which only amounted to hearsay evidence.

Mr. HEALY said, there was a line in *Othello* which, when the actor came to it, he was in the habit of making a marked pause—

> " Would you grossly gape on."

—and then the actor stopped. The right hon. Gentleman had interrupted him with a commentary upon hearsay evidence, which he said, in this particular case, was idle gossip. When he was contending that the Detective Inspectors of Ireland should be, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion, the right hon. Gentleman interrupted him in order to correct his own slipshod phrase, as he termed it, in regard to "hearsay evidence." He had invited the right hon. Gentleman, when he laughed, to give some explanation of his merriment. The right hon. Gentleman was asked how it was that the five witnesses mentioned by Inspector Murphy were immediately called and examined after *United Ireland* had referred to the charges against French and not before? The right hon. Gentleman, however, did not get up upon his legs then, and was by no means ready with an explanation. If the right hon. Gentleman desired to offer an explanation, he (Mr. Healy) was prepared to give way to him once more.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the reason why he had laughed was that in his belief the letter alleged to have been sent was never sent at all.

Mr. HEALY said, he did not know how it was that he (Mr. Healy) should be so stupid; but he certainly could not understand the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman. What he asked the right hon. Gentleman to do was to account for the fact how it was that the moment *United Ireland* gave the facts in regard to French, the five witnesses mentioned in the round robin were immediately sent for and examined by Colonel Brackenbury, if the letter had never been received? The names of the five witnesses who were sent for were mentioned in the round robin, and had been mentioned nowhere else. He would afford the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity, by giving way a third time, if the right hon. Gentleman desired to offer an explanation of this circumstance. He was satisfied, however, that the right hon. Gentleman had no explanation to give, and it was really remarkable how differently the case had been treated at different times. The right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland began his speech by stating that the discipline of the Force must be preserved; and on that the right hon. and learned Gentleman raised an argument that nothing could be done in this case without upsetting the discipline of the Force. But he appealed from the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to the Bible of the Constabulary—to their Code—to Sections 416 and 1632 of that Code, which declared that all charges must be in writing expressed in clear and express terms, and that a copy of them must be furnished to the party accused a reasonable time before the inquiry came on for investigation. The name of the prosecutor was to be entered on the face of the charge; no member of the Force was to be called upon to admit or deny a general Report upon his conduct; but if a clear charge or charges were framed upon the Report of the officer by whom they were made, then they were to be forwarded to the accused for his admission or denial. When the Inspector General talked about observing the discipline and order of the Force, how did he expect to maintain it by going directly in the teeth of his own Code? Were the Force to understand, in future, that when the Inspector General entertained a grudge against a particular individual he could dismiss that individual without even the formula of a court martial? There was another point. They had a Code which could be invoked against a man when he misconducted himself. Was it not, then, to be quoted in his favour? The right hon. and learned Attorney General had coolly stated that the discipline of the Force must be maintained; but if it was to be maintained it ought to be maintained in a legitimate manner by the usual methods of procedure adopted in a recognized form, and by the sanctions which were the spirit of all discipline. He appealed from the declaration of the Government that discipline must be maintained to the very rules which defined the discipline, and which declared that no man should be called upon even to answer a charge unless the charge had been expressed in writing in clear and distinct terms in the name of the officer who made it, and was replied to by the party accused. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket), who now filled an Office he was glad to see him promoted to—the Office of First Commissioner of Public Works—ought to have some knowledge of the precedents in this case. [Mr. PLUNKET dissented.] The right hon. and learned Gentleman shook his head; but he believed it was the right hon. and learned Gentleman who replied on behalf of the Government in the year 1876 to the case of a constable, which was on all fours with the one they were now discussing. That case was brought forward by a Tory Member, Mr. Bruen, formerly Member for Carlow, and an inquiry was granted. Was he to be told now that because one of the supporters of the present Government, the hon. Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce), was connected with the Inspector General of Constabulary in Ireland, the Government now refused to grant what they acceded to in 1876 through the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket)? This was what occurred in May, 1876, and it would be found recorded at page 1442 of the volume of *Hansard* for that year. The Solicitor General for Ireland said—"Sir John Wood"—who then occupied the position Colonel Bruce filled now—"is a distinguished servant"—hon. Members would find that those men were all distinguished servants—

> "Since the Chief Secretary had spoken, several matters had been brought before the House of which his right hon. Friend was not aware when he arose to address it. He had now to announce to the House that if the present Motion were withdrawn the Government would institute such an inquiry as would, he thought, be satisfactory to all parties. He wished to mention that his right hon. Friend had, before coming down to the House, made inquiry at the Treasury, and had been informed that there was no such letter or Report as had been referred to."

That was exactly the case now. The circumstances of the present case were exactly on all fours with those of the case which were brought under the notice of the House in 1876. He would appeal also to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to a case that came under his attention in 1876, when Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. A question was at that time asked by the hon. Member for Galway with reference to a constable named Maloney, who was dismissed and reinstated, and the right hon. Gentleman replied that Maloney had been restored after dismissal, not because there was proof of his innocence of the offence imputed to him, but because he had been dismissed without having been tried. Well, Inspector Murphy had been dismissed without having been tried; or, in other words, he was tried for drunkenness and dismissed for insubordination. He would now quote the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Stirling (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), and late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had said that Inspector Murphy was dismissed for drunkenness; but Earl Spencer, the late Viceroy of Ireland, caused a letter to be sent to Inspector Murphy to the effect that His Excellency, after further consideration, thought it necessary to inform him that his removal from the Irish Constabulary was due to his insubordinate conduct after repeated warnings, and to no other cause whatsoever. Thus the House would see that the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland said that he found that the man was dismissed for drunkenness, and that the Lord Lieutenant himself stated that he had been dismissed for persistent insubordination. Parliamentary usages would not allow him to say that either of those two officials were liars; and therefore he found refuge in collating the two conflicting statements, and in expressing a hope that when the right hon. Gentleman met Earl Spencer he would try to reconcile the two statements, and have the matter arranged before the case was again brought before the House of Commons, because so long as it remained in its present state so long would the Irish Party keep ringing the case in the ears of Her Majesty's Government. He would ask the Government to contrast the way in which Murphy was dismissed with the way in which French was dismissed. The Government had acted very differently in the two cases. They knew of the charge against French, and they allowed him, in spite of his conduct, to continue in office; they knew that he had committed perjury—that he was allowed to commit perjury in connection with the Motion of the hon. Member for Marlow (Mr. O'Brien). French was then, according to the statement of the present Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan), allowed to make an affidavit that he had not been dismissed or suspended, and that his official position was not affected in one way or the other. But in that House the Irish Party charged that French had been dismissed, and that he had been suspended; but he was allowed to declare in his affidavit that that was not so. And yet the Government at the time paid no attention to the acts of French; they allowed him to get the benefit of that affidavit by having him still kept in the Police Force, while the hon. Member for Mallow was being harassed by a prosecution for libel. Let hon. Members contrast the two cases. The letters of Murphy which he addressed to Members of the House were opened, and when the Government were informed that he was in communication with them a watch was set upon him, and Colonel Bruce began at once to follow him up; and then there was the statement of the late Chief Secretary that he was dismissed for drunkenness, and the statement of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that he was dismissed for insubordination. Would it be maintained that it was for the benefit of the Public Service that when a public officer had done a service to the cause of morality he should be immediately afterwards dismissed for an offence which he did not commit? Was the humblest soldier in the ranks ever treated as Inspector Murphy had been treated? The late Chief Secretary had said that Murphy had served with distinction, and he called that making a concession to hon. Members for Ireland—in other words, it was making a concession to them to tell the truth. But the right hon. Gentleman would only make concessions when it suited him—in other words, he would do what was best for his own case. After his (Mr. Healy's) experience of Castle government in Ireland he had no hesitation in saying that the case of Inspector Murphy was the most infamous that had come under his notice. French had been convicted and sentenced to penal servitude, and the man through whose instrumentality he was detected had been dismissed from the Service without the opportunity of making a defence, and on a charge for which he had not been tried, and in spite of the rules which said that a man was not to be charged in general terms, or any statement made against him except in writing. They were all glad to find in the Attorney General an Irishman who gave promise of such an excellent career in that House; but they said it was not for him, after his slight experience, to set up for a defender of the Irish Government in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had formerly granted an inquiry into the case of Mr. Croker, and into that of Malony, on the ground that he had been dismissed without inquiry; and he would appeal fearlessly to the right hon. Gentleman in this matter not only as Leader of the House, but as one who had had experience in Ireland, and one who had had the advice of Members of that House. He maintained that if the Code declared that no man should be found guilty until tried, and that he should not be tried until he had seen the charge made against him—that it was in the interest of that Code that Murphy should not have been tried on one charge and dismissed on another. By such a course a feeling of mistrust would be created in the mind of those who were connected with the Army and Navy and with the Police Force of the Kingdom. A fatal blow would be struck at a Force like the Irish Constabulary, who it should be remembered were Irishmen, and men who knew that their officers were Englishmen. If those men came to know that amongst the officials in Ireland there were those who could, on the word of a single individual, set aside the finding of a court martial, and say to a man—"You are not charged with drunkenness; but you are found guilty of insubordination, which you never heard of until you had your letter of dismissal," he said that the Police Force would read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the conduct of the Government. He appealed, therefore, to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he valued the fidelity of the Irish police, to remember that they were Irishmen, that most of them were Catholics, that they knew that there were placed above them officers hostile to them in politics if not in religion, and that they were men who must sympathize, to a great extent, with the movements taking place in Ireland—he appealed to him not to allow those men to think that the Government wanted to throw a screen over the most terrible charge which could be brought against mankind, and which had called down fire from Heaven thousands of years ago. He said that if, under these circumstances, the Government refused an inquiry they would strike a great blow at their own Service in Ireland; and when, perhaps, it was most needed, they might find the Irish Constabulary a weapon that had broken in their grasp.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he thought the feeling uppermost on those Benches was one of surprise that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not answered the appeal made to him by the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). His hon. and learned Friend had pointed out with a great deal of force, which everyone in the House would recognize, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, who replied on this case, must of necessity be utterly ignorant of the whole matter. It had been pointed out by more than one speaker on those Benches that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was himself Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at a period when there occurred a case very similar to that of Inspector Murphy; it had been pointed out that the right hon. Gentleman had personally dealt with the case of a police officer during his term of Office; and, under the circumstances, he thought it surprising that he had not thought it fit to respond to the appeal made to him. The silence of right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench might be due to the fact that it was not a very congenial task to them to take up the fag-ends of the business left them by the late Government. It was said that a new broom swept clean; but it was evident that the broom which swept away the late Government from Office had left certain disreputable things in Ireland, and it was impossible not to sympathize with the Government in having to associate themselves with the acts of their Predecessors. It had been put forward by Irish Members that Inspector Murphy was dismissed because he was giving information which led to the detection of French. If that was not so, why was Mr. Murphy dismissed? It was not denied that Mr. Murphy had been treated in an altogether unprecedented way, and as no other officer of the Constabulary had ever been treated, so far as hon. Members were aware. And, therefore, taking into consideration the fact that Mr. Murphy had been treated in a most unusual way, it was reasonable for the Irish Members and the people of Ireland to look round and inquire what possible reason could there be for treating Mr. District Inspector Murphy in a manner in which no other police officer had been treated in the whole course of the constitution of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Why was the man treated unusually? Echo answered, why? In looking round for the reason the remarkable fact came to the surface that Murphy was the man who originally gave to an hon. Member of the House the information which led to the exposure of Mr. French and those other Government officials in Ireland who acted in such a disreputable and infamous way. It was the most natural thing in the world that the Irish Members and the people of Ireland generally should come to the conclusion, after due deliberation, that Murphy was dismissed the Force because he was the man who gave the information which brought about the conviction of Mr. French and the disbanding of the gentlemen whose acts had rendered the reign of Earl Spencer so infamous. Unless they got some better reason for Murphy's dismissal than had as yet been given, he and his hon. Friends, and the people whom they represented, would remain firmly under the impression that Murphy was made a victim because he led to the exposures which had covered with so much disgrace and infamy the name of Earl Spencer and his administration in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had said Mr. Murphy was dismissed not because of the charge of drunkenness, but on account of insubordination which he displayed from time to time during his 18 years' service in the Constabulary. The hon. Member (Mr. J. Redmond) who commenced this discussion spoke very frankly indeed of the cases of insubordination of which Mr. Murphy was convicted, pointing out that Murphy was convicted and punished for the insubordination of which at different periods he had been guilty. And after such a statement the House was told by the right hon. Gentleman that Murphy was dismissed for insubordination. Now, he (Mr. W. Redmond) wished to know if it was the fact that if a Constabulary officer was guilty of insubordination, and was punished for it, the offence could be raked up against him 10 or 15 years afterwards in order that he might be dismissed the Force? It was very necessary that question should be settled, because, as the matter now stood, they had heard nothing from the right hon. Gentleman to teach them anything else but that when the charge of drunkenness fell through Mr. Murphy was dismissed for the old acts of insubordination for which he had been punished years before. Now, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had already pointed out a fact which they had not got admitted as yet by any Member of the Treasury Bench. He (Mr. W. Redmond), with perfect earnestness and a full desire to gain information, would ask the new Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Sir William Hart Dyke), who, he believed, would be sufficiently courteous to give him a reply, whether it was not a fact that, according to the Constabulary Code of Regulations, a man who was charged with an offence must have a written notification of the offence given to him before the day on which the investigation of the charge against him was to take place? If that was one of the Constabulary Regulations, was it put into force in the case of Mr. Murphy? An answer ought to be given to that question. Either Murphy got a written notification of what he was to be charged with, or he did not; and if he did not, the Constabulary Regulations were not carried out, and the man was convicted in an irregular and, it appeared to him (Mr. W. Redmond), an infamous manner. It had not been alleged that night that Murphy was guilty of any insubordination save that for which he was punished, and for which, according to the theory of the authorities, he was ultimately dismissed. Upon that point a full and frank statement ought to be made by right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench, because, whether they made it or not, the truth would ultimately be proclaimed.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) said, he did not wish to follow the course the debate had taken, but simply rose in answer to an appeal made to him by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), whom he desired to thank for the flattering remarks he had made about him (Mr. Plunket). The hon. and learned Gentleman made an appeal to him as having taken part in a debate in the House in 1876 upon a case very like the one which was now presented to the House. He was ashamed to confess to the hon. and learned Member that when he called his attention to the circumstance it had passed away from his recollection. But he had since referred to the report of the debate in *Hansard*, and he found he could explain to the House exactly how the matter stood. There was certainly considerable similarity between the two cases. In both cases a Constabulary officer was dismissed for insubordination, and his case was afterwards brought before the House of Commons. There was this further degree of similarity—that the Chief Secretary of that day, and now Leader of the House of Commons (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), at first declined to grant an inquiry upon the ground that he placed confidence in the Inspector General of Constabulary in Ireland; and he was not prepared to re-open the question as between the Inspector General and his subordinate officer. So far, the cases were exactly on all fours. But the peculiarity of the case which arose in 1876 was that a document was produced, which purported to be a Report made by Mr. George Alexander Hamilton, who at one time had been a Secretary to the Treasury, giving the view of the case which was taken in official quarters. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had heard something about the alleged Report of Mr. Hamilton; but he treated it with indifference, as it had no signs of a genuine document about it. The document, however, had been circulated two days previously amongst Members of the House, and had produced a great impression, because, as he had said, it purported to be a Report of an official of the Treasury, and was supported by a letter which appeared to give colour to its veracity.

MR. PARNELL asked if the right hon. and learned Gentleman recollected whether the original Report itself was ever produced?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER said, he was about to explain to the House what really happened. The Report produced a great effect on the House; it was thought it would be better that an inquiry should be held, and under the circumstances an inquiry was granted. The inquiry resulted in the discovery that the document was a forgery, and, as far as he understood the case, that the view taken by his right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was the correct one. He (Mr. Plunket) did not wish to pursue the matter further, having shown the difference between this case and the one to which the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Healy) had called his attention.

MR. PARNELL said, he had listened with amazement to the line which the present Government had thought it their duty to take upon this question. He could not understand why they should hold that an investigation conducted by themselves into the case of Mr. Murphy, late Inspector in the Irish Constabulary, would in the slightest degree affect the good order and discipline of the Force. Indeed, it appeared to him that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) had himself given them a very good argument in favour of an inquiry, for he had called to their recollection the result of an inquiry which was held in the case of Captain Croker, an Inspector of the Irish Constabulary, a case which he (Mr. Parnell) remembered very well. It was discovered that Captain Croker had no case against the Government, and that he had put forward a forged document. Was not that a very happy result for the Government? Why should that case be quoted by the right hon. Gentleman as a case where the granting of an inquiry resulted in injury to the discipline of the Force, because the only ground that this or the last Government took up in refusing the Motion for inquiry into the case of Mr. Murphy was that it would injure the discipline of the Force? Of course, they knew very well that there were other grounds behind that ostensible one. They knew very well that the late Government could not give an inquiry into the case of Mr. Murphy, because Earl Spencer's administration in Ireland, and Earl Spencer's personal action, would have been placed in a very disagreeable light. But the present Government did not stand committed, so far as he could see from their action, to uphold Earl Spencer in every particular, or to swear that everything Earl Spencer did was absolutely right. However much it might be necessary for the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) to oppose such a Motion as this, he (Mr. Parnell) could not see in what respect the present Government were committed against it. He submitted that an overwhelming case for inquiry had been made out by his hon. Friends; and therefore they were entitled to a more definite answer than they had received from the present Government. It was manifestly absurd to plead that the discipline of the Force would be affected by giving an officer of the Force who, apparently, had been wrongfully dismissed a fair trial, or by granting a fair inquiry into the reasons of his dismissal. It had been shown by his hon. Friends that night that Inspector Murphy was an officer of very old standing in the Force; that at the time of his dismissal he had been in the Royal Irish Constabulary for 18 years; and that during the whole of that time the only fault alleged against him was an insubordinate tone in certain correspondence which passed between him and the Inspector General of Constabulary of Ireland, between the years, according to the statement of the late Chief Secretary, 1875 and 1881. According to the statement of the late Lord Lieutenant, Earl Spencer, Inspector Murphy was dismissed, not for the charge of drunkenness, which was now admitted on all hands to be absolutely unfounded, but solely on account of the insubordinate tone he adopted in the correspondence during the years from 1875 to 1881; indeed, the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes), in his very able speech that night, admitted that if Inspector Murphy had been dismissed for nothing else than the insubordinate tone in the correspondence in question, he would have considered it an unjust dismissal, not a very illogical conclusion on the part of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, because it appeared rather illogical to dismiss a man for the offence of which he was not found guilty, and to refuse to commit him for the offence which was brought against him; and the seriousness of the charge brought by the Irish Members was this—that it was not until 1883-4 that action was taken in reference to these matters, and then only after an inquiry into a totally different charge—namely, the charge of drunkenness. If it was right that Inspector Murphy should have been dismissed for writing these letters during the years from 1875 to 1881, his dismissal should have immediately followed that offence. It was preposterous—nay, more, it was eminently unjust—on the part of the Government only to recollect these acts of insubordination so many years after they had been committed, and when serious comments had been made, which showed that he had had a hand in bringing James Ellis French to justice. Before Inspector Murphy had ceased writing the letters which were complained of, he obtained a favourable record from his superior officers, and was commended for his services, so that he (Mr. Parnell) was entitled to hold that these alleged offences had been looked over and forgotten. But what was the nature of these alleged offences? The House would be surprised when he told them that Inspector Murphy's sole offence against subordination was that he paid his addresses to a young lady, whose father objected to those addresses, as he had a right to do; that he—the father—addressed remonstrances to the superior officer of Inspector Murphy, and asked that officer to interfere and prevent Murphy from renewing or repeating these addresses—which were addresses with a view to marriage; that the superior officer of Constabulary in Ireland did intervene at the request of the father, and did remonstrate with Murphy, and directed him to discontinue his addresses; and that Murphy, as any man of spirit would have done under similar circumstances, refused, and repeatedly refused, in the letters which were alleged to be insubordinate, to cease these attentions. Now, that was the whole story of Inspector Murphy's insubordination from the year 1870. It could be substantiated by reference to names; but these, of course, he (Mr. Parnell) would not give. That was the whole history of Murphy's insubordination committed, according to the statement of the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, between the years 1875 and 1881, and for which, according to Earl Spencer's letter, Murphy was dismissed in 1884. It was obvious that the action the Government had taken in this matter, and their refusal to grant an investigation, so far from being an advantage to the discipline of the Force, must tend to injure it to an extreme extent. In 1882, after the necessity for it was practically over and Inspector Murphy's alleged insubordinate conduct had ceased, Murphy received favourable mention from his superior officers. In that year he addressed a round robin to the Lord Lieutenant—subsequent to the commendation—in his own name and those of four other persons in the Constabulary. They alleged in the round robin to have evidence in their possession which would tend to incriminate Detective Inspector French of the offence for which he was recently tried and convicted. The round robin was, of course, anonymous, and it could not be traced to Inspector Murphy at the time. But, in the subsequent year, the Government were able to trace out that Inspector Murphy was the originator of this round robin ; and then it was that the charge of drunkenness, of which he was admittedly innocent, was trumped up against him, owing to the necessity which French, the Detective Inspector of Constabulary, felt under of shielding himself. This charge was trumped up against him, and it was ordered that he should be brought before a Court of Inquiry. The Court of Inquiry held its sittings, and, as a result, Inspector Murphy was informed that he was dismissed the Service, not on account of the charge of drunkenness, but on account of the alleged acts of insubordination committed between the years 1875 and 1881. Now, he would not—he did not think it necessary—explain to the House the manner in which the Government obtained information that Inspector Murphy was moving, in order to obtain a vindication of justice in reference to the man French. But they undoubtedly did obtain that information, and as soon as they obtained it proceedings were commenced against French, and he was sent to a part of the country where it was impossible to entrap him. That course of action was successful, and Murphy was finally dismissed from the Force, after 18 years' service, without a pension, and with his character ruined. His (Mr. Parnell's) hon. Friends had pointed out, during the course of this debate, in reference to the denial which had been repeatedly given on the part of the Government, that the five persons who signed the round robin of Inspector Murphy—that the five names mentioned as being the witnesses, or as having evidence to give of French's guilt, were the five persons who were called on by the Inspector General of Constabulary immediately French was attacked in *United Ireland.* They were at once sent for and asked for their evidence—asked what they knew with regard to French. They gave their evidence, and the result of it was that the Government were able to get up a case against French which resulted in his conviction. First of all he was suspended, then he was convicted, and he was now suffering the punishment of his crimes. He (Mr. Parnell) contended that that was a sufficient answer to he denial of the Government. It proved that the denial of the officials in the Constabulary as to the receipt of this round robin was not true. He maintained that the fact that the five men, and only the five men, who were mentioned in the round robin by Inspector Murphy as being important witnesses were called in by the Inspector General of Constabulary—who was one of the persons to whom the round robin was addressed—immediately the attack was made on French showed that the denial of the authorities was not true. How was it that the Constabulary authorities hit upon these five men, and only these five—that they did not call six, seven, or eight persons ? Why did they not call three out of the five ? Why was it that they called these five men, and none others, as witnesses against French on the preliminary inquiry and investigation they made as to the man's character in the Force ? It was manifest that it must have been in consequence of the round robin which they had received, and which had not miscarried in the post—which had been sent by Inspector Murphy both to Earl Spencer and to the Inspector General of Constabulary. It was manifest that it was this round robin which enabled the authorities to put their hands on the five men whose testimony it was necessary for them to obtain in order to get at the clues and proofs of French's guilt. It was manifest that it was from this document of Murphy's that the Constabulary authorities had got their information, and that it was this document that first put it into their heads in Dublin Castle to prosecute this unfortunate man to his doom and to his ruin. It was evident that this matter could not be left where it was. It was true the Government had only lately come into Office, and that it might not, perhaps, have been expected by them that this matter would have been reached that night, the Motion not having had the first place in the Order Book, and that it might not have been possible for them to fully consider this very great and very important question. Undoubtedly it was a disagreeable thing for a Government which had lately come into power to reverse the acts of its Predecessors or to throw discredit upon them, especially in reference to so serious a matter as the administration of law and order in Ireland. But he thought that the Government ought to be strong enough even to do that. They had already reversed the policy and the acts of their Predecessors in a much more important matter than an inquiry into the question of the dismissal of such an humble individual as Inspector Murphy. The question of the renewal of the Prevention of Crime Act was of ten thousand fold more importance, regarding the whole government of Ireland, than the yielding of assent to the Motion of his hon. Friend would be; and he did think that if they were strong enough — and he believed the result would prove that the Government were strong enough—to do without the Prevention of Crime Act in Ireland—that the result of their action in that respect would be its justification. If the Government had been strong enough to do that, he maintained that they were strong enough to grant an inquiry into the case of Inspector Murphy. They ought to be ten thousand times stronger than the necessity of such a case; and he submitted that until the Irish Members had received some better answer from the able Attorney General for Ireland—who undoubtedly had handled this case in a way in which it had never been handled before by any Irish Law Officer—they could not rest satisfied. He (Mr. Parnell) had listened to the defence which the late Attorney General for Ireland had sought to make and to the defence which the present Irish Attorney General had endeavoured to make; and he was bound to say that the last-named right hon. and learned Gentleman had handled his case in as able and vigorous a manner as it was possible for any man to handle one consisting of such wretched materials. But he was bound to say that although the right hon. and learned Gentleman had done his best, he had not been able to put a face upon it; and until the Irish Members had something better to meet them than the defence which had been attempted that night by the right hon. and learned Gentleman and the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and the defence attempted some time ago by the late .Attorney General, it was manifest that the Irish Members, in justice to the people of Ireland, who loved fair play, and who considered that Inspector Murphy had been shamefully ill-treated in this matter, and in justice to Inspector Murphy himself, would have again to recur to the question. Before he sat down he would ask the Government this—whether the door was finally closed against justice to Inspector Murphy? Would they not further reconsider this matter? Important Cabinet Ministers had been present that night during a portion of the debate. During its later stages they had had the advantage of the presence of the Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross), the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) — who had had considerable experience of Irish administration—the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith), and the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill). He was bound to say he was always pleased when he saw such officials as the Home Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and those others whom he had named, taking any interest in an Irish question. He had had some experience of the candour and fair dealing of the Home Secretary in the last Parliament, in very similar cases to this; and he had always found the right hon. Gentleman's mind open to reason, and had always found him anxious to inquire into cases of alleged injustice, and to leave no room or opening or excuse for saying that justice had not been done. And what he would say before he sat down was this—Would not the Government further consider this matter, and if they thought that the case which had been made by the late Government and by the present Attorney General for Ireland was not of such a nature as they ought to rely upon, and that the Irish Members had put forward not only a *primâ facie* case, but a very strong case in proof of their contention that Inspector Murphy had been badly used, would they not, without, perhaps, formally agreeing to a Parliamentary Motion on going into Supply, give this matter further attention, and see whether it was not possible to hold, of their own will and of their own sense of justice, this inquiry, which they had refused on the Motion of his hon. Friend?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): I should like to say a few words before the debate comes to a close. First of all, I desire to answer a question put to me, I think, by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. W. Redmond) in reference to the Police Code now existing. I confess I have not had time to look at the Code. I have consulted the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes); and, so far as I understand the question, notice ought to be given in a case where an inquiry is necessary as to a matter of fact—that is to say, where a general charge is brought against a constable; but where a case of insubordination occurs which is patent to everybody, and which, on the face of it, requires no inquiry at all—such as writing an insubordinate letter—that notice is not necessary.

MR. SEXTON: The Code says "all charges."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: Of course, I had fully anticipated, when I went to the Irish Office, that all my sins, present and to come, would be visited on my unworthy head, but that that would be the full modicum of the visitation I should receive; and I must frankly state to the House that this debate has placed me in a position of some difficulty. In the first place, if I am asked to reopen a charge which is brought against the late Administration, I say at once that the position is one of extreme embarrassment, because a majority of this House has already supported the view which the late Government took. Hon. Members from Ireland must forgive me if I do not go minutely into the circumstances of this case. In the first place, I have not had time to ascertain them; and, in the next place, I do not possess the legal ability and acumen of my right hon. and learned Friend near me (Mr. Holmes), who, I am bound to say, has stated the case admirably from our point of view. But there is one point on which I wish to rest my judgment in the matter. I would simply ask whether Colonel Bruce, who is accused of having caused the discharge of District Inspector Murphy, acted from *bonâ fide* motives, or from some motive behind in what he did? I am bound to come to the conclusion that neither in the debate that has just taken place, nor in the previous debate in December last, or in any paper that I have read, can I find any trace of suspicion against Colonel Bruce to induce me to think that he did not act in a perfectly *bonâ fide* manner in discharging Mr. Murphy. As to the letter which is asserted to have been posted by Mr. Murphy, and which is asserted never to have been received by anybody, it must be borne in mind that in dealing with it we are simply dealing with a matter of assertion on the one side and on the other; and however anxious one might be to go into the matter, and do justice to both sides, after all the case must rest on simple assertions. On the one hand, there does not seem to me to be any evidence to show that this round robin was ever posted, or, on the other hand, that it was ever received. Coming back to the action of Colonel Bruce on the discharge of Murphy, I find that, long previous to the horrible charges against French, and their horrible surroundings, and before Inspector Murphy moved in that matter at all, he was being constantly reprimanded for something or other. He was reprimanded, I find, in 1875, again in 1877, in 1878, in 1879, and again in 1881. Therefore, I find that in each succeeding year Inspector Murphy was reprimanded; and what strikes me is this. Although it may be true that the charge of drunkenness was not fully sustained, yet it may have formed sufficient ground, in the mind of Colonel Bruce, for his discharge. What I wish to put to the Irish Members, and I know they will forgive me if I speak plainly to them, is this. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) spoke of the Government having just come into power, and proposing to relax the Prevention of Crime Act. It has been stated, both here and in the other House of Parliament, that we are doing this of our own will, and entirely upon our own responsibility. I say, then, to the Members from Ireland that they know as well as ourselves what our responsibilities will be; and all I can urge is that, if we are to make these concessions in regard to exceptional legislation, it becomes even more imperatively our bounden duty in all cases to support the Executive as it exists in Ireland at this moment. The evidence afforded by the papers, and by the previous debate, does not give us the least excuse for declining to support the Executive in Ireland. I have said that we have only a cursory knowledge of the matter; but, as far as we have dealt with it, we do not think we should be justified in granting the inquiry asked for by the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. J. Redmond). I will not detain the House longer upon the question. I will only add that, of course, if any fresh circumstances should arise, I do not think it would be fair, or right, or just, that we should debar ourselves from consenting to an inquiry. But, as at present advised, we do not see the necessity; and, on the part of the Government, I cannot accede to the demand of the hon. Member.

Mr. CALLAN said, the spirit of frankness manifested by the Front Bench afforded a marked contrast to the virulent feeling exhibited by the late Government on the 13th of March. Although he felt very strongly upon the case, he did not think his hon. Friend ought to go to a division after the speech of the Chief Secretary, who had plainly intimated that if any new fact should arise it would still be open to the Government to consent to an inquiry. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that, at the present moment, he only possessed a cursory knowledge of the facts of the case; and he accepted the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that if hereafter new evidence could be furnished a further inquiry would be made. The course pursued by the Chief Secretary, although the right hon. Gentleman strongly defended his Executive, was in strong contrast to that of his Scotch Predecessor. On the former occasion the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) displayed a most unconciliatory spirit, and had stated all the points that were calculated to tell against Inspector Murphy, without adding one which told in his favour. On that occasion he (Mr. Callan) had felt it his duty to read, from a document which had been handed to him by Mr. Murphy, testimonials to his character, which had been given, among others, by Lord Ardilaun, Sir R. J. Lynch, and Colonel Chichester. He was glad to say that the latter was not an Irishman, but an Englishman; but he had read the character given to Mr. Murphy by Colonel Chichester, in the hope that the House would attach some value to it, seeing that a few weeks previously the same gentleman had given the highest character to Earl Spencer. and he had thought the House might take the two together—*quantum valeat.* If the character given to Earl Spencer was of any value, certainly equal value ought to attach to a character given to Mr. Murphy by the same gentleman. A day or two after the debate Colonel Chichester sent a letter to him by the registered post, impugning his statement, and asking him upon what authority he had made it, and some time afterwards a letter from Colonel Chichester appeared in the columns of *The Freeman's Journal*, stating that the statement was a gross falsehood. He had borne the brunt of that attack patiently; but he now held in his hand not only the letter sent by Colonel Chichester through the registered post, but also the original character which Colonel Chichester had given to Inspector Murphy. He had submitted both to an expert in handwriting, and he was quite prepared to prove that the statement made by Inspector Murphy and the statement made by himself in that House, that Colonel Chichester had given this high character to Inspector Murphy, were perfectly true. He had simply risen for the purpose of giving Colonel Chichester another opportunity of denying the fact that he had given this character to Inspector Murphy; and he would only add that the late Chief Secretary to Earl Spencer and Colonel Chichester were equally reliable and worthy of credit.

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, that as the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had drawn special attention to the fact that he was present in the House, he wished to say a few words before the debate closed. From his knowledge of the personal character of his relative the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, it would be easy to convince the House of the absurdity of supposing that there could be any truth in the charge made against him of having wished to conceal the abominable crimes which had been committed in Dublin during the last few years. He particularly wished to draw the attention of the House to one of the statements which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) that Mr. Murphy was reprimanded for insubordination in 1875 and subsequent years. It was long after that date that his brother became Inspector General of the Irish Constabulary, and therefore he could not have been the original promoter of the charges of insubordination.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not propose to offer a single remark on the case which had been the subject of debate that evening; but he simply wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to inquire whether the insubordination had not been condoned by repeated favourable Reports, on various occasions, under different Inspecting Officers, and whether the charges on which Mr. Murphy was dismissed had not been trumped up in spite of such condonation after the charge of drunkenness had failed?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY said, he did not see the least objection to making such an inquiry as that which the hon. Member suggested.

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Henry Holland.*)

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury how the Government proposed to take the Votes which now stood for Committee on Monday and subsequent days?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, it was proposed on Monday to take the Army Estimates; then the remainder of Class III., except the Irish Votes. It was thought that it would be more convenient to take all the Irish Votes on Monday week, and Vote 1 of Class I. on Wednesday. The Education Vote would be taken on Tuesday.

COLONEL NOLAN thought it would be inconvenient to postpone the Irish Votes until Monday week, and he objected to their being put off so that they might all be taken together.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) said, that of course the Government had no wish to do anything that would be inconvenient, and perhaps it might be desirable to proceed with any non-contentious Vote taking the others as soon as they could. Unfortunately Monday and Tuesday were already appropriated.

MR. PARNELL said, that it appeared to him, after a hasty and perhaps imperfect consultation he had been able to have with his hon. Friends, that the course suggested by the Financial Secretary would be the most convenient—namely, that the Irish Votes should not be taken until Monday week. If the hon. Gentleman proposed to proceed with any non-contentious Votes that night there would be no objection.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he should be glad to take any non-contentious Votes in Class III.

MR. BIGGAR asked if the hon. Gentleman could not take the non-contentious Votes on Monday week equally well?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he had no intention of pressing it. It was only a matter which had suggested itself.

MR. SEXTON remarked, that there were two postponed Votes in Class II., and others in Class III.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, that was so. He wished to know if there were any non-contentious Votes in Class III.?

MR. SEXTON: No.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (TERM OF IMPRISONMENT) BILL.—[BILL 180.]

(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. HEALY said, there were one or two matters in the Bill which required amendment in Committee. One of them was a piece of bad drafting, for the Bill spoke of a person "in custody elsewhere than in prison." He did not see how a man could be in custody except in prison. Then, again, cases often came under his notice of convictions quashed by *certiorari*. Now the law in Ireland was that a man must lie in prison while the case was being argued; and he thought it would be a good thing if the Bill were to provide that if a case of *certiorari* arose the man should be held to bail pending the decision. He thought the provisions of the Bill were not sufficiently wide to carry that, and he therefore hoped they would be amended in the way he had described.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

WAYS AND MEANS.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (NO. 2) BILL.

Resolution [July 9] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Henry Holland.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 229.]

MOTIONS.

——o——

CHOLERA HOSPITALS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Nolan, Bill to enable the sanitary authorities in Ireland to take possession of land for the erection of temporary Cholera Hospitals, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel Nolan, Mr. Sheil, and Mr. Biggar.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 231.]

PUBLIC HEALTH (SHIPS, &C.) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Arthur Balfour, Bill to amend the "Public Health Act, 1875," in relation to Ships and Port Sanitary Authorities, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Balfour and Mr. Stuart-Wortley.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 230.]

House adjourned at Two o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 13*th July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Prince Henry of Battenberg's Naturalization *; Turnpike Acts Continuance * (174); Local Loans (Sinking Funds) * (175); Housing of the Working Classes (England) * (177).

Select Committee — Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment (127), The Lord Saint Oswald *added.*

Committee — Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * (147); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (156); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * (157); Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order * (148); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * (114); Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) (131-176).

Committee — Report — East India Loan (£10,000,000) * (164).

Third Reading—Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) * (155); Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) * (79), and *passed.*

NEW PEERS.

Mervyn Edward, Viscount Powerscourt in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland, K.P., having been created Baron Powerscourt, of Powerscourt in the county of Wicklow—

Anthony Henley, Baron Henley in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland, having been created Baron Northington, of Watford in the county of Northampton—

The Right Honourable Sir Arthur Hobhouse, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, having been created Baron Hobhouse, of Hadspen in the county of Somerset—

Were (in the usual manner) introduced.

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (No. 2) BILL.—(No. 65.)

(*The Earl Spencer.*)

RESOLUTION.

Earl SPENCER, in rising to move that the Bill be committed to a Committee of the Whole House, said, that the question involved was one of great importance to Ireland, and also affected the Standing Orders of the House. Some explanation was, therefore, required of him in asking that the Bill, which had already been referred to a Private Bill Committee, should be committed to a Committee of the Whole House. The Bill related to a scheme called the Cork, Coachford, and Blarney Light Railway. It was introduced under the Tramways General (Ireland) Act of 1883, an Act intended to develop communication between different parts of Ireland. It incorporated various provisions of previous Acts relating to tramways, which were passed in 1860 and 1861, but added important provisions with regard to local and Imperial guarantees, and enabled the Imperial Government to join the Local Authorities in the carrying out of schemes. The Act enabled any promoter of a tramway scheme to bring the scheme before the Grand Jury of the county where the tramway was to be made, before whom counsel might appear. The Grand Jury in such case had full power to hear the promoters and opponents, just as in the case of an ordinary Provisional Order. After the Grand Jury had heard the scheme discussed, and had passed the Order, it went up to the Privy Council in Ireland. The Board of Works and the Treasury were required to make a Report on the line to the Privy Council; and after that had been done, if the scheme was not opposed, that ended the matter. If, however, the line was still opposed, an Order was required to confirm it, and the scheme consequently went before the Lord Lieutenant in Council. If the Privy Council approved the scheme, it then came before Parliament as an Order to be confirmed. In the Act of 1869 there was a section — Section 14— which distinctly stated that all these Orders were to be treated with every respect as Public Bills. He did not propose to go into the merits of the particular Bill the subject of the Order; but he would state shortly what was the procedure followed. The scheme was taken before the Grand Jury of the county of Cork and the Grand Jury of the county of the City of Cork, both of which bodies were interested in the measure. The Grand Juries having sat for two days considering the scheme, and hearing the case for the promoters and opponents, unanimously passed an Order in favour of it. It was then found that some irregularity had taken place in the Order, and a short Act of Parliament had to be passed to rectify it. After that Act was passed, the measure again went before the Grand Jury, and they again unanimously passed a presentment in favour of it. It then went before the Privy Council, where its merits were inquired into by three very distinguished members of that body— namely, Mr. Justice Lawson, Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, and Vice Chancellor Chatterton. They also sat for two days, and having heard counsel for and against the measure, unanimously passed the scheme. Now, under one of the Standing Orders of their Lordships' House— namely, Order 95—it was laid down that every opposed Provisional Order should be referred to a Private Bill Committee consisting of five Peers. This was called a Provisional Order Bill, and under this Standing Order it was, for the third time, referred to an authority for investigation. Counsel were heard for and against the Bill, and witnesses were called and examined. This third inquiry was at Westminster. This course, he ventured to point out, was not consistent with the 14th section of the Act of 1860. Provisional Orders were of various kinds—they were granted under the Labourers Act of last year, under the Public Health Act, 1878, and several others under the Act of 1860. No reference was made in the Act of 1860 to a Private Bill Committee of their Lordships' House. Under the Act of 1860, the schemes brought forward were of a public, and not of a private, character. If their Lordships looked at the way the inquiries were carried out, they would see that these schemes were different altogether from those for which Provisional Orders were obtained under other Acts. There was the unprecedented mode of investigating a Bill and of bringing it before the Privy Council in Ireland, before whom counsel for and against the scheme were heard. He, therefore, thought it was the intention of the Act of 1860 to have the cases heard locally, and not to have them brought before Private Bill Committees of their Lordships' House. He pointed out that it would always be in the power of their Lordships to challenge a Bill when it was brought before them in the House, and send it to a Committee; but if all Orders under these Bills were referred as a matter of course to Private Bill Committees, instead of encouraging improvements in Ireland as they ought to do, they would impede improvements. He maintained that this was a Public and not a Private Bill, and that the interests of the ratepayers had been most carefully looked after locally and before the Irish Privy Council. There was no precedent for such a procedure as had been followed in this case. There had been no fewer than four inquiries held on this Bill. Thus, the intentions of the Acts of 1860 and 1883 had been frustrated, and instead of facilities having been afforded for the construction of light railways and tramways, which were so much needed in Ireland, penalties were, in effect, imposed. These costly and elaborate inquiries had spread consternation in the South of Ireland. He would only add that nothing would do Ireland more good than the encouragement of such enterprizes as the one before them; and if their projectors were discouraged, one of the best methods of improving Ireland would be destroyed. He hoped their Lordships would agree to the Resolution he now begged to move.

Moved, "That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the Whole House."—(*The Earl Spencer.*)

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Earl of REDESDALE) said, he felt it his duty to oppose the Motion. It was rather extraordinary that for the first time they should be asked to determine what should be done in relation to an Act passed in 1860. What the noble Earl proposed was contrary to the Standing Order and the practice of the House. The Bill referred to was discussed by a Committee of that House, and was rejected by that Committee more than a month ago. The Standing Order was distinct that this was a Private and not a Public Bill, and it was clear the question had been disposed of.

LORD FITZGERALD contended that the Bill was essentially a public one, and that a grave error had been committed in taking possession of it in the Private Bill Department. When all the conditions imposed by the Lord Lieutenant in Council were fulfilled, the Lord Lieutenant was obliged to take up the Bill as a public one, and the Statute directed that it should be dealt with in all respects as a public measure. The object of the Act of 1883, which incorporated the Act of 1860, was to give every encouragement to these small undertakings, and to relieve them of the enormous cost which attached to the investigation before the Private Bill Committee of the House. He knew one small undertaking where the investigation failed, but had cost £14,000, and it might have obtained legal sanction at home for an expenditure not exceeding £500. When the Act in question was passed it was pointed out that what was wanted was a system of light railways, the merits of which could be investigated on the spot—railways which would be of great service in conveying the agricultural produce of Ireland. After a scheme had been examined on the spot by the Grand Jury, who could tell in five minutes whether it was a project that ought or ought not to pass, and again investigated before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, it would be unjust and unnecessary to have further inquiry in Parliament. The Standing Order referred to by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Redesdale) related to Private Bills, but this was not a Private Bill; and he (Lord Fitzgerald) contended that the Standing Order was not intended to apply to such a Bill as this, which had none of the characteristics of a Provisional Order Bill, and was more properly to be called a Bill to confirm an Order of the Lord Lieutenant and Council. If there was no opposition to one of these tramway schemes it became the law of the land without the intervention of a Confirmation Act. The House would be going in the teeth of the letter and substance of an Act of Parliament if they determined on considering this as a Private Bill.

LORD INCHIQUIN said, he remembered that when last year he was most anxious to have an alteration made in a Bill of this character, the noble Lord the late President of the Council (Lord Carlingford) said the proper time to make this alteration would be when the Bill was before the Select Committee.

LORD CARLINGFORD: I was wrong.

LORD INCHIQUIN: The noble Lord on that occasion said that it would be dangerous to say that the Provisional Order Confirmation Bills were to be treated as Bills which could not be opposed in their Lordships' House. He (Lord Inchiquin) considered that if they refused to send the present Bill before a Private Bill Committee they would be taking away many of the safeguards they now possessed for proper inquiry. It would be most dangerous if these Bills could not be opposed before their Lordships' Select Committee. The measure was merely a Public Bill in the sense that it was contained in a Provisional Order. If their Lordships refused to send those Provisional Orders before a Private Bill Committee they would be breaking down all the safeguards of legislation. The appeal in such a case as this ought to lie, not to the Privy Council, but to Parliament.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, the matter was one of exteme importance, because if their Lordships wished to affirm a practice which was opposed to a Public Act of Parliament, in a matter which largely affected the local interests of an important Irish district, they would be giving an immense impulse to the claim for a greater degree of local self-government in Ireland. The proposal of the noble Lord opposite was opposed to both the spirit and letter of the Act of 1860. The effect of not agreeing to the Motion of the noble Earl beside him would be that Parliament, after making elaborate provisions to enable these public works to be executed, and after providing safeguards for their authorization in a way not required in other cases, would convert these elaborate provisions into additional obstacles and additional sources of expense by requiring parties to come over from Ireland to England with their witnesses, and to submit again to the inquiry which had been conducted in Ireland. The clause in the Act of 1860 provided, in a manner different from anything to be found in any of the ordinary Acts as to Provisional Orders, that a Bill to confirm an Order of the Irish Privy Council made under it, which only needed Parliamentary confirmation when opposed, should be "treated in all respects as a Public Bill." What had been done, no doubt through inadvertence, was to treat this, in every material respect, in the same manner as if it had been a Private Bill. Nothing could be more directly contrary to the Act. And why had this been done? Simply because the Standing Orders of this House, as to Private Bills, were, in general terms, made applicable to Bills for confirming Provisional Orders. But the Act of 1860 did not, as far as the letter went, call an Order in Council, made under it, a Provisional Order; and, as to the substance, not only was it beyond the competency of this House, by any Standing Order, to repeal an Act of Parliament, but the Standing Order clearly had reference to those cases only, which were numerous, in which Acts of Parliament, authorizing Provisional Orders to be made, subject to confirmation, had expressly directed that, when opposed, they should be dealt with as in the case of Private Bills. He had referred to these Acts, and he had made out a list of not less than ten of them, including the English and Irish Public Health Acts, and the English Tramways Act, which contained clauses to that effect. Nothing could be in more direct contrast than these Acts, and the Irish Tramways Act of 1860. No doubt, any Public Bill might be referred to a Select Committee; but that could only be done upon Notice given by the House itself; and if any Motion to refer this Bill to such a Committee had been made, the House might, and no doubt would, have been asked to reject it, on the ground that, by granting it without some very special reason, they would defeat many of the best objects of the Tramways Acts.

THE MARQUESS OF BRISTOL said, in answer to the noble and learned Lord (Lord Fitzgerald), that, so far as he knew, the Committee had no objection to the guarantee rate. They rejected the Bill simply on the merits, and would have done so whether the Bill involved a guarantee or whether it did not.

LORD CLINTON said, he hoped the House would not assent to the proposal of the noble Earl. He had been a Member of the Committee to which this Provisional Order had been referred; and the Committee considered that it would be exceedingly hard on the ratepayers of the district, who had exercised their right of coming to Parliament, if the evidence, which had satisfied the Committee that the Order ought not to be proceeded with, should be altogether ignored, and the unanimous decision of the Committee set aside.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, if the question turned on the merits of this particular Bill he should not interfere; but it was very obvious that the Standing Order had a wider application than this particular measure. It was obvious that the framers of the Statute intended to substitute for the ordinary and somewhat cumbersome proceeding of a Private Bill some compendious form of local investigation; and he thought it must be assumed that the Legislature, in passing the Bill in the form in which it stood, was familiar with the distinction between Private and Public Bill legislation. The Act of 1860 distinctly said that these

Orders should be treated as Public Bills, and surely this meant that they were not to be treated as Private Bills. He could not help saying that he heartily concurred in the argument of the noble and learned Earl (the Earl of Selborne).

The Earl of LONGFORD said, the greatest possible confusion had been caused by two Acts that had been hurriedly passed at the very end of the Session of 1883, with the very best intentions, but with unsatisfactory results—namely, the Tramways Act and the Labourers Act. In regard to this Bill, it had disappeared from their Lordships' Paper a month ago. If it were to be revived at all now, it ought to be by a Motion to refer it back to the same Committee, or to refer it to another Select Committee; but he hoped they would not agree to proceed with it as a public. measure. On the whole, they had better abide by the decision of the Committee, and leave the matter where it stood.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 95; Not-Contents 20: Majority 75.

Resolved in the *affirmative;* Bill *committed* accordingly to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 6.)

(*The Lord Carlingford.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Lord CARLINGFORD, in moving that the House go into Committee on the Bill, said, that it had been referred to a Select Committee contrary to his own recommendation to the House, his desire having been that their Lordships should deal with the Bill in Committee of the Whole House. In Committee the Bill had been considerably altered. The Select Committee struck out those provisions of the Bill which they all knew produced the rejection of the Bill on its second reading last year, and led to its reference to a Select Committee this year. He regretted the rejection by the Select Committee of some of these provisions of the Bill; but they had been rejected by very large majorities and supported by very small minorities. While regretting some of these provisions, he did not intend to ask their Lordships to restore them. He refrained from so doing, because he knew, and their Lordships knew, that it would be a mere formality if he were to make such a proposal. On the other hand, he did not intend to drop the Bill, because he believed that the Bill as it stood, as it had come back from the Select Committee, was a useful measure, and one that might well be passed into law. When last year he presented this Bill, he stated that he did it mainly on the ground that it contained certain provisions which he looked upon as important, and of which he heartily approved, the principal one being the introduction of the ballot into Poor Law elections in Ireland. He did not intend now to go into the merits of the Bill, which had already been largely canvassed, and upon which a large amount of evidence had been taken by the Select Committee. One observation only he wished to make, which was this—that the general effect of that evidence upon his mind was to show that the importance of those provisions which had been rejected, such as those dealing with the machinery of the proxy vote, and the proportion of *ex officio* Guardians upon Boards of Guardians, had been exaggerated upon both sides, looking at the question from the point of view of the administration and economy of the Poor Law. They had been exaggerated both by the popular Party, and what might be called the landlord Party; and the explanation of this was that the contest between these Parties was a political one. That was the general impression left upon his own mind by the evidence given upon the subject. Although, under special circumstances, and in a time of great excitement, there had been here and there some unjustifiable expenditure of public money by the elected Guardians, on the whole the interest of the two classes was undoubtedly the same—namely, that of keeping down the rates and of administering the Poor Law at the least expense. Before very long these questions must come up again for consideration. No doubt they would soon have to be settled in one way or another in connection with the re-organization of county government in Ireland, which they all knew could not be long deferred. Under all these circumstances he moved their Lordships to pass the Bill as it stood.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Lord Carlingford.*)

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, he did not object to the Bill; but it was not required as an improvement to the administration of the Poor Law. The result would be that exactly the same class of Guardians would be elected as had been elected before, and would perform their duties in exactly the same manner.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, that, no doubt, many of the provisions of this Bill were most useful; but those which had been cut out of it could not have been passed with any fairness to those who paid by far the greater portion of the rates. For the last five years the Land League had been endeavouring to get possession of all the Boards of Guardians, and there was no doubt that rates were sometimes intentionally raised in order to punish landlords; and, under those circumstances, to reduce the representation of landlords and to take away the right of voting by proxy would be very unjust.

Motion *agreed to:* House in Committee accordingly.

Clauses 1 to 3 severally *agreed to.*

PART I.

POOR LAW ELECTIONS.

Clauses 4 to 7 severally *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Certain sections of the Ballot Act to be incorporated in order).

On the Motion of The Marquess of WATERFORD, the following Amendment made:—

In page 2, line 38, leave out clause 8, and insert:

"Sections three, four, and nine of the Ballot Act, 1872, shall be incorporated in this Act, and shall apply to the election of poor law guardians in the same manner as if elections of poor law guardians were expressly mentioned therein.

"The following enactment shall be made with respect to personation at elections of poor law guardians:

"A person shall be deemed to be guilty of the offence of personation who applies for a ballot paper in the name of some other person for whom he is not entitled to act as proxy, whether that name be that of a person living or dead, or of a fictitious person, or, who having voted once in his own behalf at any such election, applies at the same election for a ballot paper in his own name.

"The offence of personation, or of aiding, abetting, counselling, or procuring the commission of the offence of personation by any person shall be a felony, and any person convicted thereof shall be punished by imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, together with hard labour. It shall be the duty of the returning officer to institute a prosecution against any person whom he may believe to have been guilty of personation, or of aiding, abetting, counselling, or procuring the commission of the offence of personation by any person at the election for which he is returning officer, and the costs and expenses of the prosecutor and the witnesses in such case, together with compensation for their trouble and loss of time, shall be allowed by the court in the same manner in which courts are empowered to allow the same in cases of felony."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Regulations as to claims to vote by proxy).

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD proposed an Amendment to the clause, for the purpose of giving the right of proxy voting to occupiers as well as owners in electoral divisions in which they did not reside. He explained that the Amendment had been drawn up in consultation with the Chairman of the Select Committee on the Bill, and that it had been brought forward in consequence of evidence given at that inquiry. The witnesses had given the Committee to understand that they had no great objection to proxy voting, provided the privilege were allowed to occupiers as well as owners. If this Amendment were not accepted, under the new electoral system, some of the voters would have to be walking over the district throughout the day of the election if they happened to have farms in different parts.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 3, line 7, leave out ("After the commencement of this Act,") and insert ("The eighty-fourth section of the Act of the first and second years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter fifty-six, shall be and the same is hereby amended; and henceforth it shall be lawful for any ratepayer, from time to time, by writing under his hand in the prescribed manner, to appoint any person to vote as his proxy in respect of any property in the actual occupation of such ratepayer which is not situated in the electoral division in which the said ratepayer has his usual place of residence: Provided always, that.")—(*The Marquess of Waterford.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD said, he considered the Amendment would be an improvement in the Bill.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN observed, that the Amendment removed the only valid objection which had been given before the Select Committee to proxy voting—namely, that it was an invidious distinction in favour of one class of voters.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Marquess of WATERFORD, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 11, leave out ("not in his actual occupation.")

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD moved an Amendment, giving occupiers as well as owners power to vote by proxy, provided that the rates be paid two months before the day of election.

Amendment *moved,*

In line 16, leave out ("prior to the date of said election,") and insert ("previous to the day on which he shall claim to vote. The nineteenth section of the Act of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter eighty-three, shall be and the same is hereby repealed; and after the commencement of this Act no occupier rated to the poor rate, and no owner or immediate lessor rated under the provisions of the Act of the sixth and seventh years of Her Majesty, chapter ninety-two, or of the Act of the twelfth and thirteenth years of Her Majesty, chapter ninety-one, or of the Act of the twelfth and thirteenth years of Her Majesty, chapter one hundred and four, and the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years of Her Majesty, chapter eighty-three, shall be entitled to vote in the election of Guardians unless he shall two months before the day of voting have paid all the poor rates made and assessed upon him, except such as shall have been made or become due within six calendar months immediately such voting.")—(*The Marquess of Waterford.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD considered that the Amendment was a restriction of the present privileges of ratepayers in regard to voting.

LORD MONK BRETTON said, he concurred in the principle of the Amendment, because time was necessary to enable the Returning Officer to make out and revise his lists properly; but whether two months were requisite he would not undertake to say.

LORD CARLINGFORD suggested that one month would be sufficient.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, it was important that the Returning Officers should have time to make out the lists of voters. However, he would accept the alteration to one month.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that two months was recommended by the Select Committee; and he protested against an important Amendment like this being brought forward and accepted without any Notice.

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to,* with Amendments.

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 176.)

THE LANDED ESTATES COURT (IRELAND)—PURCHASE OF HOLDINGS.

OBSERVATIONS.

LORD CASTLETOWN, in rising to inquire of Her Majesty's Government, Whether during the proceedings in the case of a sale of a holding to a tenant before the Landed Estates Court on Tuesday 21st June it was stated by the tenant that he was prepared to give a certain price for the holding, but was debarred from doing so by the action of the Land Commissioners, who, refusing to advance three-fourths of the purchase money, would only advance two-thirds, sheltering themselves behind the Act of 1870; whether Judge Flanagan, as reported, stated with reference to this—"Then you might just as well have passed no Act at all;" and concluded the case with these words—

> "Those, then, interested in this case are to suffer because while the tenant was prepared to give £200 if advanced three-fourths of the purchase money under the terms of the statute, he will only give £180 now, as the Commissioners reduced their advance to two-thirds;"

whether other cases of similar obstructive action on the part of the Commission have not been brought under the notice of the Irish Department of the late Government; and, finally, whether Her Majesty's Government will take any steps to force the Land Commission to utilize such powers as it possesses for facilitating the sale and purchase of land; or whether, if this is impossible, they do not think it would be advisable to appoint a Commission, with plenary powers, to carry out the provisions of the Purchase Clauses of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, in a liberal and expeditious manner? said, that since he had given Notice of his intention to put these Questions to the Government on the subject of the proceedings in the

Landed Estates Court and the action of the Land Commission, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced in the other House the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a Purchase Bill. He would, therefore, reserve most of what he had to say until that Bill was before their Lordships' House. He must, however, point out the difficulty of the present position, which was proved by the necessity of his Question, and he desired to draw public attention most urgently to this matter. The Court was established many years ago to carry out the sale of estates, and subsequently a Commission was appointed in 1851 with special power to facilitate the sale of land from owner to occupier; and yet both of them came to almost a deadlock, owing to some legal crotchet and over a trumpery case. This occurred, too, at a time when it was essential that the sale of land should be expedited. Surely it was time for the Government to intervene for the purpose of clearing up this absurd difficulty. If the two bodies he had named were helpless let us get rid of them, and put another body, or an effective amalgamation of both, in their place. This was not the only instance which had occurred of this kind of deadlock, and he felt sure he was correct in stating that similar cases had been brought privately or officially under the notice of the late Government. The Landed Estates Court and the Land Commission cost the country a large sum, and yet their administration was so defective that they could not carry out the sale of a holding of the value of £200 without all this sparring and legal warfare. The whole thing was at present a farce; he only hoped it might not end in a tragedy for both owner and occupier. The Land Act, though perhaps well-intentioned, had thus far failed to settle the Land Question. That question could only be settled definitely by a liberal and workable Purchase Bill. Both sides—owner and occupier—were ready to come to terms. The case cited in the Question of which he had given Notice proved this. Both were, however, waiting to see what the final offer of the Government would be. Their Lordships must remember that land was the only marketable and, at the same time, the only valuable commodity in many parts of Ireland. This was proved by the exorbitant prices given for tenants' interests. Land must, therefore, be made saleable. In conclusion, he asked their Lordships to bear one point in mind which had special reference to the introduction of the Purchase Bill—namely, that there must be no placing the charge for money advanced under such Bill upon Ireland or on the local rates. The question was an Imperial one as long as Ireland remained part of the Empire, and as such it must be treated. He knew that there were those who thought otherwise, and who with a fatuity which was unintelligible to him thought they could fasten upon Ireland a burden which the Empire must bear as long as Ireland contributed one farthing to Imperial taxation. He should reserve any further remarks upon the subject until the Purchase Bill reached that House.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, the Questions seemed to him to be entirely on the subject of the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act. Her Majesty's Government hoped to be able to introduce a Bill dealing with Land Purchase in Ireland; and, under the circumstances, it would be very much better to await the introduction of that Bill before insisting upon an answer to those Questions on the Paper. Some of the Questions put by the noble Lord, he was informed, were not accurate in the statement of facts embodied in them. The late Government had showed that they were not satisfied with the manner in which the Purchase Clauses had worked by bringing in a Bill on the subject last year, and by promising one for the present year. Her Majesty's present Government were prepared to bring in such a measure, which demonstrated that they also were of opinion that the Purchase Clauses had not worked satisfactorily.

LORD CASTLETOWN said, that after the remarks of the noble Marquess he would willingly postpone his Questions on the subject.

SCOTLAND—THE CASTLE ROCK, EDINBURGH.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD BALFOUR, in rising to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the case that the War Office contemplate making extensive alterations in, and additions to, the buildings now situated on the Castle Rock of Edinburgh; and, if so, whether any opportunity will be given to Members of either House of Parliament, and others interested, of expressing any opinion upon the design which it is proposed to adopt before the Government is finally committed to it? said, he understood it was the intention of the War Office to make some considerable alterations in, and additions to, the buildings on the Castle Rock of Edinburgh, and chiefly upon the eastern side of the rock near the entrance to the Castle. He believed it was proposed to build some guard rooms and court martial rooms, and some other accommodation which was required for the troops in the Castle, while some further alterations were to be made at a point near the portcullis gateway. The importance of the matter would appear to their Lordships when he told them that that point of the Castle Rock would be visible along the whole length of Princes Street, and any buildings which were put up there must always be an eyesore if they were not buildings of a proper kind. He understood that the money for this work had actually been voted by Parliament, and what he was anxious about was that the proposed buildings should not be put up, or, at least, that the Government should not commit themselves to any particular design, until the matter had been fully considered. He had considerable suspicion of plans of this kind drawn up by unprofessional architects, and he understood that the plans for the proposed buildings had been drawn up by an engineer, and not by anyone who had made a particular study of the question. It was of the utmost importance that those who knew Edinburgh well, and those who knew the class of buildings which it was desirable to erect on the Castle Rock, should have an opportunity of seeing what the War Office proposed to do. His noble Friend (Viscount Bury), with great courtesy, showed him a photograph of the Castle and a design of the proposed buildings. The drawings which he had had an opportunity of seeing would not remove the objection he entertained. So far as he could judge, the proposed buildings seemed to him to be an imitation—and a rather poor imitation—of what was called the old Scottish baronial style of architecture, which, in his opinion, was quite out of keeping with the buildings now on the Castle Rock, and would be a great eyesore from Princes Street. He did not say that the buildings which went to form the Castle of Edinburgh were in all respects very beautiful, or everything that they ought to be; but he thought this was eminently a case in which it was better to bear the ills they had than fly to others that they knew not of. It did not seem to him that this was a time when it was desirable to make very great additions or extensions to the buildings on the Castle Rock. Some portions of the Castle were of great historical and antiquarian interest; and while these should be preserved, he did not think it was desirable to make any great additions to the present buildings unless on a settled and comprehensive plan. If more accommodation was required, he thought it would be better to face the question of removing the military centre to another place, and leave the Castle in charge of a garrison, and use it chiefly for stores and such like. He would respectfully and earnestly urge his noble Friend that nothing should be done to the buildings now on the Castle Rock without the most mature consideration, and without a full opportunity given for opinions being expressed on the part of those who had real intimate knowledge of the Castle.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, before the noble Viscount answered the Question of his noble Friend, he should like to put a Question of which he had given private Notice. He should like to know whether any steps had been taken to clean out the old Parliament House, which was now used as an hospital in Edinburgh Castle? This question was brought before the late Government; but nothing had been done in the matter at all, except that strict inquiries had been made into the condition of the old Parliament House. It turned out that the hall was still in existence, and very much as it was in the old days of the Scotch Parliament. It had now been converted into an hospital, and it had been sub-divided into different wards and rooms. He was told by those who knew that nothing could be more inconvenient as an hospital than the present building. The patients had no place where they could walk about and get fresh air, except a small court in Edinburgh Castle, near where the regalia was kept, which was filled from week to week during the summer with tourists. He did not think that was a right place for an hospital, and he was informed that there would be no practical difficulty whatever in removing the hospital out of the present buildings. There was another building in the Castle for stores, and he was told by those who knew that that was a very inconvenient position for stores. It was an enormous expense to the country to have all these stores, first of all, conveyed there from Leith and Granton and afterwards distributed, and it would be an immense public gain to have the stores taken out of the Castle and removed elsewhere. He was informed that if the hospital in the Castle was once given up by the Military Authorities, private individuals would be only too glad to contribute money for the restoration of that most interesting antiquarian building.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS thanked his noble Friend or having called attention to this subject. He had had an opportunity of seeing the designs of the proposed alterations; and he thought it would only be right if the people of Scotland who took an interest in the matter had also the advantage of seeing the design. Some 30 years ago designs had been prepared by Mr. Billings, a celebrated architect of that time, for the improvement and restoration of Edinburgh Castle. He thought the plan then proposed would have been a great advantage to Edinburgh and an ornament to the Castle. He hoped his noble Friend would endeavour to find out where these designs were, and show the two together, so that the public might have an opportunity of judging between them.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Viscount BURY), in reply, said, he was sure this matter must be very interesting to Scotsmen in general. They all felt that Edinburgh Castle was one of those ancient monuments which should not be lightly touched or tampered with. He could, however, assure his noble Friend that what was contemplated in the present instance was a very moderate improvement indeed, and would not detract from the appearance of the buildings. The fact was that there was a hay store and a guard room right in the middle of the parade ground of the Castle which it was proposed to remove; and at one end of the Castle there was an old tower, known as Argyll Tower, the roof of which was fallen in, or was in a bad state of repair, and something must be done if the tower was to be preserved. He held in his hand a photograph of Edinburgh Castle, and the small piece at the end was all that was going to be altered structurally as regarded the Castle. It was merely a small addition to the roof of the Argyll Tower; and far from being an eyesore, as viewed from Princes Street, it was not expected that it would be noticed at all. His noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss) had said, and truly said, that some 30 years ago a considerable alteration in Edinburgh Castle was proposed. He believed the truth about that matter was that two opposing schools of antiquarians interested themselves in the question. One considered that the architecture of Edinburgh Castle belonged to one period, and another held that any alterations ought to be made in the style of another period. The controversy waxed so hot between the partizans of those two schools, that, although great alterations were required in the Castle, it was eventually decided that the matter should be dropped, and that nothing should be then done. Nothing was done in consequence. That, he was afraid, was exactly what would happen now. These alterations, which were really required for sanitary and other reasons, as well as for the preservation of the Castle, would have to be put aside and entirely abandoned if they were to re-open, as his noble Friend proposed, that architectural quarrel which was laid to rest 30 years ago, and which terminated by simply doing nothing. He could only say that the War Office Department, having a sincere desire to consult the feelings of Scotsmen, had determined only to carry out the smallest amount of alterations that could be made consistently with the safety of the Castle. They proposed to make a very small alteration in the roof of the Argyll Tower, and they hoped that this might be done in such an unobtrusive way as not to constitute an eyesore, as was feared by his noble Friend; and if not found palatable to the general body of Scotsmen, he could assure his noble Friend that nothing further would be done. The whole Vote for the purpose amounted to £1,200 or £1,300. It comprised the removal of some buildings right in the middle of the Castle, and, as he had already stated, the restoration of the Argyll Tower. As to the question of the hospital, that rather depended on the issue of what they now proposed. If his noble Friend caused them to hang up and abandon the restoration of the roof of the Argyll Tower, and compelled them to remain where they were, then they could not carry out the wishes of the noble Marquess respecting the suggested removal of the hospital to a more suitable position. He acknowledged that this was a matter of the greatest importance, and ought to receive immediate attention. The hospital was not in its right place—there was a better place for it—and if those alterations were stopped things must continue as they were. He trusted the War Office might be permitted to execute the very modest improvements which they at present contemplated. He would be glad to show the plans to Members of Parliament; but he hoped there would be no putting up of the designs to public competition, or inviting undue attention to the matter, as that would in all probability end in nothing being done.

THE EARL OF **LONGFORD** said, that noble Lords from Scotland must not be surprised if a War Office which sanctioned the construction of a high level bridge at the Tower of London should consent also to the making of a railway station, or anything else, in Edinburgh Castle.

LORD **BALFOUR** said, he thought the subject was one of such great importance to the people of Scotland that he had heard with great regret what he regarded as a practical refusal to allow the general public of Edinburgh to know what was going to be done, and to have an opportunity of seeing and criticizing beforehand the designs of the proposed alterations. He looked with the greatest possible alarm at the idea of erections of such a character being put up without the approval and without the adequate consideration of those who were competent to judge. He was not prepared to say more on the subject at present, beyond the remark that his noble Friend did not answer one Question as to whether the money had been actually voted by Parliament or not. If it had been voted, then he was unable to know how to proceed in the matter. But he was quite sure that if the discussion was reported in the Scottish newspapers his noble Friend would hear much more of it than he had heard that evening; and he was bound to say that he, for one, would not be sorry.

WATERWORKS CLAUSES ACT (1847) AMENDMENT BILL.

RESOLUTION.

LORD **BRAMWELL**, in rising to move—

> "That the Petitions of the several Water Companies who supply the Metropolis with water (the New River Company and others), presented on Friday last, be referred to the Select Committee, with leave to the Petitioners to be heard against the Bill as desired,"

said, that he felt it a matter of duty to endeavour to prevent their Lordships from doing what would be a grievous injustice. He was not going to trouble their Lordships with the question of whether this was a Private or Public Bill; but what he wished to impress upon them was what the substance of this Bill really was. It was a Bill which proposed to alter the bargains made between the public and Water Companies. He would take the case of one Company—the New River Company, for instance. That Company, by its Act, had bargained with the public to supply water for domestic consumption, for watering streets, and for other purposes, and had the right to make certain charges in respect thereof; and this Bill was a proposal to alter that bargain. The New River Company said—"Let us be heard." That ought to be quite sufficient to secure them a hearing, and it ought not to be necessary now to say what was their objection to the Bill. Never before was a proposal made to alter a Private Act without hearing the Company affected by it. The Waterworks Clauses Acts and other Clauses Acts were not laws of themselves, and only became such by being incorporated in a Private Bill; and this Bill said that a Private Act incorporating clauses should be altered as regarded the clauses so incorporated. Was it conceivable that a Company affected by such alteration was not to be heard? It was contrary to the ordinary elementary principles of justice that judgment should be given without hearing the person affected. By the law of the land, if he was not heard, the proceedings were null and void. But he must tell their Lordships why the Companies wanted to be heard, and he could show good reason why they should be. At the present time they had a right to charge according to the annual value. The proposal in the Bill was that the expression "annual value" should mean rateable value, as estimated from time to time. If the two things were identical, these unhappy Companies, who were subjected to persecution for no reason that he could understand, except that they supplied the best water in Europe on the best terms and in the most admirable manner, and were paying a respectable dividend, would gladly accept the proposal in order to get rid of the worry to which they were subjected. But the two things were not identical. Rateable value, as settled from time to time, was less than the annual value of the premises. It did not make any difference to a parish whether it raised £1,000 by a rate of 1*s*. in the pound on an assessment of £20,000, or by a rate of 2*s*. in the pound, on an assessment of £10000. But a low assessment made all the difference to the Companies, who estimated that on rateable value they would lose one-sixth of their incomes. In his own case he had been first assessed at about half the annual value of his house, and now that assessment had been raised to only five-sixths of the annual value. The Companies ought, at least, to be heard. There had been some absurd talk about "gentlemen of the long robe." What was wanted was that the facts should be laid before the Committee, and a reasonable amount of argument showing the conclusion to which those facts pointed. If the Bill was passed in its present shape, a large loss of income would be thrown on the Companies. No doubt the Companies were great and rich; but some of their shareholders were neither great nor rich.

Moved, "That the Petition of the several Water Companies who supply the Metropolis with water (the New River Company and others), presented on Friday last, be referred to the Select Committee, with leave to the Petitioners to be heard against the Bill as desired."—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Earl BROWNLOW) said, the Motion was practically the same as that brought forward by the noble and learned Lord last week, on which occasion the arguments addressed to their Lordships failed to convince the House that it was right to accept it. No fresh argument had been addressed to their Lordships that day to induce them to change the opinion they then expressed. At this period of the Session there would be no prospect of the Bill passing if the Water Companies were heard by counsel and witnesses. It would cause great disappointment outside if this Bill was strangled in Committee. He, therefore, trusted that their Lordships would not agree to the Motion.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, he would not have complained if the noble and learned Lord had moved that the Bill be read a second time that day three months, for that would have been a straightforward and legitimate opposition; but he did claim a right to complain of what the noble and learned Lord had said this week and last with regard to spoliation and the Companies not being allowed to be heard. As stated on the former occasion, it would be impossible at this advanced period of the Session to proceed with any chance of the Bill becoming law, if counsel and witnesses were heard, as recommended by the noble and learned Lord. It must also be borne in mind that these powerful Companies could fee counsel and obtain evidence to any extent, whereas no such power rested with the 4,000,000 ratepayers, who could not strike a special rate for the purpose; but there would be no objection to the Water Companies being heard by their agents, and that would give an opportunity to the ratepayers of the Metropolis to have the clerks of the different Assessment Committees before the Committee in order to answer any charges which the agents of the Companies might make. He did not see the great hardship and injustice of which the noble and learned Lord had complained, for he had found that the rateable value, especially in the case of moderate-sized and large premises, came very nearly up to the annual value; and the Companies as well as the householders had the right of appeal against the assessment.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he did not desire to impose the hearing of counsel on the Committee; but he desired to give them power to hear counsel if they should think fit.

Viscount ENFIELD said, he would put it to their Lordships whether last week it was not the understanding that counsel and witnesses should be excluded, but that the agents of the Water Companies might be heard? The public would be grateful to their Lordships for reading the Bill a second time, and referring it to a fair and an impartial Committee.

The Earl of SELBORNE said, he could not agree with his noble and learned Friend that justice was opposed to the Bill in its present shape. The difficulty arose from the fact that the Waterworks Clauses Act provided that there should be a valuation, but did not say how it should be made. And nothing was more common, under such circumstances, than for the Legislature to explain its own public Act, and to say how that Act should be carried into effect. The contention of the Water Companies appeared to be that the general valuation, which was the basis on which rating for all other public purposes proceeded, should not be the valuation for the water rate. That appeared to him to be neither just nor reasonable; and the Bill, in his judgment, did not interfere with any rights of the Water Companies, but merely provided in a proper way for the rights of the public.

Resolved in the *negative.*

PRINCE HENRY OF BATTENBERG'S NATURALIZATION BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to naturalize His Serene Highness Prince Henry Maurice of Battenberg, and to grant and confer on him all the rights, privileges, and capacities of a natural-born subject of Her Majesty the Queen—Was *presented* (on petition), and read 1^{a}.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES (ENGLAND) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Law relating to the dwellings of the working classes—Was *presented* by The Marquess of Salisbury; read 1^{a}. (No. 177.)

House adjourned at a quarter before
Eight o'clock, till To-morrow,
a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 13*th July,* 1885.

MINUTES.]—New Members Sworn—John Eldon Gorst, esquire, *for* Chatham; Henry John Atkinson, esquire, *for* Lincoln County (Northern Division).

Supply—*considered in Committee*—Army (Supplementary); Army Estimates; Votes 7 to 9

Resolution [July 8] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Medical Relief Disqualification Removal [232].

First Reading—Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) * [233].

Second Reading—Bankruptcy (Office Accommodation) * [215]; Polehampton Estates * [216]; Artillery and Rifle Ranges * [217]; Crofters Holdings (Scotland) [184], *debate adjourned;* Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [224]; Labourers (Ireland) (No. 2) [68]; Public Health (Ships, &c.) * [230]; Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) [231].

Select Committee — Pluralities * [22], Mr. Morgan Lloyd and Mr. Salt *added.*

Committee—Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) [180]—R.P.; Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) [99]—R.P.

Committee—*Report*—Post Office Sites (*re-comm.*)* [193].

QUESTIONS.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he will consult with the Trustees of the National Gallery of Portraits as to the propriety of temporarily removing the pictures to the Bethnal Green Museum, or to the National Galleries of Scotland and of Ireland, pending the construction of a fireproof gallery for their permanent reception?

The FIRST COMMISSIONER: In answer to the hon. Member for County Galway, I have to say that I am in communication with the Trustees of the National Gallery of Portraits as well as with the Treasury on this very important and pressing subject. I can assure him that I am sparing no trouble in order to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, and I hope within a few days to be able to make a definite statement to the House.

Mr. MUNDELLA asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had examined the western gallery of South Kensington, which was one of the finest galleries in the world?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER said, that he had received Reports on all the galleries. He did not now wish to say anything definite; but he was informed that the roof of the gallery in question was by no means fireproof.

RAILWAYS — RAILWAY COUPLINGS — ACCIDENTS TO RAILWAY SERVANTS.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether, in consequence of the appalling loss of life, and the large number of non-fatal accidents, occurring annually to Railway servants engaged in shunting operations, through the present dangerous system of coupling, the Board of Trade directed the attention of their Inspecting Officers of Railways to an Exhibition of Railway Coupling Appliances held at Darlington on October the 3rd, and following days, 1882, with instructions to report thereon; and, if so, will a copy of that report be laid upon the Table of the House; and, whether the Board of Trade will depute one or more of their Inspecting Officers of Railways to examine and report on the various improved Railway couplings, designed with the view of minimising the risk to life and limb, now on view at the Inventions Exhibition; and, if so, will the Board of Trade recommend the adoption by the Railway Companies of such as may be favourably reported on?

THE SECRETARY: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that although some of the Inspecting Officers of the Board of Trade saw the Railway coupling appliances which were shown at the Darlington Exhibition in October, 1882, they did not make any Report to the Board in the matter, because they were not instructed to do so. With reference to the latter part of the Question, I would observe that some of the Inspecting Officers are serving on one of the juries of the Inventions Exhibition in connection with Railway appliances; and the Report of that jury will, no doubt, be made public later on.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF WOODS AND FORESTS—SALE OF LAND TO OCCUPIERS.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the attention of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests has been called to the circular issued by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with reference to the sale of land to occupiers; and, whether the Commissioners intend to adopt a similar scheme with regard to the 70,000 acres of saleable agicultural lands in their charge; and, if not, whether he will state the reasons which have guided the Commissioners in arriving at that decision?

THE SECRETARY: The attention of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests has been called some time since to this circular. I am not aware that they intend to adopt a precisely similar scheme; but they are always ready and willing to sell their agricultural property upon terms fair to both sides, and have done so to a very large amount in the case of detached parcels and outlying properties. I am informed that the Commissioners have no estates consisting wholly or principally of small holdings which could with advantage be brought to sale in the particular manner proposed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

IRELAND—THE COLLECTOR GENERALSHIP OF RATES, DUBLIN.

MR. SEXTON (for Mr. GRAY) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he adheres to the undertaking given by his two predecessors, that the office of Collector General of Rates for Dublin will not be permanently filled up pending the promised legislation on the collection of rates in Dublin?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: The Government are prepared to undertake that this appointment shall remain provisional.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—SWINE FEVER—ANIMALS ORDER, 1884.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If swine can be compulsorily destroyed when affected with contagious disease, and if compensation can be awarded to the owners, as is the case with cattle; and, does this rule extend to Ireland?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY (MR. CHAPLIN), in reply, said that by the Animals Order of 1884 Local Authorities had power to have infected

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swine slaughtered and animals in contact with diseased swine, and they were bound to pay compensation out of the local rates. The provisions of the Order did not extend to Ireland.

Mr. R. H. PAGET asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If he will be good enough to inform the House what steps, if any, are now being taken by the Privy Council to deal with the serious losses resulting from the widespread existence of swine-fever; if he will represent to the Privy Council the propriety of arming local authorities with further powers to enable them to secure proper and habitual cleansing and disinfection of premises used by dealers in swine; and, further, if he is in a position to afford the House any information as to the appointment, powers, and duties of the Agricultural Committee of the Privy Council?

The CHANCELLOR of the DUCHY: In reply to the first part of the Question of my hon. Friend, I may say that an Order of Council, which comes into force on the 21st of July, was passed on the 3rd of this month, the provisions of which, generally speaking, are as follows: — It prohibits the holding of markets, fairs, or sale of swine, either fat or store, throughout England, subject to the following provisions—first, a public sale of fat swine may be held with a licence of the Local Authority, but the animals exposed for sale must be slaughtered within three days; secondly, a public or private sale of swine, either fat or store, may be held without a licence of the Local Authority, provided (1) that the sale is held on premises which are not in a swine-affected place; (2) that no pig on the premises is affected with swine fever; (3) that any pig exposed for sale has been on the premises 28 days before the sale. Provision is also made by the Order for the exhibition of swine at agricultural shows with a licence of the Local Authority on such conditions as they may think fit. Power is reserved to the Privy Council to revoke any such licence, and in any circumstances to grant a licence. With these exceptions all fairs, markets, or sales for swine throughout England are absolutely prohibited from the 21st of this month until the 1st of October. I am quite aware—and that is one of the misfortunes which I greatly lament in connection with this outbreak—that an Order of this kind cannot be enforced without inflicting very considerable inconvenience. But it is inconvenience which I am afraid is inseparable from the arrest and suppression of this disease; and my hon. Friend will perceive that stringent measures are rendered necessary when I mention as showing the rapid increase of this malady that it appears from the Returns which have been received at the Agricultural Department from the Inspectors of Local Authorities that while the average number of outbreaks for the last five years has been about 2,000, over 4,000 outbreaks have occurred within the first six months of the present year already, and it is increasing with great rapidity now. Notwithstanding this, the Privy Council, bearing in mind the satisfactory results of similar Orders in dealing both with cattle plague and foot-and-mouth disease, have every hope that the disease by these means will shortly be checked; but they are quite prepared to adopt further measures if they should be necessary. My hon. Friend also inquires if I will

> "represent to the Privy Council the propriety of arming local authorities with further powers to enable them to secure proper and habitual cleansing of premises used by dealers in swine?"

But I think he has omitted to observe how wide are the powers already conferred on the Local Authority by Article 109 of the Animal Order of 1884. They are as follow: — For requiring the owners, lessees, or occupiers of markets, fairs, sale-yards, places of exhibition, lairs, or other places used for animals, to cleanse those places from time to time at their own expense; for requiring the owners, lessees, or occupiers of those places to disinfect the same or any spefied part thereof from time to time at their own expense, where, in the judgment of the Local Authority, the circumstances are such as to allow of such disinfection being reasonably required; for prescribing the mode in which such cleansing and such disinfection are to be effected. These are the powers already enjoyed; and while I should only be too glad to receive any suggestions from the wide experience of my hon. Friend, it appears to the Privy Council, and that is my own opinion, that the powers already enjoyed are sufficient; and I confess I do not see at this moment how they can be effectually widened. In reply to the third part of the Question of my hon. Friend, I have to say that a Committee of Council for the consideration of all matters relating to agriculture was appointed by the Queen in Council on the 27th of June last. It consists of the Lord President, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, the Earl of Harrowby, the Earl of Lathom, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. By the Order of the 27th of June all matters relating to agriculture are referred to them; and, in the absence of the Lord President, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster presides over the Committee. The Committee, or any two of them, exercise all the powers conferred on the Privy Council by the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act; and the Lord President and the Chancellor of the Duchy are in daily attendance at the office for that purpose. In addition to the duties involved in carrying out the provisions of that Act, the Committee receive and consider all Reports and statistics received from the Colonies and foreign countries, and the Agricultural Returns, both home, foreign, and Colonial, are prepared and issued under their supervision. All the correspondence connected with the above question is carried on by them, and all Orders of Council under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act—of which there were 174 in the year 1884—are passed by them.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked whether the right hon. Gentleman could state how often the Committee referred to in his reply was summoned to meet; how many times it had met since its first appointment; and whether he would lay upon the Table a Return giving particulars as to the attendance of Members of the Committee?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY promised to make further inquiries into the subject.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—THE GRAND JURY, CO. DONEGAL—INQUIRY INTO IMPROPER EXPENDITURE.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the reiterated demands of the Grand Jury of the county Donegal, and especially by resolution at the last Spring Assizes, for a searching inquiry into the alleged improper expenditure of public grants and other moneys intended for the benefit of the Fisheries in Ireland in the construction of public works in useless localities, as well as imperfect in execution; whether he will lay upon the Table of the House Copies of the Resolutions and Correspondence between the Grand Jury (and of the Committee appointed by them) and the Government; and, whether it is a fact that it is now intended by the Government to employ an engineer to investigate the professional part of the matter, only leaving uninvestigated the misapplication of the Public Funds in the various ways alleged?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The Government have decided to have an inspection of these piers made by an independent engineer of undoubted eminence, who will inquire and report not only as to the suitability of the sites selected for these works, but also as to their design and the manner in which they have been executed. I do not understand the hon. Member to allege any "misapplication" or "improper expenditure" which is not covered by these points of reference. I have no objection to produce the Correspondence; but I think it would be better to await the engineer's Report before doing so.

MR. HEALY: What is the engineer's name?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: Mr. Stevenson.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY asked whether the inspection would be confined to the county of Donegal, or would it be extended to other places?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: At present, I think, it will be confined to Donegal; but its extension is under consideration.

INLAND REVENUE—THE INCOME TAX—THE MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT, 1882.

MR. RANKIN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the fact that Income Tax is payable upon the joint income of husband and wife; and, if so, whether, under the provisions of the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, Income Tax should be charged upon the incomes of the husband and

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wife separately, thereby allowing both to claim the exemption or reduction, as the case may be, when their separate incomes are each of them below £150 or £400?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): The joint income of husband and wife living together is, by the Act 5 & 6 *Vict.* c. 35, s. 45, liable to assessment to Income Tax, and this is not affected or over-ridden by anything in the Married Women's Property Act.

POST OFFICE—POSTAL ORDERS.

MR. RANKIN asked the Postmaster General, If any, and, if so, which, of the Colonies have expressed their willingness to adopt the use of Postal Orders with the United Kingdom; and, if he is willing to open up a correspondence with those Colonies that have not so expressed themselves to ascertain if they are disposed to enter into an arrangement to honour such Postal Orders that may be sent from the United Kingdom and presented for payment at any Post Office under their control that already are authorized to pay Money Orders, so that all the advantages given by the Act of Parliament passed in 1883 may not any longer remain unused by the friends of emigrants residing in this Country?

THE POSTMASTER: I am glad to inform the hon. Member that the postal order system has been extended to Malta and Gibraltar, and that arrangements have been made, and are now in force, which enable persons in India, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlement to remit money by means of postal orders to the United Kingdom. About 12 months ago a similar proposal was made by my Predecessor to the Canadian Post Office; but although further communications have been addressed to that Department no decision has been received.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—SUB-COMMISSIONERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it intended shortly to disemploy any more Sub-Commissioners under the Land Act; if so, who they are; and, how many Sub-Commissioners will then be left?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: I am not in a position to give a definite answer to this Question at present. The whole matter is under consideration.

MR. HEALY: Will the information be forthcoming before the Vote for the Land Commission is taken?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: I think so, but I will inquire.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — APPOINTMENTS IN THE SURVEYOR'S DEPARTMENT.

MR. HEALY asked the Postmaster General, What is the number of officers belonging to English offices who have been transferred temporarily or permanently for duty in the Surveyor's Department in the Post Office in Ireland during the past seven years; the number belonging to Irish offices who have been similarly transferred to England; what special qualification was possessed by those English officials for their respective posts, which was wanting in the Irish officers; whether the heads of every Department in the Post Office Service in Ireland, with two exceptions, are Englishmen or Scotchmen, or officers drawn from those Countries; and, whether he will give an assurance that, in future vacancies, the Irish officers will not again be passed over by officers from English offices, or, as an alternative, to give the Irish officers a reciprocal advantage of being appointed to similar vacancies in England?

THE POSTMASTER: In replying to the inquiries of the hon. Member, I may say that the question of nationality in no degree affects my selection of officers for employment on surveying duty in either England, Scotland, or Ireland, those officers being chosen who are considered best qualified, without any regard to the land of their birth. I cannot, therefore, give any such assurance as the hon. Member asks me to give. In reply to his specific Questions, I beg leave to say that during the last seven years eight officers have been sent to Ireland from England, and one to England from Ireland, for employment on surveying duty. In each case such officer was selected either because no other possessed equal qualifications or could be spared for temporary duty when the employment was of that character. Of the heads of departments of the Post Office in Ireland, five, I believe, are Irishmen, one is an Englishman, and one a Scotchman.

GENERAL GORDON—A PUBLIC MONUMENT.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose to the House a Vote for the purpose of erecting a monument to General Gordon in Trafalgar Square or elsewhere?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: We think that it would be in accordance with a very general feeling both in this House and in the country that there should be a memorial to General Gordon of the kind indicated in the Question of my right hon. Friend, and when we have fully considered the question of the position and the precise character of the memorial, we shall be prepared to propose a Vote to the House on the subject.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, that he should like to know whether the Government were in possession of authentic information showing that General Gordon had been killed?

[No reply.]

ELECTRIC LIGHTING ACT, 1882—LEGISLATION.

MR. WARTON asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether the Government intend to take into consideration the question of amending "The Electric Lighting Act, 1882?"

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS): Her Majesty's Government do not propose to undertake the consideration of this question during the present Session.

MERCANTILE MARINE—CERTIFICATES OF COMPETENCY.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, If he will be good enough to inform the House the number of candidates who annually present themselves for examination as officers and engineers for service in the Mercantile Marine, stating the average number failing to pass on their first examination; and, if it is correct that candidates failing on first presenting themselves must, on coming up for re-examination, pay the full amount of fees; if so, whether he will, as in all other public examinations, cause a moiety of the fees to be remitted?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS): I can at once give the hon. Member the figures which will answer the first part of his Question for one year. If he desires information for other years, I shall be glad to give it to him hereafter. The numbers of applicants for masters' and mates' and engineers' certificates of competency, during the year ended 31st May, 1885, including repeated applications by the same persons, were as follows:—Masters and mates, 4,085; engineers, 1,783. The actual numbers of persons who failed to pass on their first application were 2,241 masters and mates, and 390 engineers. It is the fact that candidates failing on first presenting themselves must, on coming up for re-examination, pay the full amount of fees. As regards the last part of the Question, the fact is that the same rule applies in all the examinations held by the Civil Service Commissioners—namely, that no part of the fee is returned to applicants who fail. The Rule acted on by the Board of Trade was made as long ago as 1877.

NAVY—TORPEDO EXPERIMENTS.

MR. GOURLEY asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the experiments which have for some time been conducted at Sheerness by Mr. Brennan, in controlling torpedoes, have been brought to a conclusion; if so, with what result; whether experiments with torpedo controlling apparatus are being conducted by Admiral Hornby with the Evolutionary Squadrons; and, if it be correct that Mr. Robert Scott, of Newcastle, recently offered the Admiralty a torpedo guiding apparatus capable of controlling submarine torpedoes a distance of three miles; if so, what arrangements the Admiralty have made for conducting the necessary experiments?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON): The Brennan torpedo has been taken up and is being worked out by the War Office, and the Admiralty has nothing to do with it. No experiments with torpedo controlling apparatus are being conducted by Admiral Hornby. Mr. Scott offered this apparatus, which, he stated, would enable the torpedo to be controlled at a distance of three or four miles. No arrangements were made,

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as, after a careful examination, it was found unsuitable for the Naval Service.

EGYPT—THE SOUDAN—THE TROOPS AT SUAKIN.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the fact that an order was issued at Suakin, directing that all men should be shown in the returns as effective, whether in hospital or not, except those who were actually invalided on board ship; and, if so, whether he can state the number of hospitals on shore, and the maximum number of men in those hospitals returned as effective?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH): It is stated by Sir Gerald Graham, by the Chief of the Staff, by the Deputy Adjutant General, and by the Principal Medical Officer, that no such order was issued. There appears to be some misunderstanding on the part of the hon. Member as to the technical meaning of the word "effective." Effective does not necessarily mean efficient; and soldiers are always borne on the strength of their regiments as effectives until actually invalided from the station.

THE DEPRESSION OF TRADE—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he can state when the Royal Commission for inquiry into the Depression of Trade will be issued; and, whether he will give an assurance that, before the end of the present Session, the terms of the Commission, including the names of the Commissioners, will be communicated to the House?

MR. HENEAGE asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would cause inquiry to be made at the same time into the inconveniences attending a limited gold currency and the advantages of a legal silver currency?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am afraid that I cannot state the exact date upon which the Royal Commission will be issued; but I think I can undertake that the terms of the Commission and the names of the Commissioners shall be communicated to the House before the close of the Session. In reply to the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), I may say that there is no doubt as to the great importance of the subject to which he refers, and we shall consider how far we can include matters connected with it in the scope of the Commissioners' inquiry.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: The right hon. Gentleman said, on Friday last, he would make a statement on the subject referred to in my Question.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I shall not have any statement to make until I am able to communicate to the House the terms of the Commission and the names of its Members.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE MURDER OF MRS. NOLAN.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the murder of a woman named Nolan in the county Kerry; whether it is true, as stated in the papers, that her husband, who is charged with the murder, was discharged from prison a month ago on ticket of leave "in consequence of showing signs of insanity;" and, whether, if this be true, any notice will be taken of the conduct of the prison authorities in discharging the prisoner under the circumstances?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): Nolan was convicted of a Whiteboy offence in 1881, and sentenced to five years' penal servitude. Soon after his imprisonment, and on several subsequent occasions, his wife memorialized for his release, and the usual reference was made to the Judge; but it was not considered advisable to comply with her prayer, owing to the unsettled state of the locality. In April last the convict himself sent in a memorial, and on the usual form attached thereto the medical officers of the prison reported for the first time that the convict was weak-minded, but in good health. Lord Spencer, after some local inquiries, felt enabled to order Nolan's release on licence, and he was accordingly discharged. The discharge was not on the ground of ill-health or in consequence of his showing signs of insanity. No report was ever made that he showed signs of insanity, and his conduct in prison was always reported as good.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked what was the verdict of the Coroner's jury?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY asked for Notice of the Question.

NAVY — SHIPBUILDING — NAVAL EXPENDITURE (THE VOTE OF CREDIT).

Mr. A. F. EGERTON asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he will issue as a supplement to the Navy Estimates an amended programme of Shipbuilding in Her Majesty's Dockyards and by contract, showing the allocation of the additional sums granted by Parliament?

Mr. RYLANDS asked whether there was any truth in the report that the excess of expenditure for naval purposes had proved to be greater than the amount stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget Speech?

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY (Lord George Hamilton): In answer to the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), I have to say that I hope we have got to the bottom of the discrepancy with reference to the excess of expenditure to which he alludes. In answer to the Question upon the Paper, I have to say that an amended programme will be prepared by the Constructors' Department in conference with the several Dockyards as rapidly as possible. It will, however, take some time to prepare — three weeks or so—and until the ships, vessels, and boats forming the Evolutionary Squadron have returned to the ports the estimate can only be approximate.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER — ACCOMMODATION IN THIS HOUSE.

Mr. BROADHURST asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether, having regard to the great inconvenience now experienced by honourable Members on one side of the House through the impossibility of obtaining seats from which to put Questions and to discharge their Parliamentary duties, and the further probability that this unequal division of Members with respect to the sides of the House may possibly continue after the next General Election, he will at his earliest convenience consider some plan of providing accommodation for the Representatives of the People in the House of Commons?

The FIRST COMMISSIONER of WORKS (Mr. Plunket): The important and difficult question of providing better accommodation for Members in this House is one which has from time to time been urged very strongly upon the Government of the day ever since the Select Committee appointed in 1867 reported on the subject. But on each occasion when there has been a debate in this House there has been found to exist great differences of opinion, not only as to what ought to be done, but also as to whether anything ought to be done in the way of change. I have not myself had time yet fully to consider the subject, but I hope to go carefully into it during the Recess. No doubt, the inconvenience experienced by hon. Gentlemen opposite under the present exceptional circumstances is very acute, and I should be very glad if it were in my power to give some temporary relief; but I am afraid I cannot. The hon. Member says in his Question that "the present unequal division of Members may possible continue after the next General Election." I doubt, however, whether, if the present Opposition as greatly outnumber us in the next Parliament as they do now, they are very likely to allow us to remain where we are; and, on the other hand, I should rather hope that we may contrive in the meantime to get rid of the difficulty in another way. However that may be, as I have said, I will go into the question carefully during the autumn; and I shall be very glad to confer with the hon. Member for Stoke on the subject.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE RUSSIAN ATTACK ON PENJDEH.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can give any information regarding the Arbitration to determine whether the attacks by the Russians on the Afghans in the neighbourhood of Penjdeh was consistent with the promises of the Russian Government?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. Bourke): No definite arrangement has been come to on this subject. A case has been put in on behalf of the British Government, but the matter has not been arranged.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—DEATH OF PETER O'GARA IN A POLICE CELL AT SLIGO.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the death of a man named Peter O'Gara, in the lock-up or

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strong room of Constabulary Barrack No. 1, in the town of Sligo, on the 25th of May, Whether the Irish Government have noted the following sworn statement made at the inquest, namely, that after Peter O'Gara, charged with being under the influence of liquor, was placed in the lock-up, another man, arrested on the same charge, was put into the same cell; that the cell was left in total darkness; that the orderly room was at some distance from the cell; that the orderly constable visited the cell about five times in three hours, and that, on entering the cell about three hours after O'Gara had been placed there, he found O'Gara dead, and covered with blood, and bearing numerous wounds, and the other man partly undressed, and having blood on his face and hands; what is the rule in constabulary barracks in Ireland with regard to visits by the orderly to a cell in which prisoners in a state of intoxication are confined; whether the Government will order that no person in a state of intoxication shall be placed in the same cell with one or more other prisoners, unless an orderly is in the cell, or unless the persons in it are under his constant observation; and, whether there is any rule that the cells should be left in total darkness?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The facts are substantially as stated; but it appears that the orderly visited the cell five times in two hours, his last visit being about 15 minutes before the time at which O'Gara was found dead, and all appeared to be right on that occasion. The Coroner's jury found that no blame was to be attached to the police; but the Government have asked the Inspector General to consider whether the regulation as to visits to intoxicated persons —which was framed to meet such cases as this—might not be made more stringent. There is no rule that the cells should be left in darkness.

INDIA—DEFENCES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether Her Majesty's Government, or the Government of India, intend to construct any Military railways, roads, or other works, on or beyond the North Western frontier of India besides those mentioned in the Despatch of the Government of India of the 22nd September 1844 and the Bolan Railway? The hon. Member also inquired whether there was any truth in the statement that Her Majesty's Government intended to form a military cordon at or near Candahar, or to take any other steps for the occupation of that place?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): In reply to the Question on the Paper, I have to say that I have no knowledge of any intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government or the Government of India to construct any military roads or railways or other works besides those mentioned in the despatch of the 22nd of September, 1884. With regard to the further Question of the hon. Member, it appears to me that he has for the moment forgotten that Afghanistan is an independent State.

EGYPT—ALLEGED SLAVERY.

MR. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been drawn to a pamphlet entitled "Scandals in Cairo in connection with Slavery," recently published under the auspices of the British and Foreign Slavery Society, to whom the documents, in proof of the statements made, have been submitted, which affirms the complicity of the Khedive and several high Egyptian officials in the maintenance of the slave trade; and, whether the Foreign Office will direct an investigation into the grave charges so made against the officials concerned?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BOURKE): I have received a pamphlet which I think the hon. Member himself was good enough to send me. If the accusations made in the pamphlet are supported by names of persons, it shall certainly be sent out to the Egyptian Government; but as the pamphlet is anonymous, it does not appear to me necessary to do so. If the authors of the statements containtained in this pamphlet will send their names to the Foreign Office, then it will be sent to the Egyptian Government.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE TELEGRAPH ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

MR. HOULDSWORTH asked the Postmaster General, When he expects to be in a position to state to the House the course he proposes to pursue in reference to the Telegraph Acts Amendment Bill?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS) said, that in the course of a conversation held a little while ago, he had stated that, although the Government were not disposed to go on with the Bill themselves, they would give the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) an opportunity of doing so. His right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would endeavour to find an early day for the right hon. Gentleman opposite to take up the subject, and when the Bill was in Committee, he hoped himself to be able to move an Amendment. In that way the House would have a fair opportunity of considering the whole subject. The Government had, under those circumstances, an expectation that the Bill would become law this Session.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the course pointed out by the noble Lord was most satisfactory to him, and he should be quite prepared to submit the question to the House.

THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE" AND THE METROPOLITAN POLICE.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to an article which was printed and published in the newspaper called *The Pall Mall Gazette* on the 10th instant, and which charges certain members of the Metropolitan Police Force with bribery, corruption, and other acts of grave misconduct; and, whether there is any foundation for these charges?

MR. HIBBERT also asked, whether, seeing that the charges in question reflected generally on the conduct of the Police, the right hon. Gentleman would, in the interests of the Force, at once institute a searching inquiry as to the truth or otherwise of those accusations?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): With reference to this Question, I observe that the charges are general and that no names are given. All I can say is, that if any facts are stated and names given, I shall feel it my duty to try to get to the bottom of the charges, and a most full inquiry will be made, because, in the interests of the police themselves as well as of the public, it is important that, if such charges are unfounded, they should be declared to be so.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that the authorities of the City of London have instituted proceedings against certain persons for offering for sale obscene publications and for displaying obscene placards in the public streets; and, whether these publications were numbers of the newspaper called *The Pall Mall Gazette*, and, why similar steps have not been taken with regard to the vendors of the same publications and against the exhibitors of the same placards within the Metropolitan Police area?

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked whether it was intended to take any steps against the editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* with reference to the articles that had appeared in that paper and had excited a great deal of public attention?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT: With reference to the first Question, I have to say that I am aware that some proceedings have been taken in the City of London against the newsvendors who were offering *The Pall Mall Gazette* for sale. In my opinion, if proceedings are to be taken at all, it is not desirable to take such proceedings against the persons who sell the papers. With reference to the Question of my right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor, I must ask him to give me Notice of it.

MR. JAMES STUART asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, considering the allegations made against the Metropolitan Police of collusion between them and Mrs. Jeffreys, who was lately convicted of keeping a disorderly house in Chelsea, he intends to take any notice of the conduct of the police in this matter; whether he intends to take any step to restore his pension to late Inspector Minahan, who was the means of bringing this scandal to light; and, whether the police, who charged a man named Baring (a witness in the late Jeffreys' case), and who assaulted another man named Stoneham, who complained at the station of the violence used by the

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police in taking Baring into custody, have been reprimanded?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT: With regard to the first and second paragraphs of this Question, they refer to matters dealt with by my Predecessor in Office, and no new facts have been brought before us, therefore I have taken no proceedings. With regard to the last paragraph of the Question, I have to call the hon. Member's attention to the fact that the magistrates came properly to a conclusion, and held that there was no evidence to support the slightest foundation for such a charge, and they considered the police were justified in their original arrest, and that there had been no undue violence.

EGYPT—THE NILE EXPEDITION—STEAMERS ON THE NILE.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, How many shallow water, portable, and other steel-clad steamers have been sent to the Nile; if he will be good enough to inform the House, their tonnage, draft of water, and description of guns with which they have been fitted; and, whether, during high Nile, it is intended to utilise them in relieving the garrison of Kassala?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH): Eighteen shallow-water portable steel steamers have been sent to the Nile. One is of 175 tons and the other 17 are of about 100 tons. Their draught of water is limited to 30 inches. Five of the steamers carry each a 9-pounder central pivot gun, and two Nordenfelts. It is not proposed to employ these vessels in operations for the relief of Kassala.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—RESIDENT MAGISTRATES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether steps are being taken, in view of the expiration of the Irish Coercion Act at the close of the present Session, to discharge the resident magistrates and other officials appointed for the purposes of that statute, and to withdraw extra police from any localities upon which they are now quartered?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): There are no Resident Magistrates or other officials appointed specially for the purposes of the Prevention of Crimes Act, although some of them have necessarily discharged duties in connection with it. One district may be said to be nominally still proclaimed for extra police under that Act; but the proclamation is practically suspended and will shortly be revoked. There is no other district so proclaimed.

MR. SEXTON: Is it not a fact that a number of Resident Magistrates were specially appointed to carry out the provisions of the Crimes Act; and will they not be discontinued, now that the Act is to be allowed to lapse?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: I was not aware of that. It would be better to put the Question on the Paper.

POISONS BILL—POISONOUS PATENT MEDICINES.

MR. WARTON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Government contemplate taking any steps with respect to poisonous patent medicines; and, whether it would be possible to issue such a stamp to be affixed to patent medicines as would avoid the appearance of giving a Government guarantee of the goodness or harmlessness of such medicines?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): In reply to the first part of the Question, I have to say that the Government do not intend to proceed with the Bill introduced in "another place" by their Predecessors. As regards the second part, the stamp will be altered so as to make it plain that there is no Government guarantee of the medicine. The stamps will in future contain the words "This stamp implies no Government guarantee." Specimens were submitted to and approved by my Predecessor, and the engraver to the Inland Revenue is now engaged upon the preparation of the requisite plates. It is expected that the new plates will be completed and the present stock of old stamps exhausted within two months from now.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—MAIL SERVICE BETWEEN DUBLIN AND THE WEST.

MR. SEXTON asked the Postmaster General, What stage the negotiations between his predecessor and the Midland Railway Company of Ireland, with reference to the establishment of an improved day Mail Service between Dublin and the West of Ireland, had reached when the present Government came into office; whether he has noted that, under the present system, the merchants and traders of the West of Ireland are subjected to a delay of twenty-four hours in dealing with letters and orders; whether the sum in dispute between the Department and the Company for the annual cost of the improved service is only about £2,000; and, whether, in deference to the desire of the Irish Members of all parties, steps will be taken to close the arrangement with the Company?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS): The Midland Great Western Railway Company demanded a sum of £14,700 a-year in addition to the existing payments for a complete scheme providing for the desired acceleration of the day mail service with the West of Ireland; but my Predecessor was of opinion that the utmost payment that the circumstances would warrant was £7,000 a-year. This was accordingly offered to the Company, who declined it. With the view, however, of coming to a settlement if possible, it was thought right to make a proposal under which a less complete measure of improvement would have been effected for a payment to the Company of £6,000 a-year; but they still did not see their way to meet the views of the Department, and demanded £9,000 a-year. I can find no grounds for differing from the opinion which my Predecessor formed on the subject after repeated consideration, and I regret that I can hold out little expectation of an agreement with the Railway Company, unless they will consent to an abatement of their demand. I am aware that an improved day mail service would prevent considerable delay, and by affording an opportunity for reply the same day would accelerate some portion of the correspondence by 24 hours.

COLONIAL BONDS—INSUFFICIENCY OF NOTICE OF REPAYMENT.

MR. FRANCIS BUXTON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been called to the great inconvenience arising to holders of some Colonial Bonds, such as New Zealand Five per Cent. 5-30 Bonds, from the insufficiency of the notice given by the Crown Agents for the Colonies when such bonds are to be paid off, such notice being only an advertisement in *The London Gazette* six months previously; and, whether he would recommend to the Crown Agents that proper notice should be given on presentation of the last coupon payable, either in writing or by stamping the cheque, that no further interest would be paid, and that the bonds must be presented for payment, rather than that they should allow the money to lie idle in their hands without interest until the bonds happen to be presented?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (COLONEL STANLEY): My attention had not been drawn to the inconvenience stated until the hon. Member put his Question. I am inclined to think that he has been misinformed as to the supposed insufficiency of notice. In the case referred to six months' notice had to be given by advertisement in *The Times* and *The London Gazette.* In point of fact, the publicity given largely exceeded this requirement. The advertisement appeared six times in *The Times*, five times in another daily paper, and 48 times in leading financial and other newspapers—59 times in all. In addition, notices have been posted in the coupon office of the Crown Agents since August last, and in *The Times* of last March there was inserted a special warning to the bondholders that the interest on the bonds had ceased. I understand that there would be practical difficulties in adopting the course suggested in the Question, and I have no authority to deal with the matter; but if after my answer the hon. Member still wishes to press his views, I shall be happy to confer with him and to put him in communication with the Crown Agents.

NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND)—PENSION FUND—THE VALUATION.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state what progress has been made with the valuation of the Irish National School Teachers' Pension Fund; and, are the funds sufficient to permit of a reduction of five years from the present age for maximum pension; and, if so, when will the new revision scheme come into operation?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): The valuation of this fund has just been

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completed, and the Actuary's Report containing it is now under consideration. The surplus of assets over liabilities shown by the valuation would certainly not admit of a reduction of five years in the age for compulsory retirement.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—NORTH PORTARLINGTON DIVISION, MOUNTMELLICK UNION.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether representations have been made to the Local Government Board that the return of one of the candidates at the last election of guardians for the North Portarlington Division of the Mountmellick Union was secured by the admission of a number of claims to vote which were in fact illegal, and the rejection of a number of claims to vote which were duly lodged; and, whether he will direct an inquiry to be held on the spot by a Local Government Board official?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke): Representations have been made to the effect stated; but the Local Government Board, after very careful consideration, do not think that a *primâ facie* case has been made out for an inquiry, or that the facts which have been brought to their notice afford reasonable grounds for doubting the validity of the return.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS (IRELAND) —THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN—MR. ERRINGTON.

Mr. CALLAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will have any objection to lay upon the Table of the House, Copy of the "Record" which, in 1883, the late Prime Minister promised, in consequence of the "prolonged and repeated visits of Mr. Errington to Rome," should be made and kept from time to time of these proceedings for the purpose of transmission to future Secretaries of State; and also Copy of all Memoranda and Correspondence in connection with the "irregular communications" made by the Foreign Office or any Member or Members of Her Majesty's late Government, through Mr. Errington or any other "recommended" agent, to any member or agent of the Papal Court, especially with reference to the appointment to the Archbishopric of Dublin?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. Bourke): I am informed the record alluded to in this Question consists of some letters which have been left in the Office evidently for the inspection of the Secretary of State. As there is no current business conducted at present by the Foreign Office to which they can possibly refer, Lord Salisbury has not thought it necessary to examine them. If they contain a record of any confidential communications, these could, of course, only be published with the consent of the person to whom or by whom they were made.

Mr. CALLAN: Arising out of the answer, might I ask the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs if he can inform the House whether Mr. Errington, as a matter of fact, communicated or conveyed, at the request of the late Government, any communication of any kind whatever to any of the officials of the Papal Court at the request of any Member of the late Government respecting the appointment to the Archbishopric of Dublin, and, if so, what was the nature of it?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS: I have not seen these communications, nor do I mean to read them if I do see them. I believe that is also the present intention of Lord Salisbury; and, therefore, under these circumstances, it is impossible for me to give any information with respect to the contents of the letters.

Mr. CALLAN: Then I will ask the late Prime Minister whether, in view of the answer just given by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who, I presume, has had a consultation with Lord Salisbury, he will have any objection to placing on the Table of the House a copy of the communications referred to, or whether he considers it to be consistent with his duty still to persist in suppressing and concealing from the House and from the people of Ireland the nature of the irregular communications which passed between the Court of Rome and the author of "Vaticanism?"

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have some difficulty in gathering the effect of the hon. Gentleman's Question; but I think

I can so far relieve him from any necessity of prosecuting the subject further in connection with myself by saying that I know nothing whatever of these communications.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SCOTCH BUSINESS.

MR. RAMSAY asked the Junior Lord of the Treasury the specific subject for the consideration of the meeting of Scottish Members which had been convened for 3 o'clock to-morrow? It would be satisfactory to the Scottish Members if the hon. Member for Bute could state the object of the meeting.

THE LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. DALRYMPLE) said, although the meeting was of a private character, he was very happy to answer the Question. The object of the meeting was simply for the purpose of ascertaining the opinion of the Scottish Members with reference to the Universities Bill. Before he sent out the notice, he put himself in communication with the late Lord Advocate, so as to be informed of his opinion on the subject. He did not place any *agenda* on the paper convening the meeting, as he did not wish to limit the subjects which might be brought up, especially as it would be most important to have the opinion of the Scottish Members on any Business which might be before Parliament at the present time.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT asked when it was proposed to take the next stage of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill? He understood that it had been fixed for to-morrow.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) said, the Government had not anticipated that the Bill would be taken to-morrow, when it was proposed to put down the Education Estimates as the first Order. They proposed, however, to proceed with the Bill on the earliest possible day.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS — FIXING OF POLLING PLACES.

MR. HENEAGE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the action of certain magistrates at a formal meeting of the Quarter Sessions for Lindsey, held to receive the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the Scheme drawn up by the Clerk of the Peace, after due consultation with the agents of both political parties, who expunged the Hainton polling place, leaving the majority of voters in that district from four to five miles to go to the poll at the next General Election, although Hainton was and is now a polling place for Mid-Lincolnshire, and the Hainton School-room is within three miles of all those resident in the district assigned to it; whether he is aware that some of the magistrates alluded to are connected either with the polling district or the petty sessional division of which it forms part, and that the whole scheme had been unanimously approved by the finance committee, advertised in the county papers, and generally assented to throughout Lindsey; and, whether there is any provision in any Act connected with Parliamentary elections which will enable the memorial of the inhabitants of the district to be heard, and the local authority to remedy this or any other grievance in those schemes, for providing polling places which have been already formally approved and adopted throughout the Country?

SIR BERNHARD SAMUELSON asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he can point out, in the Acts of this or of previous Sessions, any provisions enabling persons to obtain redress in those cases in which the local authorities have not made adequate provision of polling places to enable voters to record their votes without too great loss of time and other inconveniences?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) said, it seemed to him that the magistrates who had fixed the polling places had exercised a very wise discretion, and had done their best to meet the convenience of the district. The fixing of polling places depended upon the Acts of 1867, 1883, and 1885, and the remedy to any person who thought that the provisions of the Acts had not been complied with was to move for a writ of *mandamus* to compel the authorities to make proper appointments.

ARMY—THE BOXER CARTRIDGE.

MR. JERNINGHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a

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Statement addressed to him by General E. M. Boxer on the subject of the alleged failure of the Boxer Cartridge in the late operations in the Soudan?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH): The transactions to which this Memorandum refers occurred 15 years ago. There is much controversial matter in the statement; and as the ordinary means of publication are open to General Boxer, I must decline to present it officially to Parliament.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, considering the extraordinary importance of the subject, the Medical Relief Bill would be read a second time to-morrow, and whether he would also undertake to insert a clause giving a positive and direct instruction to the overseers to make out supplementary lists of voters who had been omitted from the regular lists through receiving medical relief?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he could make no promise as to such a technical point as that suggested; but, of course, the President of the Local Government Board would attend to the matter, and, no doubt, if such a clause were necessary, would put it in. It was their wish to proceed with the Bill as rapidly as possible, and if they were able to have the Bill circulated to-morrow morning, they would ask the House to give it the second reading to-morrow.

NAVY—FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE ADMIRALTY.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the form of the promised inquiry respecting the finances had been considered, and whether it would be departmental or would be a full and searching inquiry by a Committee of that House?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON): As Lord Northbrook proposes to make a statement on this subject in "another place" to-morrow, and considering the high position he has occupied, not only in the late Liberal Government, but in previous Administrations, it would not be proper or courteous to him for the Government to publicly express the exact shape or nature of the inquiry they propose to institute until they are in possession of the statement which Lord Northbrook proposes to make.

EGYPT—THE SOUDAN—REPORTED DEATH OF THE MAHDI.

MR. BRODRICK: I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has any official information of the reported death of the Mahdi?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BOURKE) said, the Government had received from official sources information to the same effect as that which was given in the newspapers; but there was nothing definite.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—RIOT AT WATERFORD.

MR. P. J. POWER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has received any information from Waterford respecting a very serious riot which took place there yesterday between the police and the military?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH): It is the case, I am sorry to say, that a disturbance took place at Waterford yesterday. I have received the following telegram from the General Officer commanding in Ireland:—

> "Telegram just received from General Officer commanding Cork, reporting disturbance at Waterford last night between troops and civilians. One civilian stabbed by picket sentry and died. Troops confined to barracks and Court of Inquiry ordered."

I can give no further information than is contained in the newspapers until the Report is received.

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. MACFARLANE said, he saw by the Orders that the Crofters' Bill was marked with the asterisk as if it were a Government Order. He wished to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if it was intended to proceed with it?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: That is a mistake; it ought not to be "starred."

DR. CAMERON said, that, as there was no block against this Bill, if no one else did, he would move the second reading of the Bill when the Order was reached.

MR. J. LOWTHER: In the event of the second reading being moved, I shall move that the Order be discharged.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY).

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH): Sir Arthur Otway, this Vote for Men was laid on the Table of the House on the 27th of April last. It formed part of the preparations which were then sanctioned by the House in the Vote of Credit for various Departments. From some cause or other the Vote for Men was not then taken; but to a considerable extent the men themselves have been raised, and it has become necessary that a Vote should be taken in order to give legal authority to what has been done. No doubt, the late Government entertained a hope that it might not be necessary—I hope also that it may not be necessary now—that the whole force of 35,000 men should be raised. But the Vote having been laid upon the Table, and the circumstances under which it was asked for being now, to a large extent, the same as those which existed then, it does not appear to the Government that they can ask at present for a less number than 35,000 men. I share the hope expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) on Thursday last, that the negotiations which are now proceeding may terminate satisfactorily so far as the delimination of the frontier between Afghanistan and Russia is concerned; but there can be no doubt that a delay has occurred which, at all events, has prevented an agreement or understanding on that question, and, inasmuch as this Vote is part of the whole understanding on which Parliament sanctioned the Vote of Credit, it does not appear to me nor to the Government possible to ask for a less number of men; but, at the same time, I may say that there is no intention on the part of the Government to call up the men to the Colours if they are not required, and if the occasion does not arise. Between 11,000 and 12,000 men under the operation of the orders issued by the late Government have been called to the Colours, and they have responded with great alacrity to the demand made for their services. To that extent the numbers borne on the strength of the Army are in excess of those authorized by Parliament at the present moment, and, therefore, it is absolutely necessary to submit this Vote in the form in which I now submit it. I confess that I am reluctant, and as far as the Government are concerned they are reluctant, to ask for the whole Vote. We have entertained the hope that a complete understanding might have been arrived at with Russia before this period. While Her Majesty's Government have no intention to advance in any degree beyond the demands, with reference to the Afghanistan Frontier, of their Predecessors, the House and the country will feel that it is impossible for them to recede from the engagements which have been deliberately entered into by the Government of this country with the Ameer of Afghanistan. We hope that an arrangement may shortly be concluded; but, until it is concluded, we must maintain the condition of preparation which the late Government thought to be necessary, and which we ourselves believe to be necessary. I, therefore, ask for power from the Committee to raise the full number of 35,000 men if it should be deemed necessary.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a further number of Land Forces, not exceeding 35,000 (all ranks), be maintained for the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, at Home and Abroad, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not propose to question in any way the discretion of the Government in moving this Vote for 35,000 men. I must, however, point out that the course which is being taken with regard to the Vote of Credit and this Vote is not absolutely consistent. This Estimate was laid on the Table at the same time as the Vote of Credit for £11,000,000, and it was then contemplated that a large increase of the Army should be made, not only by the process of suspending the

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transfer from the Colours to the Reserve, but also by calling up a larger number of Reserve men to the Colours. Subsequently, my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) stated to the House that, in consequence of the changed aspect of affairs, it was probable that the whole Vote of Credit for £11,000,000 would not be expended, and he stated what proportion of the sum would probably be spent, and what it would probably be necessary to provide out of the Ways and Means of the year. That Estimate has been in substance, as I understand, adopted by the present Government. A revised Vote of Credit, therefore, will obviously not provide for so large an increase in the Army as was asked for by the late Government. That portion of the Vote of Credit which was to have been expended upon guns and military stores in Egypt, of course, is not susceptible of much reduction; but, with the Ways and Means available to the Government, I may point out that it is not possible to provide for the 35,000 men asked for. It is perfectly true, as the right hon. Gentleman has pointed out, that an addition of some kind is necessary. From the process of retaining men with the Colours who would have passed into the Reserve there is, at the present moment, a considerable number of men in excess of the Establishment. What that excess will be it is impossible to say until it is decided how long the Proclamation suspending the men from passing out into the Reserve is to remain in force. It was not the intention of the late Government, or my intention, if no further change had occurred in the affairs of Afghanistan or in the negotiations with Russia, to have asked for the whole of these 35,000 men. I recognize, however, the force of the observations made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite; and on his assurance that it is not proposed to call out any further number of men unless they are absolutely required, I do not think it is necessary to insist on any reduction of the Vote, though, perhaps, a more logical course than that proposed might have been adopted. There is, however, one question which may be most conveniently asked on this Vote, and that is, whether the Government have formed any intention of increasing the number of troops which it had been previously decided to retain in Egypt? The Committee will have seen, from the Papers presented the other day, that it is not intended to withdraw the troops on the Nile further than Wady Halfa; and that the Province of Dongola, as far as Akasbeh, and the railway, are to be held. I do not now want to criticize that position. As a matter of fact, no decision had been come to, as to what was to be done with the Nile Railway, when the late Government left Office; and it is not very clear what useful object can be served by the railway when the Province of Dongola and the principal positions in that Province have been relinquished in pursuance of the orders given by the late Government. But what I desire to ask is, whether that decision to complete the railway and to protect it would involve the detention, on the frontier of Egypt, of a larger Force than was previously contemplated. Lord Wolseley has stated in one of the Papers which have been presented, that the number of battalions of Infantry required, exclusive of the garrison of Suakin, for Egypt, Assouan, and the Nile Frontier is 12½ battalions. In a telegram presented in the Papers printed the other day, Lord Wolseley suggests that if it were intended not to retire from Dongola, it would be necessary to maintain 18½ battalions instead of 12½ battalions. As I understand no decision has been arrived at by the Government to retain Dongola, I wish to ask whether their decision to keep the railway and to protect it would, in their opinion, entail an increase of the Force for the police of Lower Egypt and the protection of the Nile Frontier, and whether such a decision would not diminish the possibility of the Force being very considerably reduced? In the Papers previously presented, the Committee will see that the Government accepted the advice of Lord Wolseley and General Stephenson on that point pending further consideration. They were, however, of opinion that the Force mentioned as necessary to be retained in Egypt would, in all probability, be found to be excessive; and if there was no advance on the part of the Mahdi, they were inclined to think that it would not be requisite to maintain a permanent Force as large as that indicated by Lord Wolseley. But now, if a considerable

Force is to be employed in the protection of a railway considerably in advance of the frontier previously decided upon, it is doubtful whether such a reduction of the Force would be possible. The only question I desire to put now is, whether the Government have, in consequence of the decision to complete the railway and protect it, formed any opinion as to the increase of Force in Egypt that will be necessary?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE: I may at once reply to the noble Marquess that there is no intention on the part of the Government to increase the Force in Egypt by reason of the retention of the railway which has been in course of construction, and for which all the materials and the rolling stock are on the spot. The Government do not think it right, under all the circumstances of the case, that a railway which has been constructed at a considerable expense, and the construction of which had not been stopped when they took Office, should be forthwith abandoned. It was represented that the holding of that position would be a valuable strategical operation, and that it would enable us to check any rapid advance from the South. Under the circumstances, seeing that the railway would be behind the Force which would hold the head of the railway, it was considered desirable to accede to the wishes of the Officer commanding. There is, I repeat, no intention to increase the Force in Egypt, and it will give the Government satisfaction if, after consultation with Lord Wolseley, they find that it may be possible to decrease it. I can only repeat, so far as the original Vote is concerned, the assurance that I have given before. It is not proposed to increase the strength of the Army beyond the extent that may be required for the exigencies of the moment; but, on our responsibility, we think it our duty to ask for the amount of Force which I have stated, although we hope that we shall have no occasion to avail ourselves of the margin between the actual number of troops now enlisted and those which might be raised under the Vote.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he would like to ask his right hon. Friend whether he would prefer that a general discussion on questions connected with the Army should be taken on this Vote for Extra Men, or on the Vote for the Reserves? It was important to know what would be the most convenient course for the Government and the Committee.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked for information in reference to the expenditure on the Expedition to Bechuanaland, how long their Forces would be continued there, and what had been the total expenditure already incurred? He also wished to know what would be the total expenditure in connection with the Soudan War, with the maintenance of the garrisons in Egypt, and for other purposes?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE: In reply to my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), I must leave it to the Chairman and the Committee to decide when a general discussion can most fitly be raised. As far as I am concerned, I am perfectly willing that it should be taken on this Vote if, in the opinion of the Committee, that course is the most desirable, or on a later Vote upon which, I understand, it may also be properly taken. In regard to the question of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), I am sorry to say that I am not yet in possession of such decisive and clear information in regard to the operations in Bechuanaland as will enable me to give a complete answer to the question he has put to me. The Government hope, however, in the course of a few days, to receive information from Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir Charles Warren, which will enable us to indicate to the House the course which we think it will be most expedient to adopt. As to the cost of the operations in Egypt, I am not aware that the hon. Gentleman has addressed any question to me upon that subject. But if it is the wish of the hon. Gentleman to obtain the best Estimate that can be framed in regard to the cost of those operations, I will endeavour to obtain one; but, as the hon. Gentleman knows, it would be a very difficult matter to separate the charges of the War Office from the war provisions and the transport, and other expenditure, which go to make up the total cost of such an Expedition, unless such expenditure has been kept separate in the first instance. Nevertheless, if it is the wish of the hon. Gentleman, I will endeavour to do the best I can to supply the information.

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THE CHAIRMAN: What is there in this Vote which has reference to the question of Bechuanaland? As a rule, a general discussion in Supply has been allowed; but all other discussions have been confined strictly to the subject before the Committee, and, that being so, I am clearly of opinion that the proper occasion on which to raise a general discussion is on the Supplementary Vote for the number of Men. It has been suggested by the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) that the general discussion should be taken on the Vote for the Reserves. It would be entirely out of Order, and I should not be prepared to sanction a general discussion on the Vote for the Reserves; and I think that any general discussion which it is considered desirable to raise will undoubtedly be more conveniently and appropriately taken on this Vote.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that, after the intimation which had been given by the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair, he would at once enter upon the general questions he was anxious to bring before the Committee. In the first place, he would venture to say that never had a Minister for War succeeded to Office under more difficult and trying circumstances than his right hon. Friend had done on the present occasion. He believed that his right hon. Friend was perfectly right and justified in asking for these 35,000 men, and he was very much surprised at the tone of the remarks of the noble Marquess who had just sat down; because if there was any man who understood, or who ought to understand, the present position of affairs abroad, especially in regard to Afghanistan, Egypt, and Bechuanaland, it was the noble Marquess. He was perfectly ready to admit that the sum of money which had been asked for was not sufficient to pay or to keep these 35,000 men; but the noble Marquess knew perfectly well that of the 35,000 men, 10,448 had been already raised in excess of the number voted by Parliament at the commencement of the Session. The noble Marquess also knew that 2,537 had been summoned, and had joined from the Reserves. He was also aware that the number who had been authorized to join by their own application was 969, and that the estimated number of time-expired men who were retained with the Colours was 4,100. And yet, with all these additional men, they had only at the present moment 10,448 above the Estimate that was voted at the commencement of the Session, or rather, he should say, at the commencement of the second Session, at the beginning of the present year. He had read with great interest a Memorandum which the noble Marquess had published, in which in the most honourable and creditable manner he had given full credit to all who had worked with him during the last two years at the War Office. He would venture, if the noble Marquess would allow him, as an humble Member, to do so, to give to the noble Marquess himself all the credit, which he thought every Member of the House was prepared to give to him, for having endeavoured, by every means in his power, to place the Army, it was necessary to send abroad, on the spot to which it had to go in a thoroughly efficient and effective state. He was glad that the noble Marquess had placed upon record his views with regard to all of those who had served under him; and he did not suppose that in so short a time any man had had to send out so many Expeditionary Forces—small, no doubt—to maintain the honour and dignity of the country. He believed that the good which the sending out of those Armies had done in the interests of the country was incalculable. It showed that they did not rely upon that timid policy which everyone abroad thought they held, and that they were not going to give up possession of the great and magnificent Colonies and Possessions which they had in South Africa without striking a blow for them. So far as Bechuanaland was concerned, they had showed that they were determined not only to maintain the honour and interests of this country, but to protect those Native Races whom they were bound in honour to protect. In regard to Afghanistan, the noble Marquess had, of course, been forced by circumstances to make every provision for placing an efficient Army in the field. Only the other night—and the House listened with great interest to the statement—they were told by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone), that now that Penjdeh had been ceded, there was only one thing left for settlement—namely, the Zulfikar Pass.

The Penjdeh incident had passed away; this was the only one point at issue, and in reference to that Russia had given her word of honour that the Zulfikar Pass should be retained by the Ameer of Afghanistan. If he knew anything of his country, they would insist that Russia should keep her word; and this circumstance formed another reason why his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War was bound to keep up the war preparations which had been begun by the noble Marquess. The noble Marquess stated that he had equipped and sent out three Armies to serve in the Soudan. They all knew what happened in regard to the first Army; and all he would say was that the heroism and discipline of the British troops which composed that Army had never been better shown than at Tamai and El Teb. No finer discipline could have been displayed, and no troops could have been better handled by the officers than the Force which won the battles of Tamai and El Teb. The General Commanding had admitted that he had made a mistake; and he was not above stating it publicly in his despatch. Instead of attributing blame to anybody else, he was quite ready to take it upon his own shoulders. But that fact, instead of diminishing, greatly increased the force of the observation he wished to make to the Committee—namely, that the gallantry of the officers and the discipline of the men who fought those two battles was beyond praise. If the noble Marquess had deferred to the opinions of those who knew the circumstances best at the time, and had sent the Force on to Berber, the life of that noble and gallant man—General Gordon—might have been saved. But other things intervened; voices below the Gangway were heard; and the noble Marquess thought it better, after having sent the Expedition to Suakin, to withdraw it, and to leave Osman Digna to go on with the depredations he had committed for so long a time. The noble Marquess sent another Expedition to Suakin more recently—a very large Expedition — to assist the Army of Lord Wolseley, struggling at the time, as it was thought, upon the Nile. That Army, numbering, if he recollected rightly, no less than 12,000 men, was well equipped. He did not intend to enter into a description of all that had happened in the course of that Expedetion; but he might, perhaps, be permitted to say that the gallantry, heroism, and discipline of both men and officers at Baker's Zareba were almost unparalleled. They had saved an Army from annihilation. Strange to say, no inquiry had been held into the circumstances of that day. He would not ask what were the reasons why there had been no inquiry. He would only venture to say that in the Navy, whenever anything happened to a ship, or when anything went wrong, an inquiry was held, not for the sake of humiliating, degrading, or blaming any man, even if that man had not done his duty, but in order to see what was the excuse and explanation for the position in which the ship had been placed. He would not say one word against the gallant Officer in command on the occasion to which he referred; but having regard to the number of killed and wounded, and to the utter distruction of the transport, he thought that, in the interests of the Army and of the gallant General himself, it would have been more satisfactory if some official inquiry had taken place, so that it might have been shown how it was that a well-disciplined Force, and a Force occcupying such a position, could have been overtaken by such a calamity as that which befel the Army at Baker's Zareba. The gallantry of the men and of the officers on that occasion stood out most conspicuously. They might educate men for the Staff at Colleges; but they could not put into them those soldier's brains, that eagle eye, and quickness of action, which alone made the soldier, whatever his learning might have been. He deeply lamented what had occurred at Baker's Zareba; but he had thought it right to mention these circumstances in the interests of the gallant men who fought at Baker's Zareba, and whose services had received scant notice and recognition, while honours had been conferred thickly upon others. In passing from that subject, he would only repeat that he had no desire to attach blame to any gallant officer; he simply thought that some inquiry ought to have been instituted, and that an investigation, in which all the facts would have been brought out, would have been much more satisfactory, not only to the gallant Officer in command, but to the Army which he had the honour of commanding. Then

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there was the third Expedition—namely, the Expedition up the Nile—and he did not suppose that in the history of any country there had ever been a more laborious, or a more magnificent undertaking; and if it had only come to a successful termination it would have been one of the most brilliant achievements the Army had ever performed. It must not be forgotten that in a country like Egypt the climate was, to a great extent, similar to that of India, and yet the Expedition went up the Nile without any men to do the duty of camp followers. The men composing the Force were required, not only to row the boats themselves, but to do things of every sort and kind. Yet they never murmured or complained, but, whether Irishmen, Scotchmen, or Englishmen, cheerfully moved up to the front animated but with the one idea of doing their duty and doing honour to their Queen and country. When they found a body of men like those performing satisfactorily the herculean task they undertook, and overcoming every difficulty, he maintained that they deserved some special and signal mark of appreciation at the hands of Her Gracious Majesty. There was one action he would like specially to mention—namely, the battle of Abu Klea—if the Committee would pardon him for a moment. He held in his hand one of the most interesting accounts he had ever read of that action, from the pen of an officer serving with his own old regiment there, whose Commanding Officer said to him, before he went out—"Depend upon it there will be stirring times in Egypt. Therefore, whenever you have an opportunity, put down from day to day what occurs within your own knowledge, so that you may be able to give a truthful and accurate account of what happens under your own eyes." And what did that officer say?—

> "At about 8 o'clock the square was formed up and advanced. This was roughly our position."

He should like to show the letter to the noble Marquess opposite. There was a sketch of the position marking where every regiment was placed, and where the guns were situated both in the front and in the rear of the square. These guns were all inside the square, the artillery in rear of the front, and the naval guns in front of the rear of the square. The letter went on to say—

> "In advancing the fire was very hot, and the men began falling very thick. Dickson—now Colonel Dickson, of the Royal Dragoons—was wounded almost at once; so was Beach, of the 2nd Life Guards; they were both sent back to the Zareba. The skirmishers were then sent out to the flanks and front, and the enemy were seen retiring in numbers. On gaining the rising ground we came in view of a long line of the enemy's flags on the Wady on our left front. My first idea was that the enemy were retiring leaving their flags; but we soon found, to our cost, that this was not the case. At this period Lord St. Vincent, our adjutant, was shot on my right; he was placed on a cacolet. When we were some 600 yards or less from the flags we halted for a minute or two in a hollow. The ground was very hilly, rough, stony, and broken. In advancing again the order was given to bring up our right shoulders; at the same time we saw that the line of flags was by no means deserted, but that there was a dense mass of the enemy lying in the long grass. When about 300 or 400 yards from the enemy they rose up in three masses and advanced on us, wheeling round on the right, and keeping their dressing most beautifully. The skirmishers stopped to fire—a fatal mistake, as they masked our fire in running in. The Naval Brigade, with the Gardner gun, tried, at the same time, to come into action on the left rear corner of the square, but the square closing up to the front left them out in the cold. Colonel Burnaby ordered the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards to wheel up and protect them. This caused more confusion, as they all got mixed up with our men. The Gardner gun was now run back and brought up between the Greys and the Lancers. The skirmishers, at the same time, ran in, causing more confusion. In much less time than I have taken to write this, the enemy came on with a terrible rush and were into us, and a hand-to-hand encounter took place. The right side of the square was on higher ground; they kept firing over our heads when we were driven into the camels diagonally. The camels, I fancy, although they were the cause of much confusion, ultimately saved a complete disaster, as they formed a dense mass which prevented the enemy from getting further."

There was only one other passage he wished to read—

> "The Naval Brigade was driven back and had to leave their gun. However, we all made a rush forward and got them back. After 15 minutes or so the enemy broke and turned. After this there was frightful confusion, and it took a long time to get our men (such as remained) together. The enemy were seen retiring on all sides, and for some time we continued to fire on them."

He believed that to be a fair and correct account of the battle of Abu Klea, and it showed that the enemy broke through and got into the square while Colonel Burnaby was trying to bring in the naval guns. That caused the confusion which ensued, and the Guards, the Royal Sussex Regiment, the Mounted Infantry, and the Heavy Camel Corps were then enabled to display their discipline and courage, and those qualities which had made their fighting men the wonder and the astonishment of the world. He maintained that something more than ordinary compensation ought to be given to those men. Medals no doubt were very good things, and would be well received; but there was something more than that required. The men who had done that work had performed labour which in India and elsewhere would have been performed by camp followers. All their clothes had been destroyed, and, therefore, a considerable amount of batta ought to be given to them. He thought it was only right that that should be done, in the interests of the public and the interests of the Army, for men who had deserved so well and fought so bravely under a gallant and distinguished General like Lord Wolseley. They all knew that recommendations for honours had been made generously, but they knew also that those honours would not go very far; and it was necessary that the men should not only receive their full need of praise, but also the substantial recognition which he thought it was admitted their conduct deserved. He only desired now to say a few words in reference to the increase of the Army. He was one of those who had always believed, ever since short service was first adopted, that it could not possibly be of use unless the Army was increased by 10,000 men. But now, when they came to look at the calls upon the Army of this country, when they looked at their magnificent Empire, at the greater England far away from these small Islands, he thought no one, even among hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway on the other side, would say—"Not another man." He wished he could say—"No more war." If they wished to maintain their position, they could only maintain it by being prepared for war. It was because his right hon. Friend had just assumed the Office of Secretary of State for War that he wished to call his attention publicly to the matter, and to ask him to look carefully into this question of short service. Even the noble Marquess opposite would not wish to send short service men to India, because he knew very well that they would not be able to do the duty required of them in that great Empire which, in the future, they would have still further to protect. If he was right in his contention, instead of withdrawing their Forces from India, they would have to increase them. What was it that they had generally done hitherto? They had invariably denuded the Army at home of old soldiers in order to keep up the Army in India; and the consequence was that whenever they had anything like a small war—such as the War in Egypt—on their hands, they were obliged immediately to call out their Reserves—those very men whom they ought to have in reserve for a time of emergency. Some of them they had to send with the first Army Corps sent out, and others to fill up the regiments of young soldiers at home. This happened whenever they engaged in hostile operations, no matter how insignificant. He would point out to his right hon. Friend a circumstance which had been admitted by the noble Marquess opposite; and proofs might be given by the score, if any were wanted, of a similar state of circumstances in other instances. The noble Marquess did not deny that in two regiments sent to Gibraltar there were men who had never gone through their rifle exercise, and who were unfit to be sent out in any way to a Station like Gibraltar. He could go into other cases; but he had simply mentioned this in order to show the Committee exactly what the state of affairs was. At Portsmouth, at Dover, at Aldershot, and in Ireland, it was impossible to find men enough in the same coloured uniform to do the duties necessary to be done in these garrison towns, and they found men in green uniform doing duty with men in red uniform; the reason being that there was not a sufficient number of efficient men belonging to the same regiments as the ordinary guards. He would go a step further. The noble Marquess said it was absolutely necessary to increase the depôts at home when both battalions of a regiment were abroad; and with regard to 15 regiments abroad, the noble Marquess had increased the depôts to 600 men. Here he would point out to his right hon. Friend that the one way to

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make the men efficient, and know their duty, was to have able and responsible officers and non-commissioned officers; by keeping them at the depôt centres with the same officers and non-commissioned officers, and by treating them fairly, honourably, and reasonably, until they had learned their duty and their discipline as soldiers. No man ought to be placed in the ranks until discipline had been thoroughly taught to him, and he was able to understand it. To put men on sentry would not teach them what their duty was, and to put men on sentry who were only half-drilled led to all sorts of mischief. He ventured to call the attention of his right hon. Friend to that fact, and to remind him that those depôts ought to be the places from which the men should be sent out to join their regiments, and that they should be large enough to furnish the men who were to go out to the battalion in the Colonies or in India. When they were filling up a regiment from home, the men they sent out ought to be in a perfectly trained condition. They ought to have a first Army Corps with every battalion that was necessary, and there ought to be a second Army Corps which could be mobilized whenever it was considered desirable, and into which, if necessary, might be put some of the Reserves. He did not think, for a moment, that the necessities of the country would decrease. Looking at the views and opinions now entertained by foreign nations in regard to colonization, and their desire to take every available spot of land for themselves, it became the more necessary for this country, both in regard to the Army and Navy, that they should absolutely be prepared for war. He had only one word more to add, and it had reference to the Cavalry. His hon. and gallant Friend near him the Member for South Hants (Sir Frederick Fitz-Wygram) called attention to the condition of the Cavalry in a speech delivered on the 19th of March last. His hon. and gallant Friend was justified in saying that there was not a single regiment of Cavalry which could be sent out complete in men and horses. They had at present six regiments of 600 men, with only 400 horses, and 13 regiments with 450 men and 300 horses. He would advise the Government to follow the example of France and Germany. What did those countries do with regard to their Cavalry and Artillery? They always kept those branches of the Service up to their war strength, because they knew very well that they could not make it up at a moment's notice. The Cavalry Reserve was all very well; but they would have to give the men training again before they could venture to send them upon active service. Of what use was a man who had not been upon the back of a horse for two years? At a pinch there was not much time for preparation, particularly if they got into a critical position; and noble Lords and right hon. Gentlemen would be found coming down to the House and saying it was absolutely necessary that money should be voted for preparation even in the interest of peace. Let them now make preparations while they had time. He had ventured to submit those observations to his right hon. Friend, knowing that he could not alter the present position of affairs; but he hoped his right hon. Friend, by a firm bearing and by a determination to do that which was for the best interests of the country, would show foreign nations that they had lost none of those qualities which had made this country superior to others, not only in acquiring, but in maintaining the Possessions they had in India and elsewhere. He would ask his right hon. Friend to look carefully into all those matters, and to carry out such a policy and make such preparations as would keep them in that proud position which they had occupied for so many years.

Mr. RYLANDS said, that his hon. and gallant Friend had made a speech which he was sure the Committee had listened to with much interest; but it was a speech of a character which was not perfectly original as proceeding from his hon. and gallant Friend, although it certainly sprung from a desire to secure the efficiency of the Service to which his hon. and gallant Friend belonged. No doubt the speech of the hon. and gallant Baronet was one that was perfectly consistent with the Vote proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith). But the way in which the right hon. Gentleman had submitted the Vote was, in his (Mr. Rylands) opinion, neither business-like nor satisfactory. The right hon. Gentleman came down to the House and asked the Committee to give him a Vote of 35,000 men, while he said, at the same time, that he did not want the men, and did not expect to want them. If the necessity arose it might be necessary to raise men, and the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) said the necessity existed now. The hon. and gallant Baronet was perfectly consistent, and he did not flinch for a moment from expressing the views he had on more than one occasion presented to the House. The hon. and gallant Baronet said that the men were wanted, and he was prepared to pass the Vote and follow up the consequence of that Vote—namely, by finding the money for paying 35,000 men. If the advice of the hon. and gallant Baronet was to be followed, and if they were to assert in Egypt the position the hon. and gallant Baronet invited them to assume, no doubt they would want those 35,000 men, and possibly a great many more than 35,000 men. But he (Mr. Rylands) asked the Committee to look at the question, in the first instance, as a Committee of business men. He would recall to their recollection what the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) told them when he asked originally for 35,000 men. The noble Marquess and the Government, of which he was a distinguished Member, came down to the House under circumstances of great anxiety. He told them that an addition to the Army might be necessary in order to support the interests of the country; and he asked for a large sum of money as well as an increase in the number of men, placing on the Table a Vote in the shape of a Supplementary Estimate for the proposed increase of 35,000 men. But a great many things had happened since the noble Marquess came down to the House, and among other things the late Prime Minister had made a most important statement to the House. Would any hon. Member get up and say that the condition of things was as acute, as difficult, and as dangerous as it was at the time the Vote of Credit and the Supplementary Estimate were laid upon the Table? He contended that the circumstances had entirely changed. If the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) were to come down to the House and tell them that he wanted a further sum of money—if he were to say, in fact, that it would be necessary to spend not only the Vote of Credit, but some millions more, he could then understand a proposal for power to raise those 35,000 men; but he altogether objected to a Vote which gave to the Government the power of raising men which they themselves were not prepared to say were wanted. Not only so, but they would not have the means of paying for this additional number of men if they obtained power to raise them; and if they were raised it would be absolutely necessary to come down to the House for an additional sum of money in the form of a Supplementary Estimate. It was quite clear from the statement of the noble Marquess that the late Government did not intend to ask for this large number of men. The noble Marquess stated distinctly that he had kept this Vote from the judgment of the Committee, because he entertained strong hopes that this very large number of 35,000 men would not be required. He gathered from what the noble Marquess had said that evening that the late Government had arrived at the conclusion that it would not be necessary to ask for the full number of additional men, or for any larger number than the actual number which had been enlisted up to the present time. He was glad to see his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) in his place. He had been looking round for him with some anxiety. He was satisfied that his hon. Friend would not consent to give to the Government the power of raising 35,000 men when they could not affirm that they were really wanted, but, on the contrary, declared that they were not likely to want them. He would, therefore, propose to reduce the Vote from 35,000 to 12,000, which was the number, as he understood, that had actually enlisted, and the number which he gathered from the statement of the noble Marquess was considered sufficient for the purposes the late Government had in view. He believed it to be of the greatest importance that the Committee of Supply in that House should conduct their affairs in a business-like manner. He was quite prepared to believe, because he had always had reason to suspect it, that there had been a great deal of mal-

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administration at the Admiralty for a long course of years. He did not know what might be the case in regard to the War Office; but the time was rapidly approaching when it would become necessary to investigate the manner in which the business of the country was carried on in all the great Departments of the State. There were certainly reasons to suppose that for the large amount of money expended year by year upon the Army the country did not get their money's worth. There appeared to be a want of business habits, and other circumstances which led to the greatest possible waste and confusion. Allusion had been made by the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) to circumstances which had occurred in Egypt which had led to the destruction of a number of gallant men through the mismanagement of the officer in command. The greatest possible amount of consternation was produced in the minds of the people of this country when the intelligence was first received here; and he would like the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith), before the discussion closed, to say whether he intended, in answer to the appeal of the hon. and gallant Baronet, to institute an inquiry? He could inform the right hon. Gentleman that the conduct of the Expedition to Egypt to which allusion had been made had been such as to create in the minds of the people of this country a considerable amount of anxiety and alarm. It was naturally asked how it could be possible, and, if so, why it was possible, that they could send out their brave soldiers to carry on the wars of this country, and allow them to be all but sacrificed through the disastrous results of a blunder? It might turn out that it had not been the result of a blunder; but, at any rate, the whole circumstances ought to be inquired into, and he agreed with the hon. and gallant Baronet that in all such cases there ought to be an inquiry, just as there was in the Navy. Whenever a ship was lost there was a court martial, and, in the same way, whenever any circumstance arose in connection with the administration of the Army to call for special comment, and which excited a suspicion that a serious disaster had barely been averted, it was not only right, but absolutely necessary for the future well-being of the Army and the satisfaction of the country, that that circumstance should be fully and impartially inquired into. He had long been of opinion that in this country they ought not to go in for a large Army, but for a well-equipped and thoroughly accoutred Army; they ought to have a well-appointed and a well-trained Army, a perfectly efficient Army, and they ought to have behind that Army considerable Reserves in this country. He strongly objected to an over-grown Army intended to support a system of needless interference in foreign affairs, and in questions in which British interests were not concerned. He would cordially welcome any Government who would heartily set to work to secure efficient and well-trained men in conjunction with the economical administration of the Army. He entirely disapproved of voting an unnecessarily large number of men in order to justify a large expenditure upon them; and upon that account he did not sympathize with the hon. and gallant Baronet opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) in his desire that the Government should increase the strength of the Army to 35,000 men. He begged to move that the number of men be reduced from 35,000 to 12,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a further number of Land Forces, not exceeding 12,000 (all ranks), be maintained for the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, at Home and Abroad, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."—(*Mr. Rylands.*)

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, he did not rise to support the proposal of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), however desirable the hon. Member might believe it to be, to reduce the number of men on the score of economy. There was one thing which, in his opinion, was above economy, and that was efficiency; and when he found that there was agreement between the noble Marquess on the other side of the House, the late Secretary of State for War, and his right hon. Friend who now presided over the War Office, he certainly did not think, judging from the opinion of those high authorities, that there was much probability of the services of the whole of the 35,000 men being required. He took that opportunity of warmly congratulating his right hon. Friend upon his appointment, although he had undoubtedly undertaken a most difficult task, as he had probably, by that time, found out. His right hon. Friend possessed great administrative talent, having had previous official experience not only at the Treasury, but also at the Admiralty; and he trusted that his right hon. Friend would find that finance at the War Office was, at all events, superior to that which distinguished the administration of the Board of Admiralty. However that might be, he thought his right hon. Friend would not remain long in his present position without finding out that which almost all of his Predecessors had found out. *Quot homines, tot sententiæ.* His right hon. Friend would discover that he had a vast amount of skilled opinion to consider, and that a great number of schemes would be placed before him. He would also be required to deal with a considerable number of grievances of one sort and another; and he sincerely trusted that his right hon. Friend would form no opinion at present upon the conflicting claims and diversity of opinion likely to be placed before him. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had, with his usual force, placed before the Committee the very gallant conduct of their troops in the Soudan. He (Lord Eustace Cecil) thought there was not a Member of the House, whether a civilian or a military man, who would not agree with his hon. and gallant Friend as to the gallantry displayed by the troops. He would go further—if it were possible to go further—and say that the bravery displayed by the men, under the most trying circumstances, was commended by the united feeling of the House of Commons. His hon. and gallant Friend, however, went a little further, and had touched upon a somewhat delicate matter. The hon. and gallant Baronet had referred to what seemed to be at first a very serious disaster; but what, owing to the bravery of their troops, was converted into a victory. As he understood his hon. and gallant Friend, he asked for a court martial. [Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT: No.] At all events, his hon. and gallant Friend asked for an inquiry which might lead to a court martial. He believed that a Question was asked of the noble Marquess the late Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) not many weeks ago upon the same matter; and the reply of the noble Marquess was that he had referred the question to Lord Wolseley, and that Lord Wolseley gave it as his opinion, as General Commanding-in-Chief, that if an inquiry was considered necessary he would institute one, but that he did not at present think the matter ought to go further. It was a very delicate matter. He had no wish—and he was sure that his hon. and gallant Friend did not wish—to cast undue blame upon any officer concerned in the matter. [Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT: No; I do not.] He quite believed that, and that his hon. and gallant Friend did not intend to impute blame to anybody; but, of course, when they came to inquire into circumstances of that kind, it was pre-supposed that the inquiry would, more or less, be made public; and if it were made public, no doubt a great deal might be said, when the results of the inquiry were laid before the House, which had better not be stated. He could not help thinking that an inquiry of this kind should be left entirely to the Commanding Officer in Egypt, and to the Executive Authorities at home. If they acted up to their duty, he believed the officer who was more particularly concerned would not escape blame, and might even incur punishment; but it would be a somewhat serious matter, at least as far as the officers themselves were concerned, if, through any misfortune, perhaps not of their own bringing about, they were to incur public blame, and be exposed to the ordeal of a court martial, and, probably, to a punishment still worse than a court martial. He, therefore, thought it was better, under the circumstances, that the Commander-in-Chief should use his discretion, and by private inquiry ascertain whether any of the officers were to blame, and, if so, ask them to resign their commissions. He admitted with his hon. and gallant Friend that a serious disaster had occurred; that it was the duty of the Executive to inquire into the cause of it; and he was convinced that if they were called upon they would do their duty in the matter. If he might be bold or presumptuous enough to offer one or two suggestions upon the general question to his right hon. Friend he would like to do so. He thought that

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in all questions in regard to the Army and the number of men they were bound to fall back upon the question of efficiency as opposed to that of economy. He thought they were bound to trust to those who sat on the Treasury Bench to say what was required and what was not required; and from the experience he had obtained in Pall Mall he had never yet been able to learn that any estimate had ever been made of the actual number of troops required for the defence of the country, and for properly providing for the defence of their fortifications and garrisons abroad. He knew that the question had been considered, and he recollected a statement made by Lord Airey about it at the time that noble Lord was at the head of a Commission appointed to inquire into the whole state of their military defences. Lord Airey said at that time—and he (Lord Eustace Cecil) believed that it would still be found to be the case—that no estimate by experts and no evidence had ever been obtained, although there had been an immense amount of talk both in the newspapers and in the House of Commons, as to the exact number of men required for the defence of that Empire. They all knew that 130,000 were usually put down in the Estimates as the number that was required, and he had not a word to say about that. But there was a strong feeling among military men and among the public generally that a great many of the men were too young and too immature. The whole question of short and long service hung upon that. It was useless to think of long service again to any extent, because he was able to say, from his own experience, that men would not enlist for long service. Not one-fourth of the men that were required would think of enlisting for long service; and, therefore, they must adopt short service, and take what they could get. In the Army Estimates, at page 7, the Effective Forces were put down. He laid great stress on the word "effective." The Effective Forces required were 130,000 men. Now, he held that all men under one year's service were not effective; and, therefore, he should like to see in the Army Estimates in future a separation drawn and a distinction made. He thought it would be a very easy matter, when the House of Commons were called upon to vote 130,000 men, to show that out of that number there were probably 100,000 soldiers of more than one year's service, and 30,000, or whatever the number might be, who were under one year's service. The House would then be enabled to see exactly where they were. They would know the number of immature men they had at their command, and also the number of men they could count upon for the defence of the country in a case of emergency, or for defending their fortifications and garrisons abroad. That could not be a very difficult matter to arrive at. They had every year a Return given to them; but the public and the country, and even Members of the House of Commons, did not understand the Estimates, and were accustomed to run away with the idea that because 130,000 men were given in the Estimates, those 130,000 men were in a fit condition to be sent abroad to undertake any duty. There never was a greater mistake. Probably 35,000, or even more, of the entire number were simply recruits not at all fit for active service. He, therefore, thought it was only right that the men should be properly classified. He thought his right hon. Friend would understand what he meant when he said that in the Navy the boys were classified differently from the able seamen. The Committee at once understood that they were boys, just as they would understand that the young soldiers under one year's service were recruits; and then the House of Commons would be able to see, by taking into consideration also the number of the Reserves at the command of the War Office, exactly what the number of men was upon whom they could depend. He again said, as he had stated before, that he felt some sort of decision should be come to at the War Office as to the number of men that were actually required. He did not want more. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) in that respect, and it was unnecessary to secure the services of one man more than was actually required; but what he did want was that every man who was placed in the Army Estimates as a soldier should be fit for duty, ready to go anywhere and do anything, and with less than that he, for one, would certainly not be satisfied. There was a third suggestion which he desired to make to his right hon. Friend, who might accept it for what it was worth. They had been told by Lord Wolseley, in a despatch laid upon the Table that morning, that their troops must remain in Egypt. He would read the exact words of Lord Wolseley—

> "You cannot get out of Egypt for many years to come."

If that were correct—and he had no doubt that it—was he would not ask for a declaration of policy from the Government at that moment; but if that was the case, he thought they must cut their coat according to their cloth, and be prepared to send out troops which would be able to stand the climate. That led him to a matter which he had often advocated in that House, and he had advocated it also out of the House, both in writing and in other ways—namely, the employment of coloured troops. He found, on reading that most interesting book *The Journal of General Gordon*, that he was supported by General Gordon himself in his recommendation that there should be a further adoption of coloured troops. He had over and over again spoken about this matter; and he could not help thinking that a return to the old policy of 20, 30, or 40 years ago would be a very wise step. There were then three West India regiments, a Ceylon Rifle Corps, a St. Helena Corps, and the Cape Mounted Rifles, besides all the coloured troops they had in India. What number of coloured troops had they now? If hon. Gentlemen would examine the Army List, they would find that there were only two West India regiments beyond and above the Sepoy regiments. If they were to hold North Africa, and to retain their position in Egypt, and to protect their large Possessions at the Cape and in South Africa, it was necessary that they should have troops able to stand the climate of the tropics. He would read the extract to which he had referred from General Gordon's journal. He did not think there ought to be the slightest difficulty in ascertaining what troops were necessary for service in India. He would not, of course, under the circumstances, think of choosing Arabs or Mahommedans; but it would be very easy indeed to take troops from other parts of Africa, troops who were certainly brave, and who would do good service if properly officered. Some time ago he had asked a Question of the noble Marquess the late Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) if it was true that a certain number of Zulus were to be enlisted for service in the Soudan? His Question was received with a sort of jeer by hon. Members from the Sister Island, and he was asked whether he wished to have savages employed? He had certainly no desire to see savages employed; but he did not see why any troops they enlisted for employment in the Soudan or anywhere else should be classed as savages. He had a personal acquaintance with the Kaffirs; and he believed that, if they were properly drilled and officered by Europeans, they would become as good troops as any they had in the Service. As to the question of savages, he believed that the people of civilized countries had committed acts in times of insurrection or revolution quite as horrible as any that had ever been committed by what were considered to be savage races; and he did not, therefore, see that this feeling with regard to savages applied to one race more than to another. But, however that might be, he was of opinion that there were in Africa men who, under proper discipline and led by proper officers, would be equal to any service that might be required of them. General Gordon was of the same opinion, and he would now turn to a passage in General Gordon's Journal which by accident he had come across that morning. At page 189 General Gordon said—he thought the Committee would bear with him while he read it, for no one had ever had greater experience of coloured troops than that gallant officer both in Asia and Africa. Therefore, he did not know that he could cite a better authority than General Gordon, who said—

> "I believe that a good recruitment of Blacks and Chinese would give England all the troops she wants for Expeditions; mixed with one-sixth English, I would garrison India with Chinese and Blacks—with one-sixth English no Army could stand against us."

That was General Gordon's recorded opinion, and whether General Gordon was right or wrong it was for others to judge. The view of General Gordon certainly agreed very much with the opinion he (Lord Eustace Cecil) had long entertained. The employment of coloured troops would also compare very

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favourably with regard to the cost. There could be no question that the English soldier was about the most expensive article the country could possibly have. He fully admitted that, when they got him in perfection, no finer or braver man existed, and that he had always done and always would do very good service. It was calculated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), a good many years ago, that every English soldier of 20 years of age cost £100. There could be no doubt that every English soldier now cost £120, and possibly more; and when that was compared with the comparatively small cost of the Blacks, he believed that in the end, considering the vast Possessions they held, they must be driven to do something of that kind; and he, therefore, threw it out for the consideration of his right hon. Friend. He did not know that it was necessary to trouble the Committee much longer. He certainly felt very strongly indeed that, after all their discussions, of which this was probably the last in which he would take part in that House—but after all the discussions they had heard year after year from one side of the House and the other, it was almost a disgrace that they could not introduce some practical plan which could give satisfaction to all—not only to those inside, but those who were outside the House, who had a constant tendency to a scare. It was always being thought that this country was liable to be invaded, and it was always fancied, and sometimes feared, that they had not a sufficient number of troops to keep up the old *prestige* of England should the necessity arise. He maintained that such a state of things in a wealthy country like this, with men who had spent their lives in studying the wants and the requirements of the country; who had over and over again talked of them both inside the House and out of it—such a state of things, he maintained, was a disgrace, and especially when it was put on the ground of economy. It was the duty, no matter what Party was in power, of the Secretary of State for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty to come down and say—"So many men are required and so many ships, or otherwise we will not be responsible for the safety and honour of the country." Until that was done there would be this constant scare in regard to invasion. Over and over again they were complaining of the want of military and naval power, and were making themselves almost the laughing stock of foreign countries in this matter, because they knew perfectly well that we had both the men and the money if we chose to employ them. The only reason why it existed arose from that miserable parsimony and economy which overtook hon. Members on both sides of the House when in Opposition, without any regard to the honour and glory of the country and the efficiency of its Military and Naval Services.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he regretted very much to hear, from a remark which had fallen from the noble Lord, who had just addressed the Committee, that they were about to lose his distinguished services. The noble Lord had had great experience in connection with military matters and was a very high authority. He (Sir George Balfour) did not think that the Army had been kept in an efficient state for some years past. Having, during his service, had occasion to assist in deliberations, and to make calculations for Army organizations, he had formed the opinion that it was almost impossible to collect *data* by which to fix on the strength to be maintained. The one guiding rule was money, and that could only be fixed by the nation; but this principle could and ought to be acted on —that whatever might be the number of men required the Army ought to be kept in an efficient state. He wished to press upon the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War the necessity of calculating very carefully the number of men required during one year by the several branches of the Service, and then provide for maintaining the depôts in a state of efficiency. One of the things they had always had to complain of was the insufficient state of the depôts. An examination of the monthly Returns showed that for some years past the fixed Establishment of the depôts had been quite insufficient, the actual number in depôts being double the number allowed—that meant that the battalions had been kept below their strength in order to fill the depôts. This drain, added to the number of men wanting to complete, had resulted in the active Forces being 10,000 below the Establishment. He also wished to know how long it was intended to maintain the Native troops at Suakin? It was not politic to require Native troops to garrison places not fit for European soldiers.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, it was an important fact, and one worthy of the attention of Her Majesty's Government, that up to a recent date very few men in the Reserve had availed themselves of the Order of the late Secretary of State for War to come back to the Army. He believed that the result would have been very different had certain advantages been offered to the men. The Committee would remember that he had already drawn attention to that subject. Everyone desired to see old soldiers retained in the Army; but he was convinced that it was impossible to keep a proper proportion of old soldiers in the Army until some alteration was made in the present system of deferred pay, which, as it stood at present, was an inducement to men to leave the Colours and go into the Reserve. He thought, in the interest of the Service, that the system should be done away with, and that instead of the payment of a sum of money a free ration should be given. He could cite Lord Wolseley himself as an authority in support of the view which he was now recommending. Lord Wolseley had pointed out with reference to the recent Campaigns that the men had not only done their duty well, but cheerfully, a fact which he attributed to the good quality of the food which they received. He (Colonel Colthurst) thought it clearly established that the ration given at home was scarcely sufficient for the men, who might be said to be enlisted in this country on false pretences; because, although they were told they would get 1*s*. a-day and free rations, they found after enlistment that 2*d*. or 3*d*. a-day were deducted from the amount promised them. He believed the right hon. Gentleman now at the head of the War Department could not do anything that would be more beneficial to the Army in the sense he was speaking of than to give the men what they were told they would get when they joined the Service—namely, a free ration. He sincerely hoped the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would be directed to that point; and he ventured to suggest that the right hon. Gentleman should also consider whether some other inducements could not be held out to men to rejoin the Army—men who, although they might find it difficult to get Civil employment, would not return to the Colours on account of the many changes that were made, and the general state of uncertainty which prevailed.

SIR ROBERT LOYD LINDSAY said, he had no desire to extend the discussion on this Estimate, but simply rose to make a very few remarks with reference to the inquiry which it was suggested should be held on the subject of what had occurred in the Soudan. He ventured to point out that hon. Members would do well not to place any great reliance upon information received from abroad, which very often came from irresponsible persons, whether newspaper reporters or officers in the Service. It seemed to him that in dealing with this matter the only person to whom they could look for sound information was the Commander-in-Chief himself, Lord Wolseley. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) said that he desired to have an inquiry instituted in the interest of the officers themselves. But he would observe that when things of that kind were once set on foot, information did not always come forward in the way they would like; and, therefore, he was of opinion that no advantage would result from the suggestion of his hon. and gallant Friend. If any inquiry were needed, he thought it should be instituted with reference to the uncertainty of the orders given to the Commander-in-Chief in the recent Campaign, but that the proposal for such inquiry should come from the Cabinet alone. He was induced to believe that, had the orders given to the Commander-in-Chief with regard to the friendly tribes been more distinct, his difficulties would have been greatly diminished. There was one point to which he desired to call attention. In his opinion, there was both difficulty and danger in putting rifles into the hands of soldiers not thoroughly trained to their use. He considered that full instruction was necessary for the use of the rifle, and he had reason to believe that accidents had occurred to Cavalry soldiers from the want of such instruction. In conclusion, he repeated his opinion that no useful purpose would be served if the inquiry into the war in the Soudan suggested by his hon. and gallant Friend were instituted.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON said, his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst) had quoted Lord Wolseley to show that the troops in the Soudan had done so well because they had good food. But if his hon. and gallant Friend had studied Lord Wolseley's despatches, he would have found that that was not entirely due to having good food, but to the absence of drink. He was glad to hear his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) making this Motion. His hon. Friend was addressing the Committee when he entered the House, and it reminded him of old times to hear him pitching into the extravagance of the Government, and he said to himself —"There is one live Radical left." But if they were to go on with the old policy adopted of late years by the country, sanctioned by a large majority in the House of Commons and by the late Government, it would appear that, so far from Her Majesty's Government having asked for too many men, they had not asked for half enough. What was that policy? It was a policy of invading, robbing, bombarding, and ravaging unfortunate countries who were weaker than ourselves. Upon that policy, whether pursued by Liberal or Conservative Governments, he looked with the utmost horror; he regarded it as a policy hateful in itself and injurious to the best interests of the country. He hoped that when they had a new House of Commons and a new electorate a total change in those things would be brought about. He did not know whether it would be so; the new electors might be as warlike as the old ones; but he looked for a better state of things, in which the great Armies they were now called upon to vote would find no place. For those reasons, he should vote for the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley for the reduction of the Army; and he trusted that it would lead to the country not having in future a great number of men wherewith to work out these national crimes.

Colonel NOLAN said, it was true that they had had several wars in the last three years; but he did not wish to characterize the policy of the Government with regard to them quite so strongly as the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had done. In the opinion of some, there had been no great strategy shown by the officers commanding. The men had fought extremely well; but they were told that their good behaviour was largely owing to the fact that they had had good food and very little drink. That brought him to the point he wished to lay before the Committee. He asked what did the private soldiers get out of all this? In some countries they got a good deal of plunder; but in our Campaigns, with the exception of a medal or two, they got nothing whatever. He would go farther and say that now that they had household suffrage, he did not think it wise to shut out the private soldier from distinction in the profession of arms. That had certainly been the policy of the late Government. In his opinion, there was only one way in which they could improve the position of the private soldier, and that was to open a career to him by giving a certain number of commissions to men in the ranks. Of course, the greater number of soldiers would only rise to the rank of Captain; they would not all become Generals or Field Marshals, although some of them might do so. But what was the case at present? There was the position of Quartermaster, which was given to men who had been Quartermaster's clerks, whose duty it was, amongst other things, to take an account of the stores of the regiment. Those were men taken from their duty as soldiers and put to a useful occupation; but he did not think that those commissions led to anything of advantage to the men. Then there was the position of Riding Master; they were extremely useful men in a regiment, but their rank did not lead to anything. But, leaving out those, he asked how many commissions were given to private soldiers in the course of last year? He had on a former occasion put that Question to the Secretary of State for War, and the reply was that there were 20. Now, that he considered an extremely inadequate amount of promotion as open to the private soldiers in the Army; and he was strengthened in that opinion by the remarks of historical writers, one of whom remarked that no country ever succeeded in arms unless promotion was in keeping with the general feeling of the people. Even of the 20 commissions referred to, he was told that a large proportion were obtained by gentlemen—not private soldiers, in the ordinary sense of the word—who went into the ranks in order to work their way up to the rank of officer through that of Sergeant. He did not object to those men having commissions; but he would not leave out the ordinary private soldier, who had perhaps few friends, and no influence at the Horse Guards. He would say that a commission should be within the reach of a Sergeant Major, who, as a rule, was a good soldier, and was possessed of a good deal of smartness which every officer was not. The number of commissions could be very largely increased, and the present number was so small that that might be done without decreasing the number of commissions given to the Militia. The Militia system, during two or three years, had worked well; but now men went into the Militia to get a commission in the Army, so that, practically, there was a return to the old system of nomination. A considerable number of those nominations were made by the Lord Lieutenants of counties, and very few reached the men in the ranks. They were not given to them, but to men who had gone in for two or three years to qualify, against whom he did not say one word, but between whom and the ordinary private soldier there was a great difference. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would increase the number of those commissions, and make them *bonâ fide* the reward of those who had done their duty in the ranks. They were familiar with the conduct of the troops in recent Campaigns; they had read of 2,000 contending with 10,000 savages; they had seen them without water standing still in square, exposed to the attack of those savages; but what benefit did the private soldier derive from his courage? For his own part, he should like to see 10 or 20 commissions given to the Sergeants who fought at Tel-el-Kebir and at places on the Red Sea, as well as a considerable number to privates, and that without their going through any test. That he was convinced would produce a totally different feeling in the ranks of the Army. At present, he contended that nothing was done for the private soldier, although some of those who joined the ranks for the purpose of qualifying were promoted, and got in some cases large rewards. He could quote the case of a man in one of the recent Campaigns who had been promoted without having worked his way up. He happened to be acquainted with his family, one of the best in the county, and he knew that he went in to qualify. But, as he had said, there was nothing done for the private soldiers in the way of giving them commissions, for the Quartermasters and Riding Masters were not Commissioned Officers; and, therefore, he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would do something to make the private soldier feel that a commission was within his reach if he did his work well.

Mr. BULWER said, he wished to express the great gratification he felt at seeing the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) sitting on the opposite side of the House. He could remember the time when hardly a single Estimate passed through Committee without his criticism, although he regretted to say that during the last five years he had been almost completely silent; and the consequence of that was that the National Expenditure had risen from £75,000,000 to £85,000,000, and this year to £100,000,000. The hon. Member's speech that evening had a business-like sound; but he would like to hear some reason for the vote which the hon. Member was asking him to give for the reduction of the number of men. He would ask the hon. Gentleman whether he really knew anything about the matter? Did he know how many men were wanted; did he know what they were doing and what were the services required of them? He had not heard from the hon. Member a single argument showing that he had anything beyond a general acquaintance with the subject; all that he had said with regard to the Vote was that too much money was being spent. He ventured to remind the hon. Member, as a business man, that, in maintaining our Army and Navy, they were simply paying for their insurance, the cost of which must increase, as in the case of private persons, with the increased value of their property. He saw no reason whatever for supporting the Motion of the hon. Member.

Sir HARRY VERNEY said, that the present system of retirement, both as regarded the Army and the Navy, caused the country to lose the services of many excellent and competent officers, and, moreover, created discontent in the Service, and even prevented men entering the Naval and Military Services. They had given the best years of their lives to those Professions. Many men who were perfectly efficient would rather give up their pensions than leave their Profession; and, therefore, he appealed to the Secretary of State for War to consider whether some mode of changing the present system of retirement could not be devised by which the services of those very competent officers could be retained.

Mr. CAUSTON said, he rose for the purpose of bringing to the notice of the Secretary of State for War a grievance which he had drawn attention to earlier in the Session. He had had cause to bring the case of the Quartermasters before the Committee; and he now rose to express the hope that, notwithstanding the change of Government, the grievance of those men would not be lost sight of, and that Her Majesty's Government would give it their favourable consideration. The Quartermasters believed that they had the sympathy of many officers in the Army and at headquarters, who knew how to appreciate their services; but they were, at the same time, under the impression that there was some influence at the back of those connected with the Army that pulled against them. He had no intention of going over the case again on that occasion; but he ventured to say that if the right hon. Gentleman would do him the favour to read what he had stated on this subject earlier in the Session, he would find that the Quartermasters had a grievance, and that he had made out a strong case for its removal.

Sir FREDERICK FITZ-WYGRAM said, that his hon. and gallant Friend near him the Member for Berkshire (Sir Robert Loyd Lindsay) had attributed the failure of the Camel Corps to the inability of the Cavalry men to handle the long rifle. But he should have thought his hon. and gallant Friend would have known that the mechanism and construction of the weapon was the same as that which they were accustomed to. It was of the same form, took the same cartridge, and was the same in all its parts; and, therefore, he was of opinion that, whatever failure there might have been in the Camel Corps, it was not due to that cause. He wished to bring before the Committee the necessity there was for endeavouring to organize a Mounted Infantry Corps. The value of Mounted Infantry was increasing almost every day, with the extended area now covered by military operations in time of war. The possibility of transporting troops by railway had also rendered it necessary to countervail those movements by Mounted Infantry. In Russia he believed there were in the Army about 50,000 Mounted Infantry, and all agreed that our Mounted Infantry had done good service in Egypt. There was no parallel between Mounted Infantry and Cavalry; the Mounted Infantry fought on foot, the camel or horse being merely the means of transporting them, whereas the Cavalry soldier fought on horseback, and the horse was his weapon. Therefore he said that no increase in the Cavalry would do away with the necessity of increasing the number of Mounted Infantry. The latter were carried by horses or camels to points where they were wanted in good time; by means of these animals they were also able to make longer marches than they could otherwise make; and when they arrived at their point they dismounted and fought on foot with the long rifle. He also thought it would be an advantage to have an addition of mounted men to every regiment. At present an Infantry regiment was unable to stir unless it had a Cavalry escort, which it was not always easy to obtain. As a matter of fact, scouting could not be done by men on foot to any effective extent, and his proposal to the Secretary of State for War was that there should be attached to every Infantry regiment about 20 horses, which number he thought would probably be sufficient for training some 80 men. If they were to have mounted men at all it was necessary that they should be thoroughly instructed in the management of horses, because without that knowledge a man would soon give a horse a sore back. He believed that his proposal, if adopted, would have the result of making the Army more effective than it was at present, by forming the nucleus of a corps of mounted men, which would be very useful in time of war.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he did not see how any hon. Gentleman sitting on that (the Liberal) side of the House could hesitate to support his hon. Friend (Mr. Rylands). When they recollected the circumstances of the proposal of the noble Marquess below him (the Marquess of Hartington) it would be remembered that there was a crisis, an emergency—that the country was supposed to be in peril when this extraordinary Vote of 35,000 men was proposed. But surely it was recognized on both sides that the emergency had passed away, and that the danger no longer existed. Confirmation of that fact was given, because the money was not asked for to maintain the difference between 35,000 men and the number already enlisted. He thought it would be well to resist the temptation to increase the Army unnecessarily. What would the men cost supposing they were enlisted? Something like £3,000,000 per annum in addition to the present expenditure. Surely the expenditure was already sufficiently large and extravagant; and it could not be contemplated by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith), in the present political state of the country and their foreign relations, that those men should be called in. The moral effect of reducing the number of men from 35,000 to 12,000 would be felt not only in this country, but in Europe at large. In the present overgrown military and naval systems in what were called civilized and Christian countries the world was in constant and increasing danger of a breach of the peace. They in this country were supposed to have a control over their military and naval expenditure, and over the Heads of those Departments; and if, under present circumstances, they had not the moral courage to say that as the danger had passed away, and there was no further call for the men at that moment, the expenditure should be reduced, they would be missing a great opportunity of returning to the path from which, unfortunately, they had wandered far away to the injury not only of this country, but of Europe in general.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not intend to refer to a good many of the subjects that have been touched upon in this interesting, but rather discursive discussion. Hon. Members have mentioned the two discussions which have already taken place on the Army Estimates, and in which I have taken part. I do not wish to repeat anything I have already said, and the only two points I consider it necessary to refer to are the Amendment of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) and a matter I shall touch upon subsequently. I am not able to vote for the Amendment of my hon. Friend. The Supplementary Vote for Men which has been moved by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith), and which has been put from the Chair, is a Supplementary Vote which was laid on the Table by myself as a responsible Member of the late Administration; and I should, therefore, be in a considerable difficulty in voting against it. It is true, as has been said, that circumstances have changed to a certain extent; and it is extremely probable that if the late Government had remained in Office they would have withdrawn the Supplementary Estimate and proposed one containing the same wording, but of another figure. However, taking into consideration the assurances given, it does not appear to me that the Committee should take such an extreme course as to reject the Vote. The right hon. Gentleman opposite has admitted that circumstances are changed. He says he believes—he not only hopes, but believes—that there will be no necessity for calling to the Colours the number of Reserve men required to make up the 35,000. But he is unable to state, and the other responsible Ministers are also unable to state, that the circumstances which rendered it necessary to ask for a large increase to the military resources of the country have changed to such an extent that all danger has passed away, and to give Europe the impression that this country is no longer under the necessity of making or maintaining any increase to those resources. That I understand to be the position taken up by the right hon. Gentleman. I agree with the Government that it would give a false impression, and perhaps be raising false hopes, and placing the country in a position of false security, if we were to make alterations in the Supplementary Estimates at the present time. The right hon. Gentlemam has assured the Committee that the men will not be called out unless it is absolutely necessary that they should be; and, under the circumstances, I do not think that we should be running any risk whatever, but that, on the contrary, we should be strengthening the hands of the Government, by agreeing to the Motion which they have proposed. I cannot vote for the Amendment of my hon. Friend. The only other subject to which I wish to refer is that dealt with by the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), who referred to the great cause which the House and the country has to be grateful to the officers and men who have taken part in the numerous Expeditions which this country has sent out. I have on past occasions endeavoured to render my humble tribute to the manner in which all ranks have conducted themselves in those Expeditions; but this, I think, is hardly the occasion to enter upon the subject, more especially when we know that the Government intends, before the Session closes, to give an opportunity to Parliament to express publicly their thanks to those who have taken part in the Campaigns. Regret has been expressed that an inquiry has not been held into the occurrence at Baker's Zereba, in which General M'Neill was concerned. I gave the House, some time ago, the substance of a despatch which the late Government received from Lord Wolseley upon the subject, and his reason for holding the opinion that any such inquiry could not be conducted with advantage, but, on the contrary, with disadvantage, to the Service. The House and the country were at the time, I believe, satisfied that there was considerable force in that opinion. The practice of trying Commanding Officers in the Navy by court martial when a ship is lost or injured may be a practice very well adapted to that Service; but I doubt whether it is a practice that could be introduced with advantage in the Army. At any rate, it could hardly be introduced except in the case of an actual reverse; and whatever criticism may have taken place of the operations at Baker's Zereba, the result cannot be described as a reverse. Though we suffered very severely, especially in our transport, the surprise ended in a vigorous repulse and discouragement of the enemy, and the destruction of a large body of his forces. Under what circumstances is it proposed to lay it down that there is to be an inquiry? Is it proposed to lay it down that there is to be an inquiry not only when there has been a reverse, but when there has been a success also? If we are to have inquiries with regard to these operations we must have one after every action that takes place, because hardly any action could take place without some of the officers present who are not responsible to the Government, or some of those irresponsible Civil gentlemen who now so numerously accompany our troops on active service, being of opinion that it could have been conducted in another and a better way. I am of opinion, as Lord Wolseley suggested, that the officer who will not risk something is not the officer we want at the head of our troops, and that the officer who will not take responsibility is not the kind of officer we should have. An officer who has responsibility is extremely likely to do something which will be criticized and will not meet with the approval of officers who have no responsibility. It has been said that a court martial need not be constituted to inquire into this matter; but I do not know in what other way the inquiry could be conducted. The facts are simple enough, and are perfectly well known. Whether mistakes occurred or not, there has been, as far as I know, on the part of all the officers concerned, the most complete frankness and straightforwardness in the statements that have been made as to what occurred. There is no difference of opinion, as far as I know, in any of the accounts. The orders given by the General, and the way in which they were executed, are perfectly well known to His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, to the Adjutant General, and to the other Military Authorities; and all that is to be done is for them to decide whether blame or censure should be passed in consequence of the orders given and carried out. As I stated some time ago, His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief intends to wait until the return of Lord Wolseley to this country before he alters the opinion which he has formed upon the matter. He wishes to consult his Lordship as to the impression he formed of what took place; and after such consultation he will consider whether or not any expression of opinion on his part is or is not necessary. As the Committee is aware, Lord Wolseley returned to London to-day. His Royal Highness will now have the opportunity of consulting him upon the subject; and until he has taken advantage of that opportunity it appears to me that any expression on the part of the Committee as to the necessity of an inquiry is altogether uncalled for, and would tend to lower the *prestige* of the Army. I do not think it is necessary for me to go into any other subjects that have been referred to, and I will conclude by saying that I am unable to support the Amendment.

MR. GOURLEY said, he hoped that some inquiry would be held as to the disaster which occurred to General M'Neill's Zereba. All who had read an account of that disaster must be convinced that there had been an utter absence of proportionate caution on the part of the Commander. If ordinary precautions had been taken, judging from the reports sent home, the disaster could not have occurred. The excuse made by the noble Marquess for not holding an inquiry was that it would tend to decrease the confidence of the rank and file in their officers, or deter the rank and file from properly performing their duties.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I did not say that.

MR. GOURLEY said, he begged the noble Marquess's pardon. He was merely drawing an inference from the noble Marquess's statement. The noble Marquess seemed to think that an inquiry of this kind would have a tendency to lower the *prestige* of the Army and destroy the patriotism of those who composed the rank and file. He (Mr. Gourley) held a contrary opinion, and, in spite of what had been said against the view, considered that a course should be pursued similar to that adopted in the Navy. If a vessel took the ground or came into collision, or if any other accident happened to her, however trivial, a court martial was held on the officer in command. What was the effect of that? Why, it had a tendency either to clear the officers and men from blame, or place it on the proper shoulders and create more care in the future. In the same way an inquiry into a disaster in the Army, such as that which had occurred to the force under General M'Neill, would have a tendency to increase the confidence of the rank and file in their Commanders. An hon. Member who had spoken had excused General Graham in regard to his first disaster in the Soudan, because he confessed he had made an error; but the hon. Member had forgotten this fact—that nearly the whole of the Naval Brigade under that General's command had been almost cut to pieces owing to faulty square. There ought certainly to have been some inquiry on the part of the War Office into the disaster that had befallen that force. But what had happened in the case of General Graham? Why, he no sooner reached the Soudan, than apparently he commenced to make similar blunders to those he made during his first Campaign. Therefore, without troubling the Committee further, he did hope that, inasmuch as in answer to a Question he (Mr. Gourley) had put to the ex-Secretary of State for War when he promised to make some inquiry, he would not follow the advice of the noble Marquess, but would cause a strict inquiry to be made into the causes of the disaster which befel the Zereba under General M'Neill's command.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH): I am obliged to confess that I do not possess the confidence or the knowledge which the hon. Gentleman appears to possess, and which would render me capable of at once saying, of my own knowledge, that those who have served their country have mismanaged and misconducted the operations which have been intrusted to them. For my own part, I prefer to rely upon the advice of the noble Marquess, who was responsible for the Army when the transaction occurred; and I believe that the course taken by the noble Marquess was wise and just, and that nothing could be more injurious than to call an event of this kind a disaster, when it has brought into light some of the best characteristics of the English soldier. Whatever may have been our loss—and, no doubt, there was lamentable loss of life—the loss inflicted upon the enemy was crushing and complete. It is notorious that the enemy, of whose bravery and adaptability for war it is impossible to speak too highly, has not stood up again against our Army since that engagement. That was the last action fought in the Soudan, and that was the last time the enemy stood up before our soldiers. I will not pursue the subject further, as an opportunity will soon be afforded of doing justice to the, I was going to say marvellous, bravery of our troops. They have been exposed, under circumstances of great difficulty, to dangers from which ordinary men would have recoiled; and they have maintained the character of Englishmen in a manner which must make us proud of the services they have rendered to their country under conditions excessively trying. In a climate which, under ordinary circumstances, would deprive men of vigour and power, they maintained the character of English troops and the soldier's reputation. I have received a great deal of most excellent advice, and I wish to tender to hon. Gentlemen my warm thanks for the kindness that has prompted them to give me that advice. I can assure them that, so far as I am able, I hope to give good effect to everything that I find of a practical nature in that advice. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) has already warned me that he will exercise the greatest possible vigilance over the War Department now that we have changed sides. We all know that he is capable of denouncing extravagance and maladministration in the warmest and most eloquent terms; and I hope he will keep a vigilant watch on me. I can assure him that I will give him every assistance I can to stimulate economy and improve the efficiency of the Department as long as I have the honour to preside over it. But I must demur to the suggestion that, because I happen to sit on this Bench, I am willing to be a party to any extravagance or to any expenditure that, in my opinion, is not required for the defence and security of the country. I have been reminded of the necessity of looking to efficiency as well as to economy. I entirely accept that view. Hon. Gentlemen have told us that we must have, not a large Army, but a well-appointed Army, and a thoroughly efficient Army, with large Reserves. I entirely agree with them, and I hope they will support the Secretary of State for War, whoever he may be, in securing that this Empire shall possess, not a large Army, but a well-appointed and efficient one. I do not think any Administration, whether composed of Members on this side, or on the other side of the House, desire the Army to be formed on any other principle. Well, an hon. and gallant Gentleman, whom I do not now see in his place, spoke of the number of men who join voluntarily from the Reserves; and I may, perhaps, be allowed to say one word as to how the men came out from the Reserves. The men of only 15 regiments were called out, numbering 2,492, and of these 2,309 responded to the call, a circumstance which reflects the highest possible credit on the men themselves, and which shows the extent to which we can rely upon the Reserves in time of emergency. The hon. and gallant Member also asked how many had joined voluntarily. Well, out of the 15,000 now serving, 9,000 joined voluntarily, and have returned to the Colours. I should only be detaining the Committee at a moment when there is no reason for doing it if I ventured to go back on the many suggestions that have been made in the course of this discussion. I should like to have referred to the valuable suggestion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for South Hants (Sir Frederick Fitz-Wygram); but if he will permit me to study the information that has been given to me, I hope at some future time to be better qualified than I am now to express an opinion upon it, and upon many other suggestions which have been made. As to the particular Vote before the Committee, I have said already that I hope it will not be necessary to call for the men; but, upon my responsibility, I believe the best course to take is to furnish the Government with a Force that will be sufficient if the necessity for it arises and an emergency should occur. I trust that no such emergency will arise.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 12; Noes 98: Majority 86.—(Div. List, No. 220.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

ARMY ESTIMATES.

(2.) £606,000, Volunteer Corps.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said that, in his opinion, the 215,000

Volunteers, who were found ready to devote their time to the service of the country, deserved to be assisted in every way. In many instances, at present, the Volunteers had to spend very large sums of money not only for drill sheds, but for rifle ranges, and many of the latter were entirely inadequate. There were two questions which never ought to be lost sight of; one was the discipline of the Force—and he thought everyone would say that the Force had of late improved very much in discipline—and the other was that they should be taught to shoot accurately, because that was one of the main objects for which they were organized. The Volunteers had neither great coats or packs, or any of the things which were essentially necessary should the men be called out. He did not ask his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) to do anything in a hurry, but to consider what was the best way of dealing with a question which he was perfectly certain would commend itself to every right-thinking man in the country—namely, the question of promoting the efficiency of the Volunteer Force. When they found men willing to give up their time to the service of their country, every assistance should be afforded them to become proficient in the duties they had to perform. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would give to the Volunteer Force those advantages which they required and deserved.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, he should like to express in a few words a similar view to that of his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Barttelot). He did not think that anyone who looked upon the Volunteer Force as an important element in their national defence could be quite satisfied with the state of things which sometimes occurred. When Rifle Corps or Artillery Corps were obliged to make up their necessary expenses by resorting to bazaars and other expedients of that kind, it did suggest the question whether the country was doing its duty by the Force. And the question of expense had a great bearing on one very important element of the Force—namely, the officers. He believed that if an investigation could be made it would be found that many gentlemen whom it was very desirable should join the Volunteer Force were deterred from accepting commissions because of the great expense in which they would thereby be involved. In the case of most of the Volunteer Corps, it was absolutely necessary for a man who took a commission to be prepared to put his hand in his pocket and spend a considerable sum of money annually. Volunteer officers were now required to undergo a rigorous examination in tactics and other matters, and it was very desirable that no unnecessary obstacles should be put in the way of their serving their country. The wants of the Volunteer Force had been put forth in a concrete form. It had been suggested that a 10*s*. addition to the efficiency grant would go very far to remedy the existing deficiency; and he suggested to his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) that between now and next year he should take into his very earnest consideration whether it was not desirable to increase the efficiency grant, and so make the Volunteer Corps less burdensome than they now were on those required to maintain them. As to the numbers of the Force, it would be found that on page 40 the number of Artillery provided for this year was 38,283. Under the heading 1884-5, he found that the number was 38,898, showing a nominal decrease in that arm of the Service. Looking at the Volunteer Returns, he could not make out how that decrease could have happened; but now he understood that there was a misprint in the Estimate, and that the number entered for last year should be 36,000 instead of 38,000. As a matter of fact, each arm of the Service except one was in a state of numerical development, the one arm of the Volunteer Force which was not in that happy condition being the Mounted Rifles. Judging from what the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for South Hampshire (Sir Frederick Fitz-Wygram) had said with reference to the importance of Mounted Infantry in the Regular Army, he thought it was a matter of some concern to those who took an interest in the Volunteer Force that the Volunteer Mounted Rifles should be decreasing in numbers. The policy of the War Office had been to bring the Volunteer Force into closer contact with the Regular Army, and if Mounted

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Rifles or Infantry were to be a portion of the Establishment of the Regular Army, he suggested for consideration whether some attempt should not be made to have a mounted squad or troop in connection with each Volunteer regiment. He thought it was possible that some arrangement could be made by which persons who had horses and liked to devote themselves to military exercises might be induced to join a mounted company in connection with a Volunteer regiment. Those were matters which were worthy of consideration, and he threw it out as a suggestion whether the time had not arrived when the organization and condition of the Force should not form the subject of an inquiry by a Committee of that House, which should take evidence from the persons most interested in the Volunteer movement. Of course, he did not expect that his right hon. Friend would be able to give any answer that Session to such a suggestion. There was another very important point in connection with the Force—namely, shooting. At the present moment the annual competition was taking place at Wimbledon which was supposed to test the efficiency of the Volunteer Force in shooting. It was open to doubt whether the Wimbledon meeting was carried on in the most business-like way. And it was questionable whether it would not be better that the annual rifle contests should be conducted on similar principles to the meeting of the Artillery Association, and that the Volunteers who attended the camp should be subjected to more strict military discipline. It was suggested some time ago that when the Force came to be armed with the Martini-Henry it would become dangerous to hold the camp on Wimbledon Common, and that, if that were so, arrangements should be made for holding the meeting at Aldershot. Of course, that could not be done without a grant being made for the purpose, because it would then be quite impossible to pay any great part of the cost of the meeting of the National Rifle Association at Aldershot out of the subscriptions of those who came to look on because they took an interest in shooting as a sport. There was also the question of rifle ranges, which was a very serious and important one; and it was very probable that many corps would find that the capabilities of the present ranges were hardly up to the requirements of the new rifle.

Colonel SEELY said, he had a suggestion to make to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith), the adoption of which might distinguish his term of Office without, at the same time, entailing any appreciable charge on the country. The very existence of the Volunteer Force pre-supposes that they might at some time or other lose the command of the Channel. Unless they were prepared to face that fact, the right hon. Gentlemen would do well to disband the Force and save the money which it cost the country. The Force was raised to defend them against invasion, and it was maintained with that object. There were people who thought that their invasion was impossible; but he thought after what had occurred within the last year or two that was certainly not the opinion of most Members of the Committee. It was well known that within the last year they had had the greater portion of their Fleet in the Mediterranean, and that for several months it would not have been at all impossible for the French, if they had been inclined to pick a quarrel with us, to have so arranged as to have obtained the command of the Channel before we could get our Fleet there. In the old days, no doubt, that would not have mattered much, because it would have taken France a long time to concentrate a large number of troops on her coast. Since France had been covered with railways all that was completely altered, and there was no doubt that the French could within a very few hours concentrate probably 100,000 or 150,000 Infantry at the ports on the coast. Now, at those ports—at Dunkirque, Calais, Boulogne, Dieppe, and Havre—his impression was that there would always be found a sufficient number of vessels, fishing boats, coasters, screw colliers, and steamers of one sort and another, to convey—he thought he was moderate in saying—100,000 men in calm weather across the Channel. And there were many parts of the South Coast of England where troops could be landed in calm weather without any difficulty whatever. As the tide was going out, guns, horses, and ammunition could be landed without the smallest difficulty. Now, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman, what would be done in the event of such a thing happening? The right hon. Gentleman could not withdraw any troops from Ireland—that was clear; and in England there were only at the present time about 30 or 40 battalions of Regular Infantry—he (Colonel Seely) did not know the exact number, but assumed that there were not more than 50 at the most. The right hon. Gentleman dared not remove the garrisons from Dover or Portsmouth or from any of the Dockyards, and his (Colonel Seely's) impression was that the right hon. Gentleman could not to-morrow put more than 25 battalions of Infantry of 600 men each in the field. He doubted whether 15 battalions of Infantry could be put in the field without disturbing the depôts of the territorial regiments; and if the right hon. Gentleman were to disturb those depôts he would interfere with the organization of the Reserve and Militia. Well, now, it might be said that the French would have to bring a large train and baggage, and all that sort of thing; but it seemed to him that all the French would want if they attempted an invasion would be plenty of ball cartridges. The whole of the South of England was full of everything that an Army wanted with the exception of ammunition. Granted ammunition, his impression was that an invading Army would find all they wanted—all the horses and carts and provisions which they required would be found ready at hand. What he wanted to suggest to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was that in the Volunteer Force, for which this Vote was asked, he had a very large number of men who, from the circumstances of the Force, were practically almost as available as troops in barracks. Nearly all the men of a regiment lived in the same town; the officers were practically speaking all resident; the men had their arms and uniforms at their own homes; and there was no reason whatever, as far as he knew, why almost the whole of the Force should not be available for service in a very few hours after notice was given. But it was not at all so at the present time; because, in the first place, the Volunteers had no ammunition. When the shooting season was over, the Volunteers had no ammunition whatever. It might be argued that there was plenty of ammunition in the country; but to issue 100 rounds per man—which was the very smallest allowance which could be made—to 200,000 men, would take up considerable time, not to speak of the confusion which would be created. Then, if there was ammunition, there was nothing provided for its conveyance. The pouches which all Volunteer Corps had held a very small number of rounds. So that what the Volunteers wanted was, first of all, ammunition, which, to the amount of 100 rounds a man, at least, ought to be in store at the different headquarters, ready to be issued when wanted; and, in the second place, stout bags to carry it in. If the men were called upon to march, he did not doubt that they would soon find the horses and carts to carry the reserve ammunition required. Then, again, the Volunteers ought to have some means of carrying food. He would not say anything about great coats, because Secretaries of State must be weary of hearing the question of great coats mentioned. Great coats were not absolutely necessary; but ammunition and food were necessary, and unless the Volunteers were supplied with them it was impossible for them to move. Assuming that ammunition and food were supplied, and that they had the men standing ready to move, there was no doubt that the Railway Companies would be able to move the troops with very great rapidity. Take his own case. He commanded a regiment of 1,000 men, and he should be very disappointed if, on a sudden emergency, there were not 800 men available. He had no doubt whatever that either the Midland Railway Company or the Great Northern Railway Company could have a train ready within an hour to take the men anywhere they might be required. It was necessary, if Volunteers were to be made use of on a sudden emergency, it should be impressed upon them that it was their duty to turn out whenever they received notice. Unless that were done, and unless they had some practice in turning out, they would not, if really required, turn out in the way, he was quite sure, they would on reflection wish to do. If the exceedingly moderate requirements he had alluded to, and which would not involve the country in any cost, were complied with, his impression was that within 24 hours probably not less than 150,000 of the 200,000 men would be found ready at hand. Now, what would the right hon. Gentleman do with them? He would have to tell off a sufficient number to garrison all the fortresses. The 30,000 or 40,000 Artillery Volunteers ought, it seemed to him (Colonel Seely), to be told off to the Dockyards and mercantile ports. Then the right hon. Gentleman would have to tell off a certain number of battalions of Volunteers to replace the battalions of Regular troops doing garrison duty in the country. That would enable the right hon. Gentleman to have all the Regular troops—the Regular Infantry, of which he (Colonel Seely) was speaking—at his disposal, and that in itself would be a matter of the greatest importance. If it were known that in 10 or 12 hours the troops in the fortresses of Dover and Portsmouth and of other places could be vastly augmented or replaced by Volunteers, it would undoubtedly strengthen the confidence of the people in the arrangements which the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War could make on an emergency. After the different fortresses had been garrisoned, there would still be left from 100 to 150 battalions of Volunteer Infantry at the disposal of the War Office. It was not for him to suggest what arrangements the War Office should make; but he did maintain that the arrangements should be made now, because the conditions could be just as well thought out quietly in time of peace as they could in time of great confusion and emergency. It might be said there should be a fusion of the Volunteers and the Regular troops. Personally, he thought it would be well if to every two Volunteer battalions there was one battalion of Regular Infantry, and that the commander of the latter should be the brigadier of the three battalions. He should like the right hon. Gentleman to compare for one moment the position he was now in with the position which he might be in with no cost and with very little trouble. At the present time the right hon. Gentleman could not, without disturbing his territorial depôt regiments, put 15,000 Regulars in the field; but if proper arrangements were made—arrangements which would involve little or no cost to the country—the right hon. Gentleman would be able to put 100,000 or 120,000 Volunteer Infantry in the field within 24 hours. Now, the position of the country would be very much strengthened if such arrangements were made; and nothing would so much strengthen and encourage the Volunteers as to make their place in the defence of the country clear and definite. If the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would utilize the peculiarity of the Volunteers' constitution—namely, their immediate availability for service as compared with the men of the Army Reserve and Militia—he would do great service to the country. It might be said that unless they were careful they would throw over, to some extent, the connection which was said to exist between the Volunteers and the territorial regiments. He should like to state very distinctly to the right hon. Gentleman that the connection that existed between Volunteer battalions and the territorial regiments was purely verbal; there was no real connection between the two that he knew of. In conclusion, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to see his way to consider the matters he had specified.

Sir ROBERT LOYD LINDSAY wished to bear his testimony to that of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Nottingham (Colonel Seely) to the value of the Volunteer Force, and he hoped the Government would be able to make some additional allowances or some increase of the capitation grant to that Force. He had listened attentively to his hon. and gallant Friend, and nobody knew better what the Volunteers stood in need of, and he had hoped that his hon. and gallant Friend would have concluded his remarks by, at all events, urging for some additional allowance by which the Volunteers might provide themselves with those necessaries which his hon. and gallant Friend had referred to. He was really at a loss to understand how those various things were to be provided, unless they were supplied out of a capitation grant. His hon. and gallant Friend said the whole could be done without any additional cost of expenditure, and that what was wanted was to make the place of the Volunteers clear and distinct among the Army Forces of the country. That was all very well, but it would not bring them a single step more forward than they were now. He could not agree with his hon. and gallant Friend that the Volunteers were not a territorial force;

the place of the Volunteers was in their own territorial district. They were, in fact, the most thoroughly territorial in their character of any of their Military Forces. They were really the only Force that was entirely associated with distinct localities, and which might be said to belong wholly to the district in which they were raised.

COLONEL SEELY said, that what he had remarked was, not that the Volunteers were not a territorial force, but that their connection with the territorial regiment was not a real but a verbal connection.

SIR ROBERT LOYD LINDSAY said, that territorial regiments were connected much less than he desired to see with the counties, and certainly there could be no doubt of the fact that the Volunteer regiments were absolutely territorial. They all belonged to the same districts; they were officered to a great extent by gentlemen living in the same county; and, in reality, they were the most territorial force the country possessed. Six or seven years ago, the Predecessor of his right hon. Friend who now held the position of Secretary of State for War appointed a Committee to inquire into the condition of the Volunteer Force, and that Committee made two or three recommendations. Some of them were made to the Volunteer Force itself, and they were in the nature of pointing out how the Force could best economize its resources. There was also a recommendation that there should be a further allowance from the State. With regard to those recommendations which were made to the Volunteers themselves, he thought he might say that every one of them was cheerfully and readily accepted and adopted by the Force. One of them was that the Force should consolidate small regiments and small companies into a battalion; and another was that they should assimilate their uniforms, and adopt, if possible, the territorial uniform of the regiment to which they were attached. There were several recommendations in regard to range and drill sheds, one and all of which, he believed, were adopted, and a great amelioration in the condition of the Force was brought about in consequence. There was another recommendation which only went to the extent of recommending an increase of the capitation grant; but, nevertheless, it was suggested that an additional allowance should be given for training in camp. Very shortly after that Committee was appointed, a new Administration came into Office, and he was bound to confess that the new Secretary of State did carry out very loyally the recommendations which had been adopted by his Predecessors. To a certain extent the increased allowance for training in camp was granted to the Force, but it was not done to the full extent of what the Committee had hoped. The recommendation of the Committee which sat at the War Office was that, as the men could, in their opinion, only be made thoroughly efficient by attending Volunteer camps, an allowance of 2*s.* a-day for six days per head should be made to each man training in camp. A Vote was taken in the Estimates for the number of men whom it was thought probable would desire to go into camp. But the number of men who presented themselves in the following year exceeded the number for whom provision had been made in the Estimates. The Volunteers were accordingly informed at the War Office that more men were seeking to go into camp than there was provision for, and the surplus names were accordingly struck off. The result was that only a limited number of men had received the benefit of camp training, and the advantages, which were hoped to be derived by the Service when the recommendation of the Committee was made, had been much diminished. It was said that the Committee did not recommend any increase of the capitation grant. That was true; but it did recommend an increase of allowance. Since that Committee sat, now nearly seven years ago, circumstances had marched onwards very rapidly. The Volunteer Force itself had become more established in the opinion of the people, and it had become more accepted as one of the institutions of the country. That fact, gratifying and satisfactory as it was in every way, still possessed this disadvantage—that whereas in former days persons were ready to contribute annually to the maintenance of Volunteer regiments, they now considered that the Volunteer Force was established, and, therefore, they did not consider it necessary to make those contributions which they formerly made. They would as soon think now-a-days of contributing

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to the maintenance of the Yeomanry and the Militia as of making any contribution towards the Volunteer Force. In that way there was a considerable call made on the Volunteers themselves for expenses which were originally subscribed for. In former times great liberality was displayed in lending Corn Exchanges, public halls, fields, and other places where the ordinary drill could be carried on. He could assure the Committee that now everything of that sort had to be paid for. If a Volunteer officer desired to take his men into a field for drill or practice he had to pay hard cash for the use of it. The result was that the Volunteer Force had considerable difficulty in holding its own in connection with the heavy charges which were constantly falling upon it; and it could not be denied that the Force was undoubtedly deficient in many respects. It was deficient so far as being properly equipped was concerned; and when a regiment was required to go out for two or three days, or to camp out for a week, it had no means of carrying the food that was necessary, together with ammunition and clothes. If the Volunteers were to be made really efficient those were matters which ought to be attended to. He would not advocate the giving of eleemosynary relief, because he did not think that was the way to deal with the Volunteer Force; but it was most unsatisfactory to require them, as at present, to carry a heavy burden on their back. It was very distasteful to them; it took away a great deal from a man's strength to make him a beast of burden, and it deprived him of the power of marching with celerity. There were excellent inventions for carrying kits, which were all to be obtained for money, and which ought to be supplied if the Military Authorities had any regard for the health and safety of the Volunteers. At the last Review at Brighton a number of regiments were positively without the slightest protection; and if the weather had been stormy, instead of fine, there would have been many men who would have been exposed for 24 hours to the inclemency of the weather without any protection whatever. What was really wanted was a further capitation grant; and if the Force was to be maintained in a satisfactory position, it would be necessary to increase that grant. They did not ask for any great increase, and what the amount was to be must be left to the decision of those who framed the Estimates at the War Office. At the same time, he thought that some increase was absolutely necessary in order to preserve the vitality of the Force. Then, again, there was great difficulty experienced in obtaining officers. The difficulty arose in this way. Many of the Volunteer regiments were heavily in debt, and it was found that, although it was not a difficult matter to secure the services of officers who were quite ready to give their time and experience, they declined to take upon their shoulders the debts of the regiment, and, in consequence, the country lost the services of many men who were well qualified to command the Volunteer Force. Those were matters which he thought it was due to his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) that he should have pointed out to him. He did not know whether his right hon. Friend would be able to give any guarantee upon the subject; but he had no doubt that his right hon. Friend would use his knowledge and bring his discretion to bear upon it. He did not advocate the appointment of any further Committee. The question had been investigated already by two or three Committees, and all the information that could be desired was now in the possession of the War Office. He thought his right hon. Friend, on inquiry, would see that the circumstances had materially changed from what they were seven years ago, when the Departmental Committee of the War Office sat, and that the time had now arrived when it was necessary to add to the capitation grant. In dealing with the question, he would deprecate any increase in the amount of money given merely for skill in shooting. It was well known in the Force that the registered work at the ranges was such as they could not altogether rely upon, and the making of the grant dependent upon the register kept by the sergeant at the range would, in his opinion, be much to be deprecated. If they were to have an increase of the capitation grant, let them have it for efficiency. It was all very well to have increased shooting efficiency, and he should object to the taking away of any portion of the money prizes now awarded; but any increase of the capitation grant that might be given, he earnestly hoped would be given for efficiency, and that it would not be made to depend upon the men becoming marksmen, or upon high-class shooting.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER, said, he was anxious to explain to the Committee the nature of the increase on this Vote. The main increase — namely, £18,600, under Sub-head B—was for the pay, &c., of Sergeant Inspectors of the Volunteer Corps. It was simply a transfer from Vote 1, and it was a charge made in accordance with the desire of the Public Accounts Committee, who were of opinion, and, he thought, very wisely, that it would be much better to have the pay of the permanent Staff of all the three arms of the Volunteer Service—Rifles, Artillery, and Engineers—included in that Vote. Up to the present time, the pay of the permanent Staff of Artillery and Engineers was taken in Vote 1, while the expenses of the permanent Staff of the Rifle Volunteers were taken in this Vote. It was thought better to transfer from Vote 1 the pay of the Artillery and Engineers, and include the whole of the pay for the three branches of the Volunteer Service in one Vote. That accounted for an increase of £18,600. The remainder, of course, was due to the increase in the number of the Volunteers. In regard to the other two items of increase—the addition to the capitation grant, £9,400, was explained by the increase of 6,000 men in the aggregate strength of the Volunteers, who were now 208,000 as against 202,000 last year; there was also the increase of £8,500 in the Miscellaneous Charges of the Volunteer Force, which was the increase alluded to by the hon. and gallant Member for Berkshire (Sir Robert Loyd Lindsay) when speaking of the limit placed upon those who desired to go into the country for training, and earn the capitation grant by remaining there for six days. The late Government had thought it best not to limit the number upon a matter which seemed to be somewhat popular among all the Volunteer officers, and which afforded the Volunteers the best chance of learning the discipline taught in the Regular Army, and of becoming efficient. That discipline was far better taught in camp. The camp services were never taught except in camp; and, generally speaking, the popularity of this service was so great that it was thought it might have been better to have granted the full amount last year. That accounted for a further increase of £4,800. He was anxious to say one or two words in answer to the speeches of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire and of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Nottingham (Colonel Seely), both of whom made, he believed, demands for increased expenditure upon the Volunteer Service. There had been a statement made in "another place," by his noble Friend the Under Secretary of State in the late Government (the Earl of Morley), on this very question. The hon. and gallant Member for Berkshire formed one of the Committee who sat seven years ago, and went into the whole question of Volunteer equipment and the capitation grants. The object of the inquiry of that Committee was to ascertain the best possible means of increasing the allowance made to the Volunteers. When the present Government came into Office, they found that there had been an augmentation of the grant, and substantially they carried out all the recommendations that were made by the Committee. But as to the supply of kits, it was thought that all the requirements would be met if a certain number of articles were kept in store and issued when they were required. It was felt that there would be great difficulty in storing all the articles required; and, further, that if they were issued to the Volunteers, there was a risk of their being used for non-military purposes. That was a point to which he wished to call the attention of his hon. and gallant Friend. His hon. and gallant Friend argued in favour of an increase of the capitation grant to the amount of not more than 10*s.*; but it must be remembered that the Volunteers were a very large Force, now numbering 208,000, and if they increased the capitation grant from 30*s.* to £2, they would really be putting the country to a cost of £100,000 for that one item of increase. It had always been a difficulty that in any grant to the Volunteers they must make it universal. They could hardly make it dependent upon any condition of efficiency; and if every Volunteer was to receive an additional sum of 10*s.*, it would be found that there must be an increase in the Estimates of the Secre-

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tary of State for War of something very close upon £100,000; and as to the desire to have particular articles, as he had pointed out, they could not be sure that their use would be confined to Volunteer or military purposes. For instance, great coats might be used in a variety of ways, and as to water-bottles, they might be very easily supplied by the Volunteers themselves. All they had to do was to procure a soda water-bottle and have it covered with leather. Then, again, with regard to ammunition, it was hardly right that the men should carry ammunition about with them except when on actual duty. They must be treated like the Regular soldiers, who were never entrusted with ammunition except on duty.

Colonel SEELY said, he quite agreed with that; but he thought it ought to be kept in the Volunteer stores.

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER said, the custom of the Regular Army was to issue ammunition through the Quartermaster to soldiers going on duty. That ammunition they carried in their pouches, and re-delivered when they came off duty. It had been found inconvenient to place deadly weapons in the hands of the men without restriction. It would probably be remembered that a number of outrages were committed in 1854, in consequence of allowing ammunition to be indiscriminately carried. For instance, Captain Keate was shot at, and there was a desperate murder at Chatham of two officers; and in consequence Viscount Cardwell, who was Secretary of State for War at the time, issued an order that all unused ammunition served out to soldiers going on duty should be returned into store when they came off duty. He thought the Volunteers ought to be treated in the same way; but there ought to be means of serving out ammunition rapidly in the case of an emergency. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Nottingham (Colonel Seely) had referred to the issue of canvas bags to enable the men to carry rations with them. That might be an excellent thing in an enemy's country; but he would appeal to his hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir Robert Loyd Lindsay), as an old Adjutant of the Guards to say whether it was not a matter which might safely be placed in the hands of the Quartermaster? A telegram could always be sent to the Quartermaster at the station whence the troops were proceeding, to say when a regiment was about to arrive, and he would be able to provide them with a hot meal and all the provisions they required at the time of their arrival. Of course, there were various things in which by the expenditure of a little money it would be possible to increase the efficiency and comfort of the Volunteers; but where it would be necessary to incur a very great expense, the question they ought to ask was whether it was worth while, considering the enormous outlay which would have to be incurred, to place at the disposal of the Volunteers those appliances which were only really required if they were serving in an enemy's country. He apologized for having detained the Committee; but he was anxious to show that the Department, so far as the late Government were concerned, were fully aware of the interests of the Volunteer Force, but had considered that in many of the requisitions made the cost would more than out-balance the advantage.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. Northcote) said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir Arthur Hayter) had left him very little to say in reference to matters of detail connected with the Office in which he had the honour to be his Successor. But he hoped he should not be misrepresenting the feelings of his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War when he said that all suggestions made with the object of securing the increased efficiency of the Volunteer Force would receive from the present Administration most anxious and careful consideration. It was impossible to speak too highly of the great anxiety of the men who formed the Volunteer Force to become more and more efficient. The General Commanding at Aldershot, in his Report for last year, said—

> "The Volunteers came down in considerable force towards the close of the drill season. They were put through a short course, beginning with battalion drill, under the supervision of their respective brigadiers, and ending with a sham fight on the Fox Hills. They took the greatest pains with and interest in their drill, and their progress was extraordinary. Their discipline and general conduct were admirable."

He thought that that Report, coming as it did from a most experienced Officer, would give the utmost satisfaction in regard to the efficiency of the Volunteer Force. The present discussion had ranged over a wide field, and questions of the utmost importance had been raised in it. The hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) suggested the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the organization of the Force. That suggestion had not been received with general favour; but it was obviously necessary in the first instance to consult the Volunteer officers on the subject. Various proposals for increasing the efficiency of the Volunteers had been made in the course of that discussion by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire (Sir Robert Loyd Lindsay), and the hon. and gallant Member for Nottingham (Colonel Seely), and without expressing at that moment any opinion as to the propriety of increasing the capitation grant, he might say that those suggestions deserved and would receive very careful consideration. The question which was raised by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire as to the increase of the capitation grant, had been fully dealt with by the hon. and gallant Member for Bath (Sir Arthur Hayter), and he certainly must point out to his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire that the simple addition of 10*s*. a-head to the capitation grant would lead to an increase in the entire Volunteer grant of no less than £100,000 a-year. It was obvious that that was a serious demand to make, and one which before it could be adopted would require careful consideration. With regard to camping out and other matters, he thought the House of Commons should take such steps as would assure the Volunteers that they were disposed to deal with the Force fairly and even generously.

MR. GREGORY said, he must apologize for intruding himself in the debate; but the Volunteer Force was one of great importance to the country, and was deserving of so much consideration that he had risen for the purpose of making one or two remarks. In the Volunteers the nation had now a Force of 208,000 men, which would cost the country, according to the Estimates, £760,000 in the course of the year. Surely, that was by no means an extravagant sum to pay for their services; and he was of opinion that even some slight increase would not be altogether inappropriate. From year to year they expected the Force to be in a condition of greater efficiency, and to have made rapid progress, and every year it would be found that the Force devoted themselves more and more to the Service with with they were connected. In regard to the increase of the capitation grant, he would not advocate any general increase; but he thought there was one point in which encouragement might be usefully given, and that was in respect of the shooting of the men. There was a discussion upon that subject last year, and the Secretary of State promised that something should be done in that respect. It was well known, particularly in the Metropolitan District, and in some of the large towns, that considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining convenient ranges at which the men could practice. That difficulty did not exist so much in the rural districts, but it did in regard to some of the most efficient and able Volunteer Corps of the country which belonged to the large towns. He could not help thinking that something might be done to provide convenient ranges, so that the various corps might have reasonable facilities afforded them for improving their shooting. He would suggest that there should be some small grant to those Volunteers who showed a higher state of efficiency than the rest, and that for shooting up to a certain standard a certain grant should be given which would enable a corps to meet the expense they were put to owing to the want of a convenient range close at hand, or owing to the difficulty they had in proceeding to and from the shooting ground. If something were done in that respect, he knew, from communications he had received, that it would give great satisfaction to many Commanding Officers of regiments, and it would not put the country to a very heavy expense. He would submit for the consideration of the Government whether some grant of of that kind might not be made for efficient shooting, so as to relieve the corps from some of the expense and difficulties they at present experienced in discharging very important functions.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £384,500, Army Reserve Force.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, the number of Reserve men in the Reserve last year was put down at 42,500,

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and the number put down for 1885-6 was also 42,500. He presumed that there were not that number in the Reserves at the present moment, because he thought his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) had said that they had drawn from the Reserves in one case 2,348 men, and in another 969 men. He should be glad if his right hon. Friend could inform the Committee what was the number at present serving with the Reserve? He would also like to ask his right hon. Friend what course he proposed to take in regard to the time-expired men, who numbered 4,100? How long did he intend to retain those men with the Colours? Were they to go into the Reserves, or what was the proposal he intended to make in regard to them? He would also ask his right hon. Friend if he would carefully consider the question of the depôt centres and the calling out of the Reserve men belonging to each of those depôt centres every year? He saw from a paper that day that it was said that the Government proposed to allow men from the Reserves to volunteer into any regiments they chose. If that were done, it would at once do away with the system of local regiments; and he was very anxious to know if there was any truth in the statement, because, if it were true, the system of which they had heard so much, and which had been so favourably considered by the authorities at the War Office, was evidently about to fall to the ground? His own opinion had always been that the Reserve men ought to be called out, even if it were only for one day; that they ought to be fitted with their clothing, and that they ought to know their places in the regiment to which they belonged. They should also be put through the necessary drill and rifle exercise to see if they were efficient. If they were found efficient there was not the slightest reason why, when they appeared on parade and showed that they were up to the mark, they should not be dismissed to their homes. Parliament had given power to call them out for eight days; but if a man showed that he was efficient, and it was known where he could be found, that was all that could be required of him. But if they were to be allowed to volunteer into any regiment they chose the system would inevitably break down. He also wished to ask his right hon. Friend to consider carefully whether the Reserve men ought to be called out on every occasion that they found it necessary to enter upon a small war. It was said, when the Reserve was originally formed, that the men would only be called out in the event of an emergency; but now they seemed to be unable to send a small Force anywhere, without calling out the Reserves, not only for service abroad, but to do duty at home. He would ask his right hon. Friend whether he would not give his attention to this matter, which, in his judgment, deserved the most serious consideration?

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. W. H. Smith) said, he was sure his hon. and gallant Friend would see that, having held his present position at the War Office for a fortnight only, he was not yet in a position to lay down principles on which the Army should be governed. He could only say then, with regard to the Reserve Force, that Her Majesty's Government regarded it as exceeding valuable, and one which ought to be treated with the greatest care and judgment, and that any suggestion which his hon. and gallant Friend had to make in connection with it should receive consideration. As to the general principle of calling out the Reserves on every occasion when the slightest strain was placed upon their military system, he had no hesitation in saying that that was not desirable. No doubt, the object of the Reserve was to constitute a Force upon which the country could depend in a time of considerable emergency.

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER said, this was a question of bringing the Reserves together so that when they were called out for service they should be drilled for a certain period, and not receive pay until they could prove that they had attended a certain number of drills. He thought this matter would be very simple, because he understood from a high authority in the Army that it would not be necessary to do more than bring them out and attach them to a Volunteer Corps, with whom they could learn their drill and fire the number of rounds required from efficient Volunteers. The advantage of that was that if they were attached to a Volunteer Corps they would not interfere with the enrolled members of the corps, while, at the same time, they would learn their drill in the cheapest possible way. With regard to the calling out of the Reserves, it had not been the intention of the late Government, nor was it, he supposed, the intention of the present Government, to call out for small wars the whole of the Reserve. The desire and intention was that there should be a drilled Reserve of 40,000 or 50,000 men in the country. He thought it would be an excellent thing to have the Reserve men attached to a Volunteer Corps with whom they could drill on Saturday afternoons. He believed that Colonel Du Plat Taylor was quite prepared to take 200 Reserve men in his own corps. The expense would only be that of equipping and clothing them, and probably a capitation grant paid to the Commanding Officer of the corps for the men. He understood from an authority of high position at the War Office that if the men were taught to shoot there would be no difficulty whatever in regard to drill. They would be practised both at loose order and close order drill at the butts. Then there was the advantage that they would know to whom they paid the money earned by the Reserve; they would know that the men were efficient and that they were ready, while, at the same time, the arrangements could be carried out at the least possible expense. There were also 6,500 Army Pensioners, all veteran soldiers, to whom he thought it would not be unfair to say that in consideration of the money which they received they should go through a certain number of drills. Not being called out on permanent duty, no further cost of pay or pension would be incurred. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would carry on the investigation which had been instituted, and carry out the plan of drilling the men with the Volunteers in the cheapest manner possible.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, he could not help thinking that the suggestion put forward by the hon. and gallant Baronet (Sir Arthur Hayter) with respect to putting Reserve men through their drill with the Volunteers was a valuable one, and he believed that if it were carried out it might be of advantage to the men of both Services. But there had been this difficulty felt, both with regard to the Volunteers and the Reserve men—namely, that the employers of those men were not always ready to consent to their attending the drills at certain times. He thought that certain days would have to be fixed for drilling the men together. It was very desirable that the Volunteers, as well as the Reserve men, should be in force on those days, so that the battalions might be of adequate strength; and, looking at the matter from the point of view of the Volunteers, he believed it would be a valuable thing to have the Reserve men paraded with them, especially when in camp. But it had come to his knowledge that, either from not valuing the Force sufficiently, or for other reasons, employers were reluctant to allow men the proper facilities for going into camp; and hon. Members would know that it was a great hardship to them to have to give up for that purpose employments of value, which they could not resume. As the whole country was interested in the efficiency of those Forces, he suggested the consideration whether some penalty should not attach to employers who unduly refused their assent to the men performing their military duty. That question was becoming more and more important every day; the Reserve Forces were increasing yearly, and it was most desirable that the Volunteer Force should turn out in as great strength as possible on certain occasions; and, therefore, he urged the importance of Her Majesty's Government considering how, in some way or other, they could lessen the shortsightedness which it was well known existed among some people on that subject.

Colonel NOLAN said, he thought that employers ought to be punished if they did not allow the Reserve men in their employ to go out, if it was the law that they should go out. But the real point to be considered was, that if the Reserve men were called out unnecessarily, they were prevented from getting employment, because their employers naturally did not want to lose their services. He believed that in Germany and France the Reserve men were never, or almost never, called out for drill, although in Germany they were sometimes called out for a week or 10 days for the purpose of being taught the use of a new arm, and in France he believed that they were only called out, perhaps, once in four or five years for manœuvres only, and not for drill. Why should they want to call out the Reserve men more than the Germans and the French; and why should they worry the men by calling them out, and getting them into difficulties with their employers? It was in that way that the lives of the Reserve men were made burdensome to them, and he had himself received many letters from Reserve men complaining of the loss of employment, which they could not get back again. He hoped that, if the rule were introduced of sending them out with the Volunteers, in Ireland they would not be called out at all—that they would be allowed to go free in Ireland until, at any rate, there were Volunteers there.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £464,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments, Wages, &c., which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."

Dr. CAMERON said, he had to congratulate Her Majesty's Government on the choice they had made in appointing the hon. Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. Guy Dawnay) to the Office of Surveyor General of Ordnance. He had been on the Committee with the hon. Gentleman, and it was well known that he had been most zealous in probing every abuse to the bottom, and most sharp in seeing through any attempt to hoodwink the Committee, and therefore he looked forward with great hope to the career of the new Surveyor General of Ordnance. He felt most hopeful that, by the exercise of that zeal and energy which he had shown himself to possess, he would be able to cleanse the Augean stable, the affairs of which he had been called to administer, and to do more good in the Office he held than any of his Predecessors had done for a long time. The examples by which he proposed to make good his reference to the Augean stable would be taken from what had occurred during the Soudan War. He would confine himself to the working of the Department to which the Vote referred during that war. The labours of the Committee which sat last year to investigate the action of the Department had not been thrown away; they had done immense good; and the fact that in many respects the Supply Service of the Soudan Campaign had been efficiently conducted, was due to the fact that publicity had frightened the officials, and that in consequence many recommendations which were before declared to be impossible of fulfilment had been carried into effect. The officials of the Department had come before the Committee, and the Committee were told that certain suggestions could not be adopted, and that they were perfectly unworkable; but he would point out that the number of suggestions which were adopted was very considerable indeed. The Commissariat, for example, had repeatedly suggested that there should be separate ships for stores; that was said to be impossible, but it was carried out. They said that supercargoes should be sent with store-ships; that was said to be impossible, but they were sent. A recommendation was made to reduce the size of the packages for transport; that had been repeatedly ignored, but now the suggestion was adopted, and in the last campaign packages were sent out in a more handy and manageable form than had before been the case. But while improvements were seen in the conduct of the Soudan Expedition, there were certain vices inherent in the system, as at present organized, which were manifested in the Soudan War, as in every preceding war. He believed that in connection with the Soudan War the Engineering Department urged upon the Government that the construction of the Berber-Suakin Railway should be taken up by military engineers; but it was not. Some time ago he had asked the late Secretary of State for War a Question concerning a quantity of biscuits that were sent up the Nile, and of which, on arrival, large quantities were found to have been rendered useless. It was said that they had been packed in trade cases which were insufficient, and that they had been exposed to wet in going up the Nile. In answer to that Question he was told that the biscuits were not packed in trade cases, but in cases specially recommended by the Mobilization Committee, and that they had been exposed to great dangers in going up the Nile. But, as a matter of fact, that was only found to be the case among what were called "Captain's" biscuits; and the bulk of the biscuit supply, which was obtained from the Naval Stores at Deptford, being properly packed, arrived in perfect order at its destination. He understood that if the "Captain's" biscuits had been properly inspected, the result would have been different, and that they would have arrived in as good condition as the biscuits from Deptford; and he might mention that the reduction he was about to move to this Vote referred to the salary of the official who passed those biscuits. Some person must be to blame in that matter, and he wanted to know who was responsible? Then there were tea, and sugar, and salt sent up the Nile, and on arrival large quantities were found to have been destroyed. The tea was packed in cases fastened with shellac, not with solder, which would have been effective. The groceries, sugar, and salt were, to the extent of some 25 per cent, destroyed by wet in the passage up the Nile. Did the Committee imagine for one moment that it was not foreseen that those things were to be exposed to wet? That was all foreseen, and he understood that water-proof bags were sent out for the purpose of protecting the sugar and salt; and, therefore, either they could not have been put into those bags, or they could not have been properly fastened in them. The result of that was that the soldiers had to go on short rations. Someone must have been responsible for that neglect also. In order to carry the biscuits, which had to be thrown into the Nile or buried in the desert; in order to carry the bags of sugar and salt, which had not been properly placed in their water-proof coverings, the most necessary stores had to be omitted. In that way no clothes were sent on to the Army, and in the course of a short time the troops were literally clothed in rags. In order that they might be able to carry those damaged biscuits, and the salt and sugar that had been rendered useless in the way he had described, they had to omit the conveyance of boots, which, so far as the necessary equipment of an Army was concerned, ranked next in importance to arms and ammunition. The consequence was that their unfortunate soldiers, who were obliged to make prolonged marches through the desert, found themselves in large numbers walking over the hot, shingly sand, either with bare feet, or with such make-shift substitutes for boots, in the shape of sandals, as they could contrive to fasten round their feet. He thought that that one fact would suffice to show the Committee the importance of sending out the very best articles required for use in a campaign, and taking every possible care that they should arrive in proper condition. Again, in order to carry the things he had described as so very inadequately looked after, it became necessary to omit the requisite supply of corn for the enormous number of camels that had been provided for the use of the Army, and the consequence was that corn was only obtained with extreme difficulty, and the wretched camels for whom it was needed got almost smaller rations than the men, the fact being that they never got more, in the majority of cases, than about 5 lbs. of grain per day. Another result of the impossibility of finding room in the transports for all the things that had to be carried was that the men were obliged to go without their tobacco, the space that would have sufficed for that and other articles being taken up with a lot of rotten biscuits and the improperly packed bags of salt and sugar of which he had already spoken. As he had previously stated, all the difficulties he had enumerated were perceived and recognized beforehand, for it was foreseen that the boats would often be partly submerged, and every provision was consequently made to guard against that contingency; but, notwithstanding that, every preparation that had been made with that object was frustrated owing to somebody's fault. Now, he wanted to know who that somebody was? This had reference to the Department of the Director of Supply, and they ought to be able to ascertain with whom the fault rested. Then, again, he had to bring under the attention of the Committee what had happened in the case of the purchase of camels. What, he asked, had been the result of the camel contracts? Why, that the animals obtained were of the most wretched description, while the management of those purchased was often equally bad. He had been informed by a professional gentleman—a veterinary surgeon—who was on the spot—he did not know whether he was actually at Cairo or not, but he was, at all events, in Egypt at the period referred to—that from 20 to 30 per cent of the camels purchased at Cairo were absolutely unfit for service, that proportion of the animals being unsuitable, either through actual disease or physical inefficiency—which was precisely what had been the case in the Afghan War. The same thing occurred at Suez, where, at the depôt established at that place, there were upwards of 1,000 of those animals, a large proportion of which, he was informed, were also totally unfit for service. Those animals had, however, been bought for the use of the British Expedition, and in the great majority of cases they were bought without having been subjected to veterinary inspection. There was another matter in relation to the supply of camels to which he was anxious to draw attention. An hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Dawnay) had, on a former occasion, put a Question on the subject, but had failed to elicit an answer; and he (Dr. Cameron) therefore, wanted to obtain an answer now. He referred to the case of a shipload of camels, in regard to which the hon. and gallant Member for Thirsk (Colonel Dawnay) had asked a Question of the late Government. It was reported that a shipload of camels had been received at Suakin, the whole of which were in such a state of unfitness that the entire lot had to be sent back to Suez. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) who was then at the head of the War Department, had promised that the matter should be inquired into; but he (Dr. Cameron) was not aware whether the noble Marquess had instituted an inquiry. They had had general assurances that the camels were excellent; but he (Dr. Cameron) could furnish specific instances of their being nothing of the kind, and he would undertake to prove that assertion if he were afforded an opportunity of so doing. He could also show that when serviceable camels were obtained, they were sometimes mismanaged in the most horrible fashion. The fact was, that they were not put under the management of anyone who knew anything about those animals, but, on the contrary, were placed under the charge of Infantry officers who had had no experience of camels; and he had been informed that in some cases, in order to accustom the animals to desert work, they were ordered to be watered only once in three days. They had, of course, all heard the story of the man who contended that his horse only ate as a matter of custom, and that it could be reduced by careful management to do without food altogether, and who was convinced that he should have carried out successfully the experiment he made in that direction had it not been that, unfortunately for his theory, when he had got the animal down to a straw a-day it died. It ought to have been understood that when the camels were in the vicinity of a plentiful water supply they should have been allowed to have as much as they wanted; but the result of the treatment to which those particular animals were subjected was that when they started on their journey through the desert, after having only been watered once in three days, they were wholly unfit for the work they had to do, and while upon the march they died like rotten sheep. He had been told that in consequence of the exposures before the Committee of 1884, some genius had actually sent out farriers to see to the auxiliary transport employed in the Soudan Campaign—an idea which had not occurred to those who had had charge of the Expedition of 1882; but he was informed that even in the Nile Expedition large shoes, fit only for cart-horses, had been sent out for the purpose of shoeing the small horses used by their soldiers in that campaign, the result being that in certain Cavalry regiments the horses had to go unshod, as they had to go unshod in the Expedition of 1882. During the time the war was in progress they had heard a good deal about the swords of two of their Cavalry regiments having been found utterly unreliable, and having been condemned accordingly. That also was a matter connected with the Vote they were now discussing. As to the bayonets served out to their soldiers, and which it was reported had turned out so badly, he was informed that there had been some exaggeration in the statements which had been made. Probably his hon. Friend the Surveyor General of Ordnance, who had been out in Egypt, would say something on that point. There was, however, one other matter to which he should like to draw the attention of the Committee, and that was with regard to the cartridges served out to their men. The cartridges themselves did not come within the Vote he was then discussing, but the officers of the Ordnance Department who were responsible for sending them out did come under it, and, therefore, the matter was germane to the question then before the Committee. They were all aware of the extent to which those cartridges jammed when in use by their soldiers in action with the enemy. It had been stated that 25 per cent of the Boxer cartridges got jammed. If that were so, he asked the Committee could there possibly be anything more disgraceful? He asserted that such a scandal as that ought not to be allowed to pass without the most searching investigation and the most zealous and careful attempt to bring home the blame to the proper parties. A number of those cartridges were not sent out in water-proof cases, and the result was that they were found to have been damaged by wet, and thus to have been rendered useless, in consequence of which they were condemned. The worst part of the business was that a number of the damaged cartridges were served out and missed fire just at the moment when they were most needed. Another point relating to the cartridges was this. The calibre of the Gardner machine gun and that of the Martini-Henry rifle were the same, and it would have occurred to anyone but a genius in the Department presided over by his hon. Friend the Surveyor General of Ordnance that it would have been as well to have made the cartridges interchangeable. But that was not the case; and the consequence was that when the time came at which the Army ran extremely short of Gardner-gun cartridges, although it was, at the same time, well supplied with Martini-Henry cartridges, it was unable to make use of the latter in order to make good the deficiency of cartridges for the machine guns. That, too, was the Department that had sent out for the use of the Navy those wonderful guns of which they had heard so much. No doubt, his hon. Friend below him (Mr. Carbutt) would give the Committee the whole history of those guns, and would explain how it was that when they were fired their muzzles were so frequently blown off. His hon. Friend the Member for Perthshire (Sir Donald Currie), in discussing the Navy Estimates on a former occasion, had called attention to the case of H.M.S. *Daring*, which was one of the ships they had off Madagascar at the time the French were engaged in hostilities there, and on board which vessel, out of the nine guns she carried, it was only safe to fire one, the remainder being in such a condition that they were ordered not to be fired. There could be no doubt of that fact, as it had been admitted by the late Secretary to the Admiralty, who had replied to his hon. Friend the Member for Perthshire. They would doubtless be told, on the present occasion, that a letter had been received from the Commander-in-Chief stating that everything had been conducted in the most admirable manner in the prosecution of the Soudan Expedition. He would, however, ask hon. Members not to allow themselves to close their minds against the statements he had made simply because that authority would be quoted against him. In the Egyptian Campaign Sir John Adye himself, the Surveyor General of Ordnance, had told them everything was first-rate, and that where anything had gone wrong it was simply owing to military exigencies. He (Dr. Cameron) did not see how that statement could be accepted as justifying the home purchase of unsuitable flour, which had been proved to have been sent out with the Expedition, nor was he able to see in what way it could justify the payment of an enormous price for bad hay. Nevertheless, Sir John Adye had made that statement; and from that day to the present moment, whenever he had brought forward any complaint as to management of the Expedition of 1882, he had been invariably met by the assertion that Sir John Adye, having said everything was all right, it must be so. He should like, before he sat down, to show the Committee the extraordinary nature of the assertions the War Office officials endeavoured to ram down the throats of sensible men; and he thought that when the Committee saw the kind of assaults which were thus made upon their credulity, they would admit that it was well to be somewhat cautious as to the manner in which they received general statements, and that they ought to exercise their own judgment upon questions connected with the charges brought against the Department. In the Report of the Commissary General concerning the Egyptian War, that officer had stated that, no doubt, candles were more useful than oil lamps, but that if they did send out oil lamps, it was just as well to send out oil to put in them. He (Dr. Cameron) had put a Question on that subject in the Select Committee, and was told that the Woolwich authorities, although they sent out oil lamps, had not sent out oil, but had sent out candles. The matter was, after all, only a trivial one; and they would probably have heard no more about it but for the fact that the Acting Director of Supply and Transport, who had nothing to do with the lamps, but had sent out the candles, thought it incumbent upon him to show the Committee, once for all, that the assertions which had been made with regard to the lamps were not to be believed. That official, consequently, placed a lamp before the Committee. It so happened that the Acting Director of Supplies did not know what sort of lamp was referred to from the technical description given by the Commissary General; and when he appeared before the Committee, he brought with him what was called a "distinguishing lamp," and he showed how, by taking out of the lamp the socket intended for the wick, and by placing a candle in its place, it could be made to burn very well. But the Commissary General said — "That is not what I meant." Accordingly, next day, a witness was sent from the Ordnance Stores to show how little a matter it was that so great a fuss had been made about; and as the lamp he then brought before the Committee lay about the Committee Room for a long time, he (Dr. Cameron) put it on one side in order that he might show it to the House, as he thought hon. Members would agree with him that there was nothing like ocular demonstration. Here (producing a lamp) was the identical oil lamp referred to, and here (pointing to one portion of it) was the place where the wick should be. The witness from the Ordnance Stores had brought with him a candle, and the candle which he (Dr. Cameron) now produced was as near the size of the genuine article as anything he was able to procure. A cut had to be made in the side of the candle to admit the tube intended to admit air to the oil reservoir. The candle was then put into the lamp by the witness, who said—"There you have it." But the Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Guy Dawnay), who was one of the Members of the Committee, was not quite satisfied that an oil lamp constituted the best means of burning a candle, and he said—"Light it." The candle was then lit by the witness, and it was seen that the top of the candle reached high up into the brass chimney which surmounted the glass globe of the lantern, and that it made the metal almost red hot, so that the lantern could not be held by the hand, while the smell given out was so acrid that the Committee would very soon experience it if he (Dr. Cameron) were now to attempt a similar experiment. The result was that the flame from the candle did not become visible until after the Commissariat candle had burnt down to within an inch of the end, and then the thing became a useful lantern. That was the sort of attempt that was made on the credulity of the Committee. Sir John Adye was produced as a witness, and he was asked — "Had you any trouble about these candles and lanterns?" Sir John Adye replied—"I never used them." "What did you use?" was the next question; and the answer was —"A candle stuck in a bottle;" and then it came out that the lantern was intended for out-door use. The Committee might easily imagine what was to be expected if the men had to go about looking after their horses among hay and forage with candles stuck in bottles. The chances were that under such circumstances they would be very likely to set fire to the hay and roast the horses. His (Dr. Cameron's) experience in regard to matters such as these was that the Parliamentary Representatives of the War Department seemed to become fascinated by the influence of their permanent officials, as birds were said to be fascinated by snakes. His hon. Friend the Surveyor General of Ordnance had fortunately entered upon his Office with the advantage of a preliminary training that might possibly enable him to resist that fascination; and he (Dr. Cameron) earnestly trusted that that would prove to be the case. If the hon. Gentleman would only apply his energies to the reform of the Department over which he presided, the result would be that his name would be held in veneration by coming generations of the British Army. He now begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000, of which sum £500 was in respect of the salary of the gentleman who sent out the bad biscuits, and the other

£500 in respect of the salary of the gentleman who had sent out the cartridges which were improperly packed.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £463,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments, Wages, &c., which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."—(*Dr. Cameron.*)

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL OF THE ORDNANCE (Mr. GUY DAWNAY) said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow had made a very kindly reference to himself (Mr. Dawnay) in the course of his speech; and he must thank him for the manner in whch he had done so. It was one of the somewhat curious results of the change of sides by the two Parties in that House that he should have found himself in the position of having to reply, as Surveyor General of Ordnance, to the remarks of the hon. Gentleman. He did not wish for one moment to conceal from the Committee the fact that he had sympathized most heartily in the course the hon. Member had taken when he had moved for a Committee to inquire into the management of the Commissariat and Transport Service during the Egyptian Campaign of 1882. He (Mr. Dawnay) had himself sat on that Committee, he believed he had attended every meeting of that Committee, and he had certainly come away at the close of the inquiry with a full conviction of the propriety of the action adopted by the hon. Member who had raised this question. His hon. Friend, in the course of the speech he had just made, had alluded to the somewhat unexpected collapse of the inquiry entered into by that Committee; and he (Mr. Dawnay) must say that he had first heard of the collapse of that investigation with feelings of very considerable disappointment, and with a good deal of doubt as to the wisdom of such an issue. But he felt bound to state that during the fortnight that had elapsed since he had first occupied the post he now held, he had considerably modified the views he had at first entertained on that point; and he was fully persuaded, from what he knew of the candour and intelligence of his hon. Friend (Dr. Cameron), that he would have come to the same conclusion, and owned to the same conclusion, if he had been placed in the same position. Under similar circumstances, he was very sure that the hon. Member for Glasgow would have appreciated as fully as he (Mr. Dawnay) did at the present moment the enormous strain put upon the energies of the Heads of Departments, and on the efficiency of the work depending upon those energies which was entailed by constant attendance on a House of Commons Committee during the time Her Majesty's Forces were actually in the field. His (Mr. Dawnay's) only wish, and he believed also that of the hon. Member, had been, not merely to substantiate the charges brought against a Department for the mere sake of substantiating them, not merely to justify their own action, but to secure the permanent improvement of the Services their inquiries dealt with, and, as a result, the increased comfort and the increased efficiency of our Forces in the field. Those results, he was happy to say, had already been attained. The hon. Member for Glasgow had placed upon the Paper several Motions for the reduction of various items of the Estimates; and he understood that the hon. Gentleman had taken that course in order to afford himself those facilities for pressing home the charges he had brought forward, of which the sudden collapse of the Committee's labours had deprived him. He would, however, appeal to the hon. Member not to press those charges further. One of those Motions was for the reduction of Vote 16, with regard to the Heads of Departments; and he would specially appeal to the hon. Gentleman not to make invidious references to the Heads of Departments, whose energies he (Mr. Dawnay) was in a somewhat better position to appreciate than he had been when he sat on the Select Committee, of which the hon. Gentleman was also a Member. He would briefly refer to certain mistakes which the hon. Member had asserted were made during the last Soudan Campaign. The hon. Gentleman had brought before the Committee the case of supplies in the shape of sugar, salt, and biscuits, which were stated to have been improperly packed. That had occurred during the preparations for the Nile Campaign; and as he (Mr. Dawnay) could not speak upon the matter with any personal knowledge, he would prefer, for his own part, to say nothing on the subject. He would, however, refer the hon. Gentleman to what had been said by Lord Wolseley in regard to the manner in which the Army was provided. Lord Wolseley said, in his despatch of April 16—

> "I have never served with, or heard of any Army in the field that was as well fed as that under my orders on the Upper Nile. The quality of the food and the quantity of the ration allowed left nothing to be desired."

And he added that, speaking generally, the manner in which the food was packed was satisfactory, and was a great improvement, on the whole, upon the packing in former Campaigns. The hon. Member for Glasgow had also made some remarks on the way in which the camels were watered and managed, and had stated that it was abominable. He (Mr. Dawnay) was sorry to hear the hon. Gentleman make that assertion, because he himself was for some time responsible for that management. With regard to the camels at Suakin, he (Mr. Dawnay) had landed about 4,000 camels himself, and could speak from his own personal experience.

Dr. CAMERON said, he had referred to the keeping of those camels without water, and for that he did not think the hon. Gentleman was at all responsible.

The SURVEYOR GENERAL of the ORDNANCE said, the allegation that those camels were kept for three days without water before being sent on the march was one which he could most distinctly deny. He had travelled a good deal with camels, and, speaking from his own experience in desert travelling, his opinion was that those animals should not be watered more than once in two days if they were to do useful work. If he found any fault on this point it was that the camels at Suakin were taken to water every day, though, owing to the difficulties of water supply, it was possible that they did not every day get as much as they wanted. It was, however, true that the camels at Suez had left that place without proper veterinary inspection; but it should be remembered that the circumstances were those of very exceptional pressure, the troops being sent out in a great hurry, and camels having to be got with all possible expedition, so that they were obliged to take such animals as they could; and it being impossible at first to get Indian camels, they were compelled to take the Delta camels, which were the very worst they could have had for the work required in the Soudan. There was, however, no choice in the matter, as it was necessary to send camels to Suakin to meet the troops, and the Delta camels were taken as a matter of necessity in the case. That so many Delta camels should have been sent was, he thought, a mistake, as it would have been much better to have waited for camels from Berberah and India; but, under the pressure of circumstances, the course taken was one which was supposed to be unavoidable. He believed there were only two veterinary surgeons in Egypt at the time, and neither of those were available; and, in consequence, camels that could never have passed a proper inspection were sent down the Red Sea from Suez to Suakin. He (Mr. Dawnay), being the Transport officer at the spot, had taken upon himself the responsibility, in conjunction with a veterinary surgeon, and with the approval of the General, of sending back a number of camels that arrived at Suakin suffering from the mange. There were two sorts of mange to which camels were subject—the ordinary mange, and what was called the red mange. The ordinary mange was not a very serious complaint, but the red mange was; and some of the animals, when sent from Suez, were afflicted with the latter disease. The result was that, in the absence of a sufficient veterinary staff at Suez, no proper notice was taken of the cases of red mange, and animals suffering from that disease were put on board with the rest, so that a certain number having it at starting, others caught it on the voyage, and during a detention of five days in the harbour at Suakin, rendered necessary by the inadequacy of the landing stages; and when it became possible to land them, a very great number were found to be suffering from a most virulent form of the disease he had named. Under those circumstances, he certainly did think it far better and more economical to at once reject and send back the whole diseased cargo, rather than risk infecting with so fatal a malady the thousands of healthy camels they had already got on shore. The hon. Member for Glasgow had also referred to another matter as coming under the head of the present Vote—namely, the bayonets with which the troops sent out to the Soudan had been supplied. Upon the whole, he (Mr. Dawnay) believed that those weapons had stood the test to which they were put exceedingly well; but those who had never seen bayonets in actual use could hardly realize the tremendous strain they had to bear. When a soldier bayonetted an enemy with such a weapon as the regulation bayonet fitted to a long Martini-Henry rifle, under certain circumstances the leverage was so great that the bayonet must either bend or break; and, for his own part, he would prefer that it should do the former rather than the latter. As to the jamming of the cartridges, he himself had had no opportunities of seeing the worst cases which seemed to have happened in the Nile Expedition; but he could not help thinking that a great deal of the jamming was due to the men themselves. When a man went into action for the first time he was excited, not unnaturally; and he had himself, not once only, but many times, seen rifles fail to throw out the cartridge cases properly, because the men in their hurry and excitement failed to use the lever with the proper jerk. Now, he (Mr. Guy Dawnay) was not at all concerned to excuse any mistakes with regard to the Soudan or Egyptian Campaigns. He went through the Campaign of 1882, and he was himself the first to suggest an inquiry into the working of the Medical Department. He shared to the full the hon. Member's (Dr. Cameron's) wish for an inquiry into the working also of the Commissariat and Transport, and he had done so with a view to insuring increased efficiency in those Services in any future campaign; and this now was his answer to his hon. Friend—and it was one he gave, not as happening to hold at the present moment the Office of Surveyor General, but with far better authority than any mere Office could confer—and he asserted that it was a full and sufficient and satisfactory answer, and it was this—that having been present throughout the 1882 Campaign and condemned the arrangements in various points, he had now again taken part as a Transport officer in the very last Expedition that the country was concerned in; and although the Campaign was a short one, and though the distance traversed was but small, yet he could say that never in the history of campaigns was an Expedition ever sent from these shores, or from the shores of any other country, in which the arrangements for the supply and transport of our troops, and for the care and cure of the wounded, were more admirably arranged for, or more perfectly carried out. He did not think he was at all a lenient critic in those matters. He thought that all that could possibly be done for their soldiers should be done. His position as a Transport officer—of one who was only a volunteer Transport officer—in the Soudan Campaign did not in any way warp his views; but it certainly gave him unceasing opportunities of observing individuals and of criticizing arrangements; and while he thought that much in the Egyptian Campaign was open to censure, he asserted that the last Expedition reflected the very highest credit both on the Commissariat and Supply Department at home, and on the individual officers who carried out the arrangements. He did not for a moment say that no mistakes were made; he did not deny that there were many points in which matters might have been improved in regard to which there were still lessons to be learnt—if he did that he would be claiming a perfection which was impossible, or would stand convicted of the blindness that would not see. He did not say there were no points of organization, for instance, in which improvement could be effected. He would be very foolish or very hasty if, after so few days' Office, he expressed any decided opinion on such a subject. The inquiries of the Committee which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) caused to be appointed last year had had a great effect in perfecting the transport and supply arrangements, and he trusted that the hon. Member would now be contented with that effect, and would not press all his charges on the succeeding Votes; and in asking the hon. Gentleman not to press them he would further say—and he said it by no means as a mere idle compliment, but as a frank avowal of his own candid opinion—that the country owed a considerable debt of gratitude to the hon. Member for the manner in which he directed his abilities and energies last year to calling public attention to the points in which the Transport and Commissariat Services could be improved. He congratulated the hon. Gentleman and the country on the improvements in those Services which the late Campaign had most clearly demonstrated, and which were, in his (Mr. Guy Dawnay's) opinion, owing not a little to the hon. Member's exertions.

Mr. BRAND said, he wished, in the first place, to thank his hon. Friend the Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Mr. Guy Dawnay) for the generous manner in which he had spoken of the arrangements made for the last campaign; and, perhaps, if he were to leave the matter there, and to be content with the speech of his hon. Friend in answer to the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), he should do well. But after the speech of the hon. Member for Glasgow, the Committee, he was sure, would grant him its indulgence for a few minutes. He thought he could prove that the hon. Gentleman's speech was composed of such a tissue of exaggerations as to be almost removed out of the category of a serious speech. The hon. Gentleman had also been extremely clever in the way in which he had proceeded. On a recent occasion he made a speech in the House in which he alleged that there had been a great many failures in the Egyptian War. That speech—one also full of many exaggerations—was made to its very conclusion, and then the Chairman ruled that the whole debate was out of Order. In consequence of that ruling, he (Mr. Brand) had not the opportunity of replying; and now the hon. Gentleman, having made an attack upon the Department, having received no reply, because it was not in his (Mr. Brand's) power to make a reply, carefully abstained from saying one word with regard to the arrangements for the Egyptian War. [Dr. Cameron: On a later Vote.] He was in possession of the Committee. The hon. Gentleman now made a fresh statement with regard to the arrangements for the Soudan War, many details of which, as stated by the hon. Gentleman, he had no acquaintance with, some of which he had acquaintance with, and with which he should deal presently. He maintained that the hon. Gentleman's speech that night must be judged in conjunction with a speech he made the other day. He had no wish to weary the Committee; but he would take one or two instances to show how the hon. Gentleman had dealt with this case. He had here a statement made by the hon. Member for Glasgow, made not in the heat of debate, but made deliberately—it was contained in a pamphlet which the hon. Gentleman published with a view to instruct the public as to the arrangements made in the Egyptian War. Speaking of what was called the "iron ration," the hon. Gentleman wrote for the instruction of the public—

> "One topic constantly coming before the Committee was the iron ration. This, Colonel Tulloch explained, was the name given by the Germans to the celebrated *erbswurst*, or pea soup sausage ration, which each German soldier is compelled to carry, which he is only permitted to consume on an emergency and by order of a superior officer, and which if he makes away with without permission he is liable to be shot. Tinned *erbswurst* and tinned tongues were sent out to Egypt as an iron ration. They did not arrive till September 8, then they were carried on to Suez, and they were not available for issue till we got to Cairo. Finally, of 9,300 lbs. of *erbswurst* sent out only 4,445 lbs. arrived fit for use, the other 4,855 lbs., owing to faulty packing, being so damaged in transit that they had to be condemned."

Now, that statement was entirely erroneous. The facts were that complete iron ration for the Force went out in the first ships with the Force itself, and were available from the date of landing. The details were given on Page 686 of the Report. As to the alleged loss of *erbswurst* the statement was equally erroneous. The condemnation, as shown in the accounts of the Expedition, showed a loss of about 50 lbs., out of a total sent out of about 50,000 lbs., the 50 lbs. amounting in value to a little under £2. All he could say with respect to the speech of the hon. Gentleman was *ab uno disce omnes.* He did not wish to speak of this matter at all in a personal way. He quite admitted that the hon. Gentleman had shown great public spirit in moving for the inquiry, and that he had shown remarkable ability in conducting it. He would go further, and admit, with his hon. Friend the Surveyor General, that great good had come out of the inquiry; but when he had said that, he still complained that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow should make statements which were, to say the least, exaggerated. The hon. Gentleman and some of the Members of the Committee never would take into account the evidence of Sir

John Adye, who was the Chief of the Staff of the Expedition, and who was also Surveyor General in the War Office. Roughly speaking, Sir John Adye's defence was in this wise—"It is true I took certain decisions at the War Office, which have since been contested; it is true I did not send out the labour which some thought I ought to have sent out; it is true I did not do this and that which you think I ought to have done; but, with my experience as an officer, what I did I did deliberately, and if I had to go through the matter again I should do the same." He (Mr. Brand) was not there to say whether Sir John Adye was right or wrong; but he thought that at any rate the hon. Gentleman should bear in mind that if sufficient labour was not sent out to Ismailia it was not owing to any fault of the system, but owing to the decision taken by Sir John Adye himself. Then there was another matter which the hon. Member would never take account of, and that was that Lord Wolseley deliberately kept the base secret; that there was a change of base; that there was an immense pressure in sending out all the supplies for the Egyptian War; and, further, that Lord Wolseley, owing to military exigencies, deliberately advanced in front of his transport, and before the base was organized. If questioned on the point, Lord Wolseley and Sir John Adye would say—"It is true that there was a certain amount of strain during the first seven days; it is true, if you like, that there was a certain amount of discomfort borne by the troops; but in the end we succeeded; in the end we obtained the object which we had in view, and we deliberately went out with less transport than we should have taken in ordinary cases, because we intended to trust to the Railway and Canal, and as soon as they were in operation things went perfectly smoothly." He (Mr. Brand) felt himself in a rather difficult position that night, because the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow had on many occasions touched on the subject of the Egyptian War, of which he (Mr. Brand) imagined the Committee must be very tired. At the same time, he thought the Committee would allow that he had every claim to answer some of the statements which had been made by the hon. Gentleman. Now, the Committee was appointed for two purposes—to inquire into the failures, if any, in the Egyptian War, and if those failures were proved to decide what changes should be made in the organization of the Commissariat and Transport Departments. Well, when the Committee was appointed, he told the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow that the War Department admitted certain failures; and he warned him at the time that when he got into the Committee upstairs he would not be able to show there were any great failures outside those cases—that was to say, failures connected with the Supply Department of the War Office. The hon. Gentleman had every advantage given to him; he had, as his chief witness, the Commissary General of the Expedition, who spoke without reserve, and gave the hon. Gentleman all the information he could; he also had the evidence of Mr. Lawson, who was the Assistant Director of Supplies; he had the evidence of Mr. Nepean, Director of Contracts; he had the evidence of the Chief of the Staff; indeed, everything was told the hon. Gentleman that could be told, and yet he never discovered anything beyond the three cases admitted—namely, the flour, the Liverpool hay, and the Turkish mules. Well, now, he wished to say a few words with respect to some of the statements which the hon. Gentleman made in the speech he delivered on the Civil Service Estimates. In *The Times* of the 5th of June the hon. Gentleman was reported to have said—

> "He wished to draw attention to the shameful character of the hay which had been supplied by a Liverpool contractor for the use of our Forces in Egypt."

What were the facts with regard to the hay? No bad hay was delivered to the troops in Egypt during the Campaign. The hon. Gentleman would admit, at any rate, that there was no complaint of any hay issued to the troops during the campaign. Only a portion of the hay, or certain portions of the hay, bought in Liverpool was condemned as bad. A great proportion of this hay was found sound and fit for use in Egypt, after it was exposed to deterioration from climate and accidents in transit. A wholesale condemnation of 100 tons was made by the senior Commissariat officer; but, upon detailed investigation, a large proportion of it was found fit. After another condemnatory Report, it was added that the percentage of bad hay could not exceed 3 or 4 per cent. It was North of England hay, which, as a matter of notoriety, was not equal to South country hay. Then the hon. Gentleman said—

> "It was found that the trusses of hay were largely composed of brickbats and other rubbish."

[Dr. Cameron: Will the hon. Gentleman say from what he quotes?] He was quoting from *The Times* report of the hon. Gentleman's speech. [Dr. Cameron: I am not responsible for that.] Then where was he to find a correct report? At any rate, what the hon. Gentleman was reported to have said was asserted by one of his witnesses. No corroboration of the assertion could be obtained by the Committee, and he (Mr. Brand) did not believe there was a word of truth in the statement. "Some of the hay," the hon. Gentleman went on to say

> "that had been condemned as fodder, and which it was intended to use as bedding, smelt so offensively that the men refused to lie upon it."

That statement came from the same officer as the preceding one. The facts, if as stated, were explained by the official Report (page 638) of the senior Commissariat officer at Cairo. It there appeared that a quantity of hay was completely perished and black through contact with salt water. He (Mr. Brand) might go on answering one after another the statements of the hon. Gentleman; but he would only deal with the question of flour, to which the hon. Gentleman had constantly invited the attention of the House. What were the facts with regard to flour? The flour which was complained of was sent from this country in the first ship to Alexandria. The same description of flour had been used in Cyprus in 1878, it had been used in the Zulu and Transvaal Wars, it had been recommended by a Committee on which the Commissary General sat. As the base of operations was kept secret, the Department was obliged to send the flour with the troops. Well, the flour was sent to Alexandria, and the Commissary General who was in charge of the Expedition, and who gave evidence before the Committee, knew that the flour was there, and yet it was kept in the hold of the ship for nine days. After that treatment, it was sent round in the hold of the ship to Ismailia, where, no doubt, it turned out to be bad. It was an extraordinary fact, however, that the Commissary General, although he knew the flour was lying unexamined, actually telegraphed to the War Office to send a second supply of the same article. Now, the statement that the bulk of the flour was sold for manufacture into starch was not correct; the supply in the first ship, which was detained at Alexandria harbour, was; but the supply in the second ship was issued and used by the troops. He had mentioned a few of the cases which occurred in the Egyptian War, in order to show the Committee what amount of accuracy the hon. Gentleman was likely to have employed in the statements he had made respecting the arrangements made for the Soudan War. Speaking of the Soudan Expedition, the hon. Gentleman said the Commissary General had made a great many recommendations to the War Office before the Soudan Campaign, none of which were adopted; and he mentioned, amongst others, the recommendation that supplies should be sent out in separate ships. In the case of the Egyptian War, with a few exceptions, separate ships were employed for supplies. As the hon. Gentleman was well aware, it was necessary, when an Expedition left this country, that certain reserves of supplies and stores should go out with the troops. Then the hon. Gentleman said that the packing of the biscuits was bad. Lord Wolseley, in his despatch which was read by the Surveyor General (Mr. Guy Dawnay), said that, generally speaking, the supplies were properly and well packed. [Dr. Cameron: Oh, oh!] What did the hon. Gentleman mean? Did he mean that Lord Wolseley had written what was not the case?

Dr. CAMERON: I said the buscuits were so badly packed that when they arrived they were mouldy and unfit for use.

Mr. BRAND said, there was one failure, and that was in the case of certain biscuits bought from a contractor; but they also passed through Woolwich. He was not there to say that mistakes did not occur in every war. There would be a certain percentage of mistakes; but he objected to the hon. Gentleman, on the slightest basis of truth, setting up a large structure of exaggeration. For instance, the hon. Gentleman said that all the tea and sugar went bad. [Dr. Cameron: I said 25 per cent of it.] The hon. Gentleman became excited in his speech, and he said—for he (Mr. Brand) took down the words at the time—"of the tea and sugar all went bad." He (Mr. Brand) believed that the state of the case was that 5 per cent of the supplies went bad—in this estimate he spoke from memory, and did not include the supplies destroyed by transit. Again, the hon. Gentleman said that all the sugar and groceries went bad. [Dr. CAMERON: Sugar and salt.] He heard the hon. Gentleman say sugar and groceries. He should like to know if that was the case, what the Army really existed on? The hon. Gentleman made it out that the Army in the Soudan had no supplies at all. Then the hon. Gentleman came to the question of clothes. He (Mr. Brand) knew where the report as to the lack of clothing came from. There were certain articles in one of the daily papers, and he believed the writer of those articles was a correspondent at the front who fell foul of the Ordnance Store Department, because the troops were without clothes and boots. The hon. Gentleman knew very well that the head of the Ordnance Store Department had nothing to do with the transport of the stores to the front. Of boots and clothes there were plenty on the Nile. It rested entirely with the General in command of the communication whether the boots and clothes should be sent up to the front or whether supplies should be sent first; and he (Mr. Brand) presumed the real explanation of the circumstance was that the General in charge of the line of communications considered that at the particular time it was more important that the troops should have supplies and ammunition than boots and clothes. That he believed was the correct explanation of the fact. The Ordnance Store Department had no more to do with the sending of the stores and supplies to the front than the hon. Member himself. And now he (Mr. Brand) thought he need only refer to the statements made by the hon. Gentleman with respect to the purchase of camels. The hon. Gentleman said that the Director of Supply and Transport was at the head of the Department which had to do with the purchase of camels. In the case of the Soudan War that was not so. As a matter of fact, when the base of supply was removed from London to Cairo orders were sent out to the General Commanding in Chief in Egypt to purchase transport animals for the use of the Army. He believed the General did the best he could under very difficult circumstances; but he was not there to deny that there were a great many camels purchased for the Soudan War which were not quite fit for the purposes for which they were bought. The hon. Gentleman said that cartridges had been sent out which were found to be useless; but that was the first time he (Mr. Brand) had heard of it if it were so. It was true that some of the cartridges had jammed in the rifles and machine guns at Abou Klea; but the reason for it had been explained. With regard to candles for oil lamps, the explanation was very simple. The facts were these. The service lamps were intended to burn oil; but it appeared that the Commissary General had suggested to the Director of Supplies and Transport before the Expedition sailed that candles were preferable to oil; but the Director of Artillery and Stores who supplied the lamps was not referred to. The Director of Supplies and Transport, presuming that the suggestion would not have been made without referring to the Director of Artillery and Stores, sent out candles instead of oil, hence the mistake. He contended that it was not true to say that there had been a breakdown in the transport connected with the Egyptian War; and with reference to the Soudan War, he believed that what the Surveyor General had said was correct—that, considering all the difficulties of transport, the Army was well supplied. In the case of the Egyptian War there had been a great strain. A large body of troops had to be sent out without proper wharfage, and without proper appliances for the landing of the stores. The difficulties were considerably enhanced by the decision taken by Lord Wolseley to advance on account of military exigencies in front of his transport, before his transport was landed, the railway cleared, or his base organized. The strain lasted seven days, as he had said before, and after that everything went smoothly. The Chief of the Staff had declared that no necessary movement had been prevented, that supplies of all kinds had been ample; and, in his opinion, officers and men of all ranks and departments had done their duty remarkably well; and that there had been no breakdown. In judging of this Campaign the Committee must have regard not only to the rapidity with which the Expedition was equipped and launched, but to the rapidity with which it advanced and terminated. No war ever took place without some miscarriages; but neither in Egypt nor the Soudan had miscarriages occurred which would at all justify the language used by the hon. Member. He maintained that if the failures or mistakes which had taken place in Egypt and along the Nile had never been exceeded, the Department might be justified in considering that it had not merited condemnation.

Mr. CARBUTT said, that in saying a word or two on the subject of the Ordnance Establishment, he did not wish to be considered as desiring to make a personal attack on one side or the other. They were all at liberty to express their own opinions——

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: The discussion on the subject of guns should be taken on Vote 12. This Vote 9 has nothing to do with guns.

Mr. CARBUTT: I am going to speak on the Ordnance Establishment. Am I ruled out of Order?

The CHAIRMAN: I think the discussion on warlike stores must come under Vote 12; at least, it would more properly come under that Vote.

Mr. CARBUTT: Do you, Sir, rule me out of Order in raising the subject on this Vote?

The CHAIRMAN: I am not prepared to say that the hon. Member would be out of Order, because the subject of ordnance might in some way be connected with this Vote; but guns are specifically mentioned in Vote 12, and it would be more regular to refer to them under that Vote. Vote 12 is for guns and warlike stores.

Mr. CARBUTT: With all deference to your ruling, Sir—of course I bow to it—I would submit that my references will be to the Establishment at Woolwich and the officers who conduct it, and that I should be perfectly in Order in speaking on the point now.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Before you decide the point, Sir, I would draw attention to the fact that the Vote does not cover the salaries of the officers of the Manufacturing Department. The Ordnance Store officers referred to in the Vote are those who have the custody of warlike stores. They are not the officers engaged in the manufacturing of guns. The whole of the service connected with the production of guns, whether by contract or at Woolwich, will come under Vote 12.

Dr. CAMERON said, he wished to offer an explanation on a single point contained in the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stroud (Mr. Brand). The hon. Gentleman had quoted a paragraph concerning the "iron ration" from a pamphlet he (Dr. Cameron) had written. The hon. Gentleman had put it forward as a specimen of his (Dr. Cameron's) statements, and had declared that it was absolutely false and unfounded, and that the other statements were to be taken in the same light. He would refer the hon. Member to page 576 of the Evidence—to the Appendix. It was evident from that that the sausages and the "iron rations" did not arrive at Ismailia until September 8. With regard to the condition in which they arrived, it would be seen from Question 941 of the Evidence, and the answer of the Commissary General thereto—

> "That not one single case was in proper order when it was received, which statement could be confirmed by the individual Reports of the Commissary officers at the front. The cases were broken, and the inside tins were left knocking about, so that there was scarcely a complete ration opened."

Mr. BRAND said, he could not leave the statements there. The details of this matter would be found on page 686 of the Report; and if the hon. Member would refer to them he would find that the *erbswurst* arrived as he (Mr. Brand) had stated. As to the condemnation, the accounts of the Egyptian Expedition showed a loss of about 50 lbs. out of a total sent out of about 50,000 lbs.—the loss being of the value of a little under £2.

Dr. CAMERON: My complaint is that the accounts of the Egyptian Expedition are not worth a straw.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, he had not been a Member of the Committee that the hon. Member (Dr. Cameron) had moved for. He had not been responsible for the despatch of stores to Egypt or the Soudan; and as one of those who had not initiated the mistakes of the War Office during the past five years, he might be allowed to say a few words in regard to a Department with which he was at one time connected. He thought he could honestly say, so far as the officers were concerned — whether military or civil, and he had had to do with both—he had always found them ready to help him with their experience. They were all very hard working; they thoroughly knew their business; and if they committed mistakes they only did what all mortals, high or low, sometimes did in their lives. The Expeditions to Egypt and the Soudan had been of a novel kind. There was no doubt that the transport to that country, although it was understood by those who had been in hot climates, was not altogether familiar to the War Office. There had been an idea of sending Flanders' carts, or, more properly, waggons out for the transport of stores; but he believed it was afterwards found that the transport to be obtained in Egypt was far more efficient than anything which could be sent from home. Then, with regard to stores, he had pointed out, at the time the Committee was moved for, that, in his opinion, the only effect of granting the inquiry would be to make a very large Blue Book, which nobody would read, and that it would all end in nothing. He believed, though he did not pretend to be a prophet, that his prediction had turned out to be perfectly true. He had said, when the Committee was moved for, that any mistakes would be prevented by sending with each ship a supercargo, who would take note of the stores and see that they were delivered in their proper order. That would prevent anything like the unfortunate mistakes which took place in the Crimean War, by which stores were found at the bottom of the ship which should have been at the top, and a great many articles which were urgently needed were discovered everywhere but where they should have been, mistakes which excited a great amount of attention and public dissatisfaction at the time. But, on the whole, as had been well pointed out by his two hon. Friends the present and the late Surveyor General of the Ordnance, the mistakes of the Commissariat and Transport Authorities had been comparatively few. He held that whatever their faults were—and, as he had said already, no one could be altogether free from error—those faults must be shared by the General Commanding in Chief in the field. The General Commanding in Chief was, as everyone knew, supreme in all matters of war; and when the stores were actually delivered, wherever it might be—at Alexandria or elsewhere—the General Commanding in Chief and his Staff became responsible for their due delivery. If, therefore, the troops suffered seriously from any cause—from famine, or from want of proper clothing or want of medical stores—the responsibility, though not the whole of it, but the responsibility in chief, must be shared by the Military Commander. He thought it only right to say that on behalf of the Commissariat and Transport officials, because he often noticed a tendency not only in that House, but also in the newspapers, to hit them hard because they had no friends. The Ordnance and Stores Department had been spoken of in not very polite terms in one of the magazines the other day—in fact, as utterly rotten, in consequence of some mistake which had taken place in the Department of the Director of Artillery and Stores. No doubt, the work of that Department was very responsible and very heavy; but, in his (Lord Eustace Cecil's) experience, there had never been a better officer at the head of it than the present Director General. He might say that the two officers who had been so much referred to in connection with this subject had had considerable experience in their Departments. He was sure that if any mistakes had taken place they had been unintentional and through press of business. He believed that a certain amount of the responsibility was due, as had been pointed out by the hon. Member for Stroud (Mr. Brand), to the sudden manner in which the Expedition had been determined on. He knew that, with regard to the Egyptian Expedition, the orders sent out for the troops and the necessary stores were very sudden indeed; and, no doubt, there had been some mistakes through the absence, on board the ships carrying the stores, of supercargoes to regulate the deliveries. But he thought that before they condemned the unfortunate Commissariat and Store officers, some criticism should be passed on the sudden manner in which they were called upon to carry out duties to which they were not accustomed—such as fitting out an Army with every necessary—nay, almost every luxury. He ventured to say that no troops in the world had so many luxuries as were served out for Her Majesty's soldiers on foreign service. His criticism on all this would be that if any change was effected in any of the Departments, it should take the appointment of additional assistance in the War Office itself under the Director of Artillery and Stores. The Commissary General, as he was then—Sir Henry Gordon, brother of General Gordon—whose services he (Lord Eustace Cecil) had had the advantage of having for some considerable time, had always been very much in favour of having a civilian Director of Stores under the Surveyor General; and there were, no doubt, a great many arguments in favour of such an arrangement. But what he would certainly suggest was that the Director of Stores should be strengthened as far as possible by having an Assistant Director of Stores, as there was an Assistant Director of Artillery and an Assistant Director of Clothing. Such an appointment would be a great advantage to the Surveyor General and the Secretary of State for War. The time was coming, he thought, when they would have frequent changes of Government; and with all the knowledge and zeal that Parliamentary officials might possess—and he could only say that listening to the speeches of hon. Gentlemen, one on the Front Opposition Bench and one on the Front Ministerial Bench, showed how well acquainted they were with the subject—and with all the knowledge and zeal that their successors might also possess, it would be perfectly impossible to prevent these mistakes occurring unless the Departments were well manned. Mistakes occurred in the War Office as elsewhere, because the staff was hardly sufficient for what might happen. Mistakes might be prevented by a little management—by a little extra help and aid, perhaps merely by the payment of an extra salary to a junior officer, and appointing to a responsible office one who was capable of giving assistance in time of need. Because the Departments were undermanned those mistakes were made, and the cry was heard—"Oh, the Ordnance and Store Department is utterly rotten; the boots are all bad, the coats are all in rags," and every sort of complaint was made, the real reason for things being in that condition being the accidents of war, and, probably, the Government having decided upon hostilities suddenly and without due notice to the Departments themselves. He was sure the Departments had done their duty, and he was sure that every Surveyor General of the Ordnance and every Secretary of State for War who had held Office during the past five years would bear him out in saying that the Departments had done all they could do, and that it was wrong and improper to expect them to do that which no mortal man could do.

Mr. HICKS said, that before they went to a vote on this Amendment he begged to ask one question of Her Majesty's Government; and that was whether they would, at the commencement of the next Parliament, renew the Committee of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron)—a Committee which, by the showing of the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, had effected great good? He could remember, as other Members could, that in the early part of the Session the hon. Member for Glasgow moved for the re-appointment of that Committee. That re-appointment was refused by Her Majesty's then Government, he believed on the sole ground that Lord Wolseley was not here. But that refusal was most strongly censured by all the Military Authorities then sitting on the Opposition side of the House. Those authorities pointed out the very valuable information that the Committee had obtained. One after another the same charges of want of provision by the Commissariat Department were reiterated, and the evidence which had been brought before the Committee and before the country was pointed out; and he did think that though the moving of this Amendment might be the only way of raising the question or of obtaining a vote on it, it was not the best way to move in the matter. The question ought to be met by a renewal of the Committee which had been, to his mind, so improperly burked by the late Government.

Colonel NOLAN said, he quite agreed in the words of the hon. Member, that this Committee had been "burked" at the beginning. The Committee last year had taken a great deal of trouble over its investigations; besides, it had been composed of Members of some authority and experience. It had some distinguished officers upon it; the late Surveyor General of the Ordnance had presided over it; the present Minister of the Colonies (Colonel Stanley) had been a Member of it, and there were many other distinguished persons upon it, including the present Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Mr. Guy Dawnay), who had since been in the Soudan. The first duty which the Committee had addressed itself to had been to find out the faults which had existed in the Commissariat and Transport arrangements during the Egyptian War, and the second part of their investigation would have been to find out the way to prevent those faults from recurring in the future. Well, after they had found out a certain number of faults, which were admitted to be such, they had been prevented from ascertaining the reason for them and the best method of correcting them. It had been acknowledged by the late Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Mr. Brand) that there had been faults in connection with the hay, the flour, the mules, &c., and all those were very important matters. If it had only been for the sake of finding a means to put an end to the faults in regard to those subjects in the future it would have been worth while to re-appoint this Committee. A Select Committee was not an expensive institution—in this case the cost was almost *nil.* The Committee had done a great deal of good, and he believed it would have done infinitely more if it had been re-appointed. One effect it would have had would have been to have spared them the necessity for the present debate. Of the speakers who had preceded him three had held the Office of Surveyor General of the Ordnance—in fact, all the Gentlemen in existence who had held that post had spoken. It was natural that each of those Gentlemen should have sympathized with his Department, and it was natural that neither of them should want a Committee of investigation. They defended the Department of which they had been the head, particularly the late Surveyor General of the Ordnance, who took upon himself responsibility for everything connected with the Department—who would not tell them that he was not responsible for the things which had gone wrong. The hon. Member could not possibly be responsible for everything which had occurred, for he was not in Office during the whole period over which the complaints ranged. It was mere chivalry on the hon. Member's part to come forward and take all responsibility, and defend the Department for everything that had taken place. Where the organization of the Department was most defective, there those Gentlemen were more anxious than anyone else to defend it. The attitude of the present Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Guy Dawnay) was most remarkable. The hon. Member had worked most indefatigably on the Committee. He had been convinced of the errors of the Department and of the mistakes committed during the Campaign; but the moment the hon. Member took his seat on the Treasury Bench he told them that his whole opinion had changed. [MR. GUY DAWNAY: No, no!] At any rate, he had gathered from the hon. Gentleman's remarks that he had changed his opinion. He had understood the hon. Member originally to challenge the working of the Supply Department in the Egyptian Campaign. Not only had the hon. Member's conduct on the Committee, of which he had been a most active Member, impressed him (Colonel Nolan) with the opinion he had stated, but the hon. Member had clearly shown that night that he had changed his views and his opinions. The hon. Member had told them that according to his own experience they had had in the Suakin Campaign the most perfect transport in the world; but that statement on the part of the hon. Member could not amount to much, seeing what a little the transport had been called upon to do. As a matter of fact it had never had to go 20 miles from the ships, except when a small expedition had been sent out about 15 miles from the main body for some purpose or other. It did not seem to him (Colonel Nolan) that the transport had in this campaign had anything like a test applied to it. It was well known that its camel branch was the worst in the world. There might have been some difficulty experienced in having to feed troops 20 miles away from the ships and supply them with water; but when the work had to be done by the worst camels in the world he did not see that there was much to justify the statement of the Surveyor General of the Ordnance that this transport was the best any country could produce. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had only spoken of one Campaign; but there was a great deal to be said with regard to the transport in connection with other Campaigns. Why the flour was so bad was this. There was one description of flour which was unsuited to hot climates. That was exactly the kind which had been selected by the Authorities to send out to the troops. There had been plenty of other kinds of flour in the market; but this, that was remarkable for its unsuitability to a hot climate, was the one selected. Then, again, during the Egyptian Campaign there had been an immense quantity of bad hay sent out—hay not only bad in itself, but mixed with rubbish, and containing even brickbats. He did not suppose any of the hay was altogether made up of brickbats, although one witness had said that there were a lot in it. Then it had been shown that the mules had been badly selected, and that no proper system had been devised for servants to attend to them. During the Egyptian Campaign there was really no transport except a railway and a canal, which were in the hands of the enemy. That was clearly shown by Sir John Adye, who had declared as much. Nothing could be worse than the system of transport for this Campaign. Fortunately, the operations conducted by Her Majesty's troops had succeeded, and there was an end of the matter. It behoved them, in his opinion, to see that in the future, in regard to transport, they got good value for their money. It was the fault of the organization that they had not secured that in the past. The idea of several Members of the Committee had been that responsibility in regard to supply and transport was not sufficiently centralized, as it was in the case of the Artillery under the Director General. When they came to supply and transport they had no one responsible. They had a Director of Contracts, and a Director of Supply; but the Commissariat was not under the War Office, and the Director General managed everything. The fact was that no one person was responsible all through. No one controlled the supplies when they were sent out from England, or managed them while they were in transit. The remedy was as simple as possible. There ought to be a Commissariat officer in charge of the Commissariat arrangements at the War Office—he did not mean to say for regulating the prices for large contracts, because that could be done otherwise. But they should follow the precedents of the Artillery and Engineers, and have a Commissariat officer responsible for transit, who would be afterwards responsible, or one of his deputies would be responsible, in the field. As matters stood at present, there was one man managing at the War Office, and somebody else managing in the field. The evidence of Sir Edward Morris showed that when he was told to be responsible in Egypt, he went to the War Office and said—"I should like to see how the stores are packed;" but the War Office officials replied at once—"Oh, no! You must go away from the War Office. You can manage everything in Egypt, but not here. This is our business." Of course, there was a great gap. Things were managed at one end, and at the other end; but there was no connection between the two. And that would have been prevented if there had been someone in the Surveyor General's Department responsible to him, and that man was also responsible in the field, or had a deputy there. The Surveyor General stood in a totally different relation to the Commissariat Department to that in which he stood to the Artillery or Engineers, for in the latter case he had a responsible man to advise him—the Director General of Artillery or Engineers; but there was nobody to advise him for the rest. The Artillery and Engineers were not satisfied to have a man at the War Office under whom the whole thing broke down. They had a man at the Horse Guards who looked after things, who was at hand when things went wrong, and who saw who was to blame. There was no necessity with them for somebody to be continually making speeches to defend somebody else—the late Surveyor General defending Sir John Adye, and the present Surveyor General defending the present official, and all of them combining to defend the whole Department among them. There should really be someone to advise the Surveyor General when things went wrong, and the Surveyor General should not be only politically responsible. At the present moment there was nobody of any kind, sort, or description to advise him. The whole thing was in a state of chaos. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Cameron) had not stated one-half or one-third of what might be stated—he could not bring down all the stores with the same ease with which he had brought down a lantern—and there were half-a-dozen more cases all of which were quite as bad, and which would show the existence of an even worse condition of things than did the lantern.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he thought there was great reason to be dissatisfied with the explanations which had been offered by the Surveyor General. It was quite true that there always would be accidents in carrying out such extensive transactions; but the complaints which were made were not due to mere accidents, but to absolute incompetence on the part of a certain Department—it was incompetence that was the real cause of complaint. As he understood it, he did not think his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) made any complaint of the Commissariat or Transport Service in the field; the fault which the hon. Gentleman found was with the Department at home, and the charge against the Department was that some of its heads had proved themselves to be incompetent. The charge did not arise out of questions of expense; it arose out of questions of judgment. It was indispensable that the persons who were charged with the important duty of supplying stores to an Army ought to be acquainted with what was best for the purpose, and should send only that out. It was true that the General in charge had to be satisfied; but anyone who read the evidence which was laid before the Committee on the Commissariat Department would at once come to the conclusion that the Commander-in-Chief must be easily satisfied if he were satisfied with the arrangements which were made in this case. It was all very well to say that the Army Campaign was successful; but if Lord Wolseley had had an enemy to meet at Ismailia, he would have found a very different state of affairs prevailing. All that the General was able to do was to maintain his Army when they had no enemy opposed to them; and he (Mr. Barclay) did not think there was any great reason to feel proud of such an achievement as that. What the Committee would like to know was, whether any change was to be made in the system, so that all the mistakes that had hitherto been made might be avoided for the future. Large railway contractors who had to conduct operations and send out expeditions to foreign countries always took care to choose competent assistants to see that the work was properly carried out; and if any assistant failed in that duty, the services of that individual were promptly dispensed with. There had been several failures in connection with both the Expeditions to Egypt. In the first Expedition there was a failure in respect both of flour and hay; and as to the case of the hay, the more it was investigated the worse it became. There was not only proof of incompetence in that case, but there was very great reason to suspect that there was corruption also. In the last Expedition it was found that the packing was insufficient for the protection of the stores. Now, that was not a matter which was the result of accident. Proper packing was such an important matter that the officer who neglected to attend to it properly ought to be superseded, and it was only by taking such a step as that that they could hope to have any improvement in their various Departments. If the Select Committee had been allowed to sit for another Session, he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) would have been able to prove a very large proportion of his statements. It was very easy for the late Surveyor General (Mr. Brand) to come down to that House, and, with well-simulated indignation, repel charges which had never been made; but was the Surveyor General prepared to defend the hay contract, and would he say that the hay sent out was of sufficient quality and properly sent out, in the face of all the evidence which had been collected? This was not the place for going into details on the point; but if the Select Committee were allowed to resume their labours at some future time, he (Mr. Barclay) had not the slightest doubt that his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow would be able to prove to the satisfaction of the non-official Members of the Committee that his charges were substantially correct. He (Mr. Barclay) would like to hear from the present Surveyor General whether he was satisfied with the arrangements of the Departments—whether he did not think that some improvement should be made—whether there should not be some more condensed responsibility, some means of bringing home to some responsible individual such complaints as those about our stores in both the Egyptian Campaigns. If the Surveyor General of Ordnance would give some indication of that kind to the Committee it would be received with considerable satisfaction; but it was very disheartening and disappointing to the country to find one Surveyor General after another getting up and saying that things were in the most perfect order and condition; that all the arrangements were complete, and that they could not be improved; when at the same time an investigation showed that gross errors had been committed, and that they would be made again and again until there was some really strong man appointed to the Office of Surveyor General—a man who would make himself responsible for the whole of the work of the Department, and for its being conducted with ordinary business despatch and security. He hoped his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow would proceed to a division, for that was the only resource which the Committee had of expressing its opinion upon those mistakes. Whether the Heads of the Department condoned it or not, the conduct of the Department was not such as to entitle it to the confidence of the Committee.

Colonel MILNE-HOME supposed that the object of the hon. Member in placing this Amendment on the Paper was to enter a sort of protest against the non-re-appointment of the Select Committee on the Commissariat and Transport Services. He (Colonel Milne-Home) well recollected the last debate which took place on this subject, when the re-appointment of the Committee was moved for by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) and the late Surveyor General of Ordnance used as his main argument against the re-appointment the fact that Lord Wolseley was not in this country.

Mr. BRAND: I never spoke at all upon that occasion.

Colonel MILNE-HOME said, it was probably the noble Marquess the late Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) who used the argument, and told the House that Lord Wolseley was not at that time in this country. Lord Wolseley's was the main evidence required to complete the evidence before the Committee; and, therefore, said the noble Marquess, it was not possible to re-appoint the Committee with any good effect. He (Colonel Milne-Home) was not going to suggest that, because Lord Wolseley arrived in London that afternoon, the Committee should be re-appointed to-morrow morning. The Session had now reached too late a period for the taking of such a step; but he did think, with his hon. Friend the Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Hicks), that they should have some kind of announcement from the Government—from the present Secretary of State for War—as to whether it was proposed to re-appoint the Committee next Session to go into the organization of the Commissariat Department. It was well remembered that the Committee had two points to inquire into—first of all, matters of fact which happened in the Campaign of 1882, and, in the next place, the organization of the Commissariat Department; and there was ample evidence brought forward before the Committee to prove that there was great room for improvement in the organization of the Commissariat Department. He believed himself, from all he had heard, that it would give great satisfaction to the officers of the Commissariat Department themselves if some inquiry were made; and he therefore hoped they would have a few words from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) to show that that inquiry would be proceeded with next Session. He believed that such an assurance would facilitate the discussion of the Army Estimates, and generally influence himself (Colonel Milne-Home) and others in the vote they would give on the Amendment now before the Committee. If the right hon. Gentleman would give any hope that the Committee would be re-appointed next year, and would go on with the inquiry, and enter into the organization of the Commissariat Department, he (Colonel Milne-Home) should not, on that occasion, vote with the hon. Member for Glasgow; but if the Select Committee was to be allowed to have all its labours overthrown, he should be disposed to vote for the Amendment of that hon. Gentleman.

DR. FARQUHARSON said, he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow had done good service by bringing this question again before the Committee; because, although he had been taunted with making old speeches over again, they could not have too much of a good thing, and the hon. Gentleman, to use an expressive vulgarism, must go on "pegging away" until he attained his point. The hon. Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Hicks) and the hon. and gallant Member for Berwickshire (Colonel Milne-Home) had both impressed on the Government, in the strongest possible way, the necessity of re-appointing the Select Committee either that Session or next. It was said that the only two reasons for the non-appointment of the Committee were, in the first place, that the different Departments had been so extremely overworked of late that it would be hardly generous or just to ask them to undertake the heavy additional labour which would be involved if the Committee resumed its inquiry; and, in the second place, that Lord Wolseley, whose evidence was looked upon as of primary importance, was not here. But those reasons had now happily disappeared. The strain upon the Departments had now been removed, and Lord Wolseley returned to-day. It might be possible to have the Committee re-appointed even for a short time that Session, and if it could not be done that year it might be done next. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Eustace Cecil) had told them that mistakes were made, but that they were few in number. But was it necessary to have any mistakes at all? Was it not possible that they might be avoided by better organization? He did not mean to say that many of those gentlemen who had been working as Departmental officers had not done their work well, loyally, and energetically, and he would admit that the work in the field itself had been done admirably, considering the conditions under which it had to be done. But the question was whether it was not possible to have a better system under which the work might be better done than under the old system of organization? The Select Committee had done good work up to a certain point; but it was stopped before it could report, and therefore its labours were abortive. If it could be appointed again, and recommence its investigations, a great and valuable service would be performed, and many valuable reforms might be brought into being without much friction or clashing.

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL OF THE ORDNANCE said, it seemed to be thought that he had been guilty of some inconsistency—as if he had attempted to defend now that which he condemned last year. But he altogether denied that he had done anything of the sort, or that he had in any way, as to matters of fact, changed his opinions. He condemned entirely now that which he condemned then, and he thought the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had done good in the course which he had taken. The hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) had attributed to him an observation he never made, to the effect that it was impossible to improve the organization of the Department. He had said nothing of the sort. What he did say was that he had not been sufficiently long in Office to be able to express any decided opinion upon the subject. His right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) did, however, mean to take steps to appoint a Committee to consider the lines of communication, and the supply and transport of the Army. That Committee would sit at once, and during the Autumn the Government would look themselves into all the questions involved.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON pointed out that owing, no doubt, to the very short time that the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Guy Dawnay) had held Office, he did not seem to be aware that a Departmental Committee had already been appointed, and it had sat for a considerable time. Its investigations were suspended when Lord Wolseley left this country for Egypt. He (the Marquess of Hartington) thought it was extremely desirable that any Committee of Inquiry into such a subject should be of a very practical character. He himself anticipated much more satisfactory results from the deliberations of the Departmental Committee than from the Report of a Committee of that House; but, of course, if the opinions he had formed should not be realized, it would be competent for any hon. Member to propose the re-appointment of the Select Committee, or the appointment of a new

Committee, to go fully into the subject. He had only one other observation to make. He thought that Mr. Haliburton and himself would be the very last to admit that any failure occurred owing to the calamity under which that gentleman suffered. No one had spoken in higher terms than himself of the capacity and ability of the Assistant Director of Supplies. What he (the Marquess of Hartington) contended was that the mistakes which had taken place were extremely few in number, and that it was possible that they might find themselves no better off under any system that could be devised.

Mr. CARINGTON said, they heard that evening of an inquiry which had taken place concerning certain occurrences in the Soudan; but he wished to know whether any inquiry was to be made into the conduct of the gentleman who was intrusted with the buying of the supplies for the Army? That gentleman bought bad hay and bad flour. That was clearly proved before the Committee; and he wished to know whether any inquiry was to be made into that gentleman's conduct? If a man bought bad hay and bad flour for a mercantile firm he would probably not be continued in their service any longer. It was with great reluctance that he asked that question; but he felt it his duty, as a Member of the Committee, to do so.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. W. H. Smith) said, he trusted that the Committee would be assured, so far as the present Government were concerned—and he believed it might have been said for the late Government—that every effort would be made to place this portion of the Administration on a satisfactory footing. It would not be contended that no mistakes had been made and that no inefficiency existed; but he did not understand that corruption was imputed to officials in the Service. [Mr. Carington: I did not wish to imply that.] Of course, such a charge ought not to be advanced unless there was good ground for it. Whatever errors had been committed, there was reason to believe that the Public Service was free from corruption. It might be that there was a want of individual responsibility, and if that was the case he would admit that no effort ought to be spared to secure it.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, that having had for some years the pleasure of serving with Mr. Lawson, the Deputy Director of Supplies in the War Office, he believed there was no one in the Service who would be more willing than the gentleman referred to to assist with information that would clear up this question. In consequence of the illness of the Director of Supplies, the duty of providing the Army in 1881 devolved on the Deputy; and it must be to his honour and credit that the vast stores had been laid in with a rapidity and excellence never previously surpassed.

Dr. CAMERON said, if had to deal only with the statements of Ministers in that House he should not divide the Committee upon his Motion; but, unfortunately, he had to deal not only with them, but with statements which had come from the present occupants of the Front Opposition Bench. Not many days ago he had been obliged to attack the administration of the Admiralty Transport Department, and had been very sharply taken up by the hon. Gentleman who represented the Department under the late Government (Mr. Caine). He was told that everything was on the most satisfactory footing, and that it was absolutely wicked to bring forward such accusations; but the next day, when his comments were made public, came the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that in the Admiralty accounts, as taken up to a certain date, there had been a mistake of £500,000 sterling. His remarks of that evening had been treated in the same manner; he was reproached with not having repeated what he had said before, just as a few days ago he had been told that he was reverting to ancient history for his illustrations. The speech of the late Surveyor General of Ordnance was in his customary style; the hon. Gentleman said that his statement was absolutely without foundation. Why, that was exactly what the hon. Gentleman said last year when he (Dr. Cameron) moved for the appointment of a Committee. The then Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Brand) on that occasion told him that his statement with regard to camels being offered on the spot was founded on hearsay, although it was shown that he was quite correct in saying that, because the offer was made at Ismailia, and the camels were at a point only 40 miles distant. Again, he had also said, having the Report of the Commissary General in his pocket, that that officer had stated that his Department was altogether in an unworkable condition, and that it was going from bad to worse. That, of course, was too good an illustration of his inaccuracy for the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Brand) not to refer to. All the hon. Gentleman could then say was that the Report was not within his knowledge. But he (Dr. Cameron) would point out that the Report was before the Committee, and that it formed the basis of their deliberations; and he asked whether that Report was too strongly described when he summarized it in the way he had just mentioned by saying that the Department was unworkable, and that it was going from bad to worse? At all events, he knew that the Commissary General considered it a fair description of his Report. He must warn the Members of the late Government that if they wanted hon. Members on those Benches to follow them they must not set themselves up as defenders of everything in the nature of maladministration, but must fight the battle of reforms, and of other popular principles which they professed on the floor of the House, and not only on public platforms.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 48; Noes 121: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 221.)

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. M'Coan.*)

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. W. H. Smith) said, he hoped the hon. Member for Wicklow would not press his Motion, but allow the Vote to be taken.

Mr. M'COAN said, he would withdraw for the purpose of allowing the Vote to be taken.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Sir FREDERICK FITZ-WYGRAM said, he wished to bring under the consideration of the Committee the insufficiency of the Transport Service, to which of late years the breakdowns which had occurred with respect to the Army were attributable.

Mr. M'COAN said, that he withdrew his Motion on the understanding that Progress would be reported as soon as the Vote was taken. He moved that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. M'Coan.*)

Mr. ONSLOW rose to Order. His hon. and gallant Friend was speaking on the Vote before the Committee. The hon. Member for Wicklow had said that he agreed to withdraw the Motion as soon as the Vote was passed.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR said, he hoped the hon. Member would not press for Progress then. The Committee had been engaged upon the Vote for three hours. His hon. and gallant Friend had only to make one or two observations, and the Vote would then, he hoped, be taken.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Sir FREDERICK FITZ-WYGRAM said, in a highly-civilized country—full of roads, railways, and canals—like this, it would always be difficult to organize transport in peace time; hence the Commissariat of the country had been, and would always be, at the outset, insufficient for the purpose of war. The question, then, was as to how this insufficiency could be best supplied. There was no doubt that the Commissariat and Transport Departments understood their duties very well; but in consequence of the insufficiency of the transport branch of the Commissariat, it became necessary in every war for a number of animals—horses, mules, and camels — to be handed over to Infantry regiments in order to supply the insufficiency of transport. Those animals were handed over to men who knew nothing about their management; and the consequence was, as had been the case in recent wars, that they either died, got sore backs, or in other ways became inefficient. The Committee would be aware that there was great art in saddling a horse, and especially in putting on pack-saddles, which, if not properly adjusted, would be sure to cause a sore back. Then, again, there was great art in properly attending to camels. What occurred in the Egyptian War was that batches of Infantry soldiers were sent down to Cavalry regiments for three days' instruction in the care and management of horses. He asked whether it was possible to conceive any system more likely than that to be inefficient in war? He never wanted to increase the amount of the Estimates, and the remedy he had to propose for this was that 30 men should be taken annually from each of the Infantry regiments at home and sent to Cavalry regiments for instruction. He knew that there might be some objection to that being done in the summer; but he believed the men could be very well spared from their regiments for six months in the winter. It might be thought that the Cavalry regiments might object to being burdened with those 30 Infantry soldiers; but he could say, from his own experience, that there was no jealousy between the two branches, and he believed, on the contrary, that the Cavalry would be exceedingly glad to have Infantry men with them. There was, as a rule, a great scarcity of men in every Cavalry regiment after the winter leaves had begun; and for that reason he thought it would be a good plan to give them the assistance of those 30 men, and he believed that the Cavalry regiments would do their best to turn them out efficient men in the time mentioned. That plan would provide a very considerable number of men who would be able to conduct and efficiently attend to the transport, while the expense would be next to nothing. Indeed, the services of the men would possibly repay the expense altogether, because they would be able to perform a number of services, for which at present transport was hired, such as sending to and from railway stations, and other matters, which had to be paid for. Whether or not his suggestion were adopted by the War Office, at least he thought that some endeavour ought to be made to place on a better footing that branch of the Service, which had not only broken down in every case, but had been the cause of great expense to the country. For those reasons, he commended the question of transport to the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

BANKRUPTCY (OFFICE ACCOMMODATION) BILL.—[BILL 215.]

(*Sir Henry Holland, Baron Henry De Worms.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) trusted the House would agree to the second reading of the Bill that night. It was a Bill of one clause to enable the Treasury, out of the surplus of bankruptcy funds, to provide accommodation for bankruptcy offices.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Henry Holland,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *committed* for *To-morrow.*

POLEHAMPTON ESTATES BILL.

(*Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Attorney General.*)

[BILL 216.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, that this was also a very simple Bill. It provided that the Charity Commissioners should, subject to the approval of the Court of Chancery, make a scheme for the distribution of part of the Polehampton Estate.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Henry Holland,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *committed* for *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY [8TH JULY] REPORT.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment to Question [9th July], "That the 14th Resolution be read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out "£830,400," in order to insert £830,120,"—(*Sir George Campbell,*)—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That '£830,400' stand part of the said Resolution."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that as the re-instatement of Hobart Pasha was the act of the last Administration and not of the present Government he thought the House would expect a somewhat fuller statement upon the subject than his hon. Friend the Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) was able, from the information he then had in his possession, to make a few nights ago. At the request of the Earl of Northbrook, who was responsible for the re-instatement of Admiral Hobart Pasha, he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) would make a short statement on the subject. For many years it had been the policy of the British Government to encourage British officers to take service in the Turkish Fleet. That had been the case with Admiral Walker and Admiral Slade, both of whom served in command of the Turkish Fleet while remaining in the active service of the British Navy, and it was also the case with Captain Mackillon, who served in the Egyptian Navy while he was in the active service of the British Navy. Now, in 1868 Captain Hobart accepted service under the Porte in connection with the Turkish Fleet without previously obtaining the consent of the Admiralty; and, no doubt, that was a very serious offence on his part. Having done that he applied to the Admiralty for their consent, and the Admiralty consulted in the matter the Foreign Secretary. The Foreign Secretary—the Earl of Derby—reported that in view of the Cretan insurrection which was then going on it was not desirable for many reasons that the Turkish Fleet should be commanded by a British officer; and he advised that Captain Hobart be informed that he could not be allowed to continue in the British Service if he served under the Turks. Captain Hobart elected to serve under the Porte, and his name was accordingly erased from the list of officers in the British Navy, and he ceased to have any connection with the British Navy. A year later he applied to be re-instated, and he was informed that when the Cretan insurrection was over his application would be considered. Nothing was done until 1874, when he again applied to be re-instated, and the matter was considered by the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Ward Hunt, who consulted again the Foreign Secretary—the Earl of Derby. The Earl of Derby stated on that occasion, the Cretan insurrection being over, that in his opinion the re-instatement of Admiral Hobart Pasha, as a matter of Imperial policy, would be of material advantage to the country. In accordance with the view of the Earl of Derby, Mr. Ward Hunt re-instated Admiral Hobart Pasha in the British Navy. Therefore at that time his original offence was condoned. He was at that time a captain; but he had not served for some years as Captain, and accordingly, by the Rules of the Service, he was at once retired, and he became a retired Admiral, receiving retiring pay at the rate of £1 per day. Hobart Pasha remained in that position till the year 1877, and during the three years he commanded the Turkish Fleet. In 1877 war broke out between Turkey and Russia, and it was then considered by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—the Earl of Derby—that it was not desirable, in view of the fact that England assumed a position of neutrality in that war, that the Turkish Fleet should be commanded by a British officer, and accordingly he advised our Ambassador at Constantinople that as war had broken out between Russia and Turkey it was impossible for Hobart Pasha to continue to hold his position as a British officer, and at the same time command the Turkish Navy, and His Excellency was instructed to intimate that to Hobart Pasha. On his electing to remain in the service of Turkey Hobart Pasha was again struck off the list of officers of the British Navy. At the conclusion of the war Hobart Pasha applied to be re-instated, and he was informed that the matter would be considered. Nothing whatever was done till this year. In May last Hobart Pasha again applied to the late Government for his re-instatement, and his application was again as previously referred to the Foreign Secretary for his opinion. The gallant officer was informed that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, after careful consideration, had come to the conclusion that there were now even a stronger reasons of Imperial policy for his re-instatement than there were before. The House would not expect him (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) to go fully into those reasons. He thought it would be obvious to anyone that at a time when they were making preparations for a possible outbreak of war it was not unimportant that the Government should be in a position to command information which Hobart Pasha had on very important matters. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members laughed; but at all events Hobart Pasha had information with regard to where possible operations of war might be carried on greater than any other person; and it was considered that it was important that the Government should be in a position to ask Hobart Pasha for that information, and that they could hardly do if he was no longer a British officer. For those reasons, then, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs advised the First Lord of the Admiralty that it would be right to re-instate Hobart Pasha again in the British Navy, and accordingly Hobart Pasha was again re-instated, and his position was exactly the same as when he was originally re-instated by the previous Administration in the year 1874—he at once became again a retired Admiral, with the pay of a retired Admiral. He had no other pay, and could not receive any more. This year the question of his original offence was not raised, because that offence had been condoned in 1874. In 1877 his removal from the list of British officers was not due to any offence on his part, but merely to a desire on the part of the British Government to maintain neutrality in the war then taking place between Russia and Turkey. It had no reference whatever to the original offence—if it were an offence—which Hobart Pasha committed in entering the Turkish Service. This year the only question which arose was whether, looking to the whole circumstances of the case, and taking into account the view which the Foreign Secretary held, that, for Imperial reasons, it was important that Hobart Pasha should be a British officer, he should be re-instated again as in 1874. Those, shortly, were the reasons which actuated Earl Granville and the First Lord of the Admiralty in the matter. The First Lord of the Admiralty had, in fact, pursued the policy which Mr. Ward Hunt pursued in 1874, and for the same reasons—namely, that the Foreign Secretary had advised him that for Imperial reasons it was desirable that Hobart Pasha should be re-instated in the British Navy. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had only further to add that there had been several previous occasions on which officers who had entered the service of some Foreign Power without the previous consent of the Admiralty had had their names removed from the Navy List, but had them subsequently re-instated. There was the case of Admiral Sir George Sartorius, who was removed from the Navy in 1832 and re-instated in 1837; of Sir Charles Napier, who was removed from the Service in 1833 and re-instated in 1836; of Lieutenant South, who was removed from the Navy in 1825 for entering foreign service without the consent of the Admiralty, and re-instated in 1827. Therefore, there were many precedents for the action of the First Lord of the Admiralty. The only other question in the case of Hobart Pasha was that of his retired pay. On that point the Law Officers appeared to have been consulted in 1874; and it was held by them that on re-instatement to the British Navy he was entitled, as a matter of right, to retired pay, although he was in the service of a Foreign Power. Several cases of the kind had occurred, and in all those cases it had been held that officers of the British Navy, but in the service of a Foreign Power, were entitled to draw retired pay in this country, unless a condition was made to the contrary. No such condition was made in the case of Hobart Pasha, and therefore, on his re-instatement as a retired Admiral, he was entitled, as a matter of right, to retired pay. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) was not friendly to the views Hobart Pasha had laid before the public, and had at times somewhat resented the attitude the gallant officer had assumed towards the Liberal Administration; yet, in view of the whole case, he thought Hobart Pasha's re-instatement could be justified on the ground of precedent, on the ground of the arrangement made in 1874, and also on the ground of Imperial policy, to which he had shortly alluded.

Mr. BRYCE said, he thought the House had seldom heard a more inadequate defence of an Executive act than that just made by the right hon. Gentleman. The Opposition were bound to express their opinion, because if the re-instatement of Hobart Pasha had been the act of right hon. Gentlemen opposite, no one could doubt that a great clamour would have been raised by Liberal Members, and perhaps by

Liberal ex-Ministers, in denouncing the conduct of a Government which condoned and rewarded conduct such as that of Hobart Pasha, and which overlooked flagrant breaches of its own law. The House ought to bear in mind that the late Liberal Government did what the previous Tory Government refused to do; because, if he rightly followed the right hon. Gentleman the late Postmaster General, the Government of Lord Beaconsfield refused to re-instate Hobart Pasha, but the late Government did not. The right hon. Gentleman had not brought before the House what was really the most important part of the case. He had stated that Hobart Pasha was removed from the British Navy in 1868 and re-instated in 1874; he had stated that Hobart Pasha was again expelled or required to leave Her Majesty's Service in 1877; but he had not told the House the full ground on which the act of 1877 was done. It was done because Hobart Pasha, by taking service under the Turkish Government at a time when it was at war with an Ally of Her Majesty, committed a breach of the Neutrality Laws. The fact was, that Hobart Pasha, having committed, in 1868, an offence against naval discipline and the Rules of the Admiralty, having been pardoned for that offence after a humble apology, in which he said he could not resist the tempting pecuniary offer made to him by the Turks, committed a much grosser offence in 1877, because he broke a law which was incumbent upon every private subject of Her Majesty, and which was doubly incumbent upon an officer. The Act of 1870—33 & 34 *Vict.* c. 90—provided that every

> "British subject who accepts, or agrees to accept, any commission in the Military or Naval Service of any Foreign State at war with any Foreign State at peace with Her Majesty shall be guilty of an offence against this Act, and shall be punishable with fine and imprisonment, or either of such punishments at the discretion of the Court before which the offender is convicted."

Such imprisonment, by another section, was not to exceed two years—

> "and imprisonment, if awarded, may be either with or without hard labour,"

and the Royal Proclamation issued when war broke out between Russia and the Turks recited this Act, commanding that no person should do anything contrary to the same. Now, this Act Hobart broke when he served under the Turks in the war against Russia. It might be said that he could not well then leave the Turkish Service. Be that as it might, he then made his choice, and could not now come, after such transgressions of English law, asking to be reinstated in the Service of the British Crown. A breach of the Neutrality Laws was no slight matter, because it was one which might easily involve them in serious difficulty with a Foreign Power. They knew that serious difficulty might have arisen if France had gone to war with China, on account of British subjects serving in the Chinese Fleet. There were no laws which ought to be more strictly guarded by them or more respected by the Executive authority of the country than the Foreign Enlistment Act. It seemed to him that Hobart Pasha had, so to speak, played hide-and-seek with the Government. When the opportunity had arisen, he had gone into foreign service in the confidence that whenever he chose to ask for re-admission to the British Navy he would be re-instated. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) talked about precedent. Could the right hon. Gentleman produce any case in which an officer who had twice committed an offence of this kind had been restored? He challenged the right hon. Gentleman to mention any single case in which a second offence had been condoned, and that offence one so grave as a breach of the Neutrality Laws. Hobart Pasha ought to think himself very fortunate that he was not undergoing the penalty of two years' imprisonment with hard labour instead of being re-instated in the British Navy, and receiving from the taxpayers of the country £365 a-year for the rest of his life. He (Mr. Bryce) confessed he could not find that any ground had been put forward yet which was sufficient to justify the re-instatement. It seemed to him that the conduct of the late Government indicated a great contempt both for naval discipline and the law of the country; and if he asked himself what their grounds of action were, he could only suggest two. It was not a case of forgiving faults in respect of eminent services rendered, for he could not find that Hobart Pasha had rendered any particular service; in fact, his most remarkable performances had been that at one time he held a place in Her Majesty's Yacht, and at another time he was an active blockade runner in the American War of Secession. The late Government either thought that a breach of the Neutrality Laws was so trivial a matter that they might overlook it and re-instate the guilty person in the Navy, or else they regarded a service done to the Turks as a service done to ourselves, which was hardly to have been expected of a Government whose leading Members had spoken pretty freely about the Turks in 1876 and 1877. He could not help hoping that the House would mark its sense of an act of this kind, which he did not think the reasons of so-called policy that had been alleged at all justified, by refusing the retired pay which it was proposed should be paid by the Admiralty to Hobart Pasha. In that way, too, the House would express its respect for the Statute solemnly enacted in 1870, and its disapproval of those who had treated that Statute with contempt.

Mr. M'COAN said, that he differed wholly from the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) in his view of this case, and that even the ex-Postmaster General, while making a perfectly sufficient technical answer, had left unstated one of the strongest grounds in favour of Admiral Hobart's re-instatement. He (Mr. M'Coan) happened to be at Constantinople when Hobart Pasha first entered the Turkish Service, and well recollected the circumstances under which Hobart Pasha was appointed; and he could testify that during that gallant officer's residence in Constantinople, and his service in the Turkish Navy, he rendered not only good service to the Turks, but excellent service to this country as well. [*Laughter.*] Gentlemen who did not know the facts might laugh, but he spoke of what he knew; and therefore he assured the House with confidence that ever since the decadence of the influence of our Embassy at Constantinople the chief factor in maintaining in Turkey a friendly feeling towards this country was Hobart Pasha. He maintained, therefore, that the influence which Hobart Pasha had for many years exercised for good between the two countries amply justified his restoration to rank in Her Majesty's Service. If objection were taken to the re-instatement because of the salary it entailed he need hardly remind the House that Admiral Slade, whose case was one of those referred to, drew pay as a retired officer in Her Majesty's Navy during the whole time he was in the Turkish Service. But he (Mr. M'Coan) felt strongly that the chief ground on which this re-instatement could be justified was the service Admiral Hobart had rendered to this country as a *quasi*-Diplomatic Agent. He had kept up in Turkey a kindly feeling towards England which, but for him, would long ago have died out. He was, in fact, the one link which kept alive the old friendship between the two countries, and that fact alone was sufficient to justify the action of the late Government.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, no one could feel a stronger detestation of the Turks than he did. He should like to see them cleared out of Europe. No one felt more strongly than he did that there were far too many Admirals on half-pay; but, still, he thought the House must look at the question as one of pure justice. On the grounds of justice, he really believed Hobart Pasha ought to be re-instated. His hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) said the Liberals would have made a great noise if this re-instatement had taken place under a Tory Government. Well, but Hobart Pasha was re-instated in 1874 under a Tory Government; and he (Mr. Labouchere) was not aware that the Liberals made any noise on the subject. ["It was a different case."] It was a precisely similar case. He did not think his hon. Friend (Mr. Bryce) and hon. Gentlemen who sat near him quite understood the case. They seemed to think that Hobart Pasha hopped into the Turkish Service whenever war was to take place, and hopped back again whenever war was over. That was not the case. Hobart Pasha was a Commander in the English Navy, and he took service with the Turks. Turkey was not then at war; but Hobart Pasha was superseded because he had not asked the permission of Her Majesty's Government to do what he did. A few years afterwards—in 1874—he did ask permission of Her Majesty's Government, and he was re-instated in the English Service. War broke out in

1877 between Russia and Turkey. Hobart Pasha, with the consent of Her Majesty's Government, was then in command of the Turkish Fleet. What could he do? Could he, as an honourable man, say—"I have accepted your pay; with the permission of the English Government I have accepted service with you during the time of peace, and now when you are going to war I will retire and not fight?" He could not honourably do that, but was bound to stand to his guns. He remained in command of the Turkish Fleet, and naturally he was again superseded because the Foreign Enlistment Act existed. That Act had not always been put into operation. A great many officers, at divers times, had taken service with Foreign Governments without let or hindrance from Her Majesty's Government. Hobart Pasha was, however, superseded. War came to a close; but, as he understood, Hobart Pasha did not come to this country until a few months ago. The right hon. Gentleman the late Postmaster General (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) said there were political reasons why Hobart Pasha should be re-instated—that he would be very useful to us. He (Mr. Labouchere) declined to go into the political considerations, because he regarded the re-instatement as a mere act of justice to Hobart Pasha himself. He thought that as Hobart Pasha had accepted service with the Turks with the consent of Her Majesty's Government; that as he was in the Turkish Service when the war took place with Russia and he was obliged as an honourable man to remain in the Service; that as he had only been superseded on account of that war, it was only reasonable he should be re-instated in Her Majesty's Service when the war came to an end. Some hon. Members seemed astonished that Hobart Pasha was entitled to half-pay. They seemed to forget that a Commander in the Navy had a right to go on the Retired List, and that if he exercised his right he received half-pay; that when he came to the top of the list of Commanders he became a retired Captain; and that when he became to the top of the list of Captains he became a retired Admiral. A retired Admiral's services were never called upon. Hobart Pasha would never be called upon by Her Majesty's Government; his services could not be asked. [*A laugh.*] His hon. Friend (Mr. Bryce) laughed; but, nevertheless, he (Mr. Labouchere) maintained that it was impossible to call upon the services of a retired Admiral, because when a naval officer went on half-pay he gave up all right and possibility of being employed in the Navy. The system might be a bad one, but there it was. They would be acting with exceptional stringency towards Hobart Pasha if they refused to do to him what had been done to other Naval Commanders. One Admiral more was one Admiral too many; but it was the system itself which was at fault, and they had no right to make a scapegoat of Hobart Pasha.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he thought his hon. Friends had raised a false issue in this matter, because it was really not a question whether Hobart Pasha had been serviceable to this country as a *quasi*-diplomatist, or whether it was a question of justice to Hobart Pasha because he had been serving in Turkey. The question at issue was one of principle, and, as regarded the precedents of the case, there could not be a shadow of a doubt that the late Postmaster General (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) was entirely wrong in all of the four cases which he had laid before the House, in order to induce it to support this Vote to the Turkish Pasha, Hobart Pasha. The right hon. Gentleman quoted the case of Slade, of Napier, of Walker, and of Sartorius. Now, when Walker and Slade commanded in Turkey they did so with the consent of the British Government, and when they withdrew from the Turkish Service they, of course, were restored to the position that they held before. But the cases of Sartorius and Napier were very remarkable, and had no similarity to that of Hobart Pasha. Sartorius took the command of the Portuguese Fleet, his name was taken off the British Navy List, and it remained off that List for several years. Napier was in command of a vessel cruising off the coast of Portugal, and Don Pedro requested him take the command of the Portuguese Fleet. Napier left his command in the British Navy and took the command oft he Portuguese Fleet. He defeated the adversaries of Don Pedro, and Don Pedro made him an Admiral. The British Government dismissed him from the Navy, and his name was erased from the list of officers. When Napier found he could not get on with the Portuguese Government and gave up the command, he came back on the British Navy List, not, however, as Admiral, but as Commander. He served afterwards with great distinction on the Coast of Syria under Admiral Stopford. He (Sir Robert Peel) agreed with the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) that there never was a lamer case than that made out by the late Postmaster General (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). The right hon. Gentleman told them that Hobart Pasha had been re-instated on grounds of Imperial policy. Why, the debate was adjourned the other night in order that the House might be informed what the Imperial policy was which would justify such an exception being made as had been made in the case of Hobart Pasha. He (Sir Robert Peel) maintained that there was no proceeding in the history of the British Navy to compare with the re-instatement of Admiral Hobart Pasha; and the other night the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) justified the re-instatement by a statement which he was sure everyone in the House must have heard with surprise. The First Lord of the Admiralty said the other night —

> "Hobart Pasha, having left the Turkish Service, has, therefore, been restored by the influence of Earl Granville and of the Earl of Northbrook."

Well, now, had Hobart Pasha left the Turkish Service? If he had not left the Turkish Service, the contention of the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) clearly fell to the ground. Hobart Pasha knew perfectly well that the receipts he got from the Turkish Government were infinitely greater than those he would get as a retired Admiral of the British Navy. He (Sir Robert Peel) feared that the position of the First Lord, that Hobart had been restored to the Navy List because he had ceased to be in the Service of the Turkish Government, was wholly untenable. Now, after all, what were the services of Hobart Pasha? He did not wish to depreciate that gallant officer's services to the Turkish Empire; but in this country, as he (Sir Robert Peel) informed the House the other night, Hobart Pasha never rose to a higher position than that of Commander. He was a Commander 22 years ago, as had been stated by an hon. Gentleman opposite. He held the command for two years of the *Foxhound*; that was the only service that this Admiral, who was now put on the Navy List, could look back to; that was what had been called by several hon. Gentlemen his very distinguished service. He (Sir Robert Peel) maintained that if Hobart Pasha was to be put on the Retired List, there was a Regulation in the Navy which must be altered. A gallant Admiral, a man of no politics, had pointed out to him that it was impossible for the Government to put back Hobart Pasha unless they altered one of the Regulations of the Service. Now, according to the Table of Regulations published in the Navy List this month, all officers of Her Majesty's Navy claiming half-pay and retired pay were required to make this declaration—

> "I do solemnly and sincerely declare that I am entitled to half-pay at the rate of so and so, and that I have not accepted any employment under any other Government except under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty."

He therefore maintained that they must alter the fundamental arrangements of their Navy List, if they were to give a pension to Hobart Pasha in the manner suggested. He had no feeling, God knew, against Hobart Pasha on this point. He merely raised the question as a matter of principle. He contended that they could not give to this Turkish Admiral, Hobart Pasha, a position on their Navy List, which there was no precedent whatever to justify. The four cases which had been quoted by the late Postmaster General—namely, those of Admiral Slade, Admiral Sartorius, Admiral Napier, and Admiral Walker, bore in no way upon the case in point; and he (Sir Robert Peel) earnestly hoped the House would not make this grant of money, which could not be justified either as a matter of policy, but which was certainly contrary to the Regulations of Her Majesty's Service.

MR. RYLANDS said, he was rather surprised to hear so remarkable a speech from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) as the one he had just delivered. His hon. Friend did not usually disport himself as an advocate of pensions at the expense of the community, and therefore it was a little astonishing he should do so on the present occasion. He (Mr. Rylands) considered that the charge on the Naval Vote for retired pay was a charge which all must deplore. It was increasing from year to year, and on many occasions hon. Gentlemen had pointed out that its extent was becoming a positive danger to the State. He felt very strongly that if any officer was tempted by the offer of very large remuneration to go into some foreign service the public should be relieved, by that very fact, from a charge for pension in respect of that officer. But if that could not be accepted as a rule, it was clear that if a man went into foreign service contrary to the Law of Neutrality and contrary to the directions of the Admiralty, he forfeited any right to pension. It was said that Hobart Pasha was no longer in the Turkish Service. He would like his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) to go to his constituents and see what they would say when he told them the story; that here was a man who was formerly a Commander in the British Navy; that he went into a Foreign Service tempted by a large salary, but contrary to the Regulations of the Navy, and without the permission of the Admiralty; that he was struck off the Navy List; that after some years, during which he had enjoyed high rank and pay, he was by some means or other allowed to come again on the Navy List of this country; that again he entered the Service of a Foreign Power and was struck off the Navy List; that he remained in that Foreign Service up to the present time, receiving, no doubt, very considerable remuneration, and that the late Government—the Government of economy—put this Hobart Pasha as a permanent charge on the country to the extent of £365 a-year. His hon. Friend the Member for Northampton rose in his place and asserted that the re-instatement of Hobart Pasha was simply an act of justice. Justice to whom? Justice to the people of this country, who were to be taxed to the extent of this pension without any service having been rendered to justify it? The right hon. Gentleman the late Postmaster General (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) told the House a mysterious story about certain public interests which were involved, and certain great services which might be rendered by Hobart Pasha. What were those services? The right hon. Gentleman could not say. Was it to give them the information he had obtained while in the service of the Turks? Was he to be a spy at a salary of £365 a-year? What was Hobart Pasha to be? If the Government got rid of the pension, but came down to the House and said—"Here is this gentleman, Hobart Pasha, he can do great service to the country, and it is worth our while to pay him £365 a-year in return for that service," the House would be quite prepared to consider such a proposition. Right hon. Gentlemen ought not to come to the House, and, in order to justify a pension which this gallant officer had no right to, to trump up a story about certain duties of a public character they expected him to perform, but which duties were such that they could not be explained. He looked upon this transaction with the greatest possible dislike and disgust, and he should be glad to have the opportunity of recording his vote against it.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he thought that the point last touched upon by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) deserved more emphasis than the hon. Gentleman had given it. The other points had been put before the House with clearness and effect. The case presented by the late Government rested entirely upon the one point that Hobart Pasha, owing to his official connection with the Turkish Navy and Government, might, under certain contingencies, have been serviceable to this country. That was a most sinister suggestion to put before the House of Commons. Anything more mean or contemptible he could scarcely imagine. The hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan) pleaded the case of this Admiral, because there had been for years strained relations between Turkey and this country, and Hobart Pasha was really the only medium by which the two countries were kept away from each other's throats. They were not told by the late Postmaster General that on his merits Hobart Pasha would have been entitled to a pension. The right hon. Gentleman did not venture to suggest that Hobart Pasha, on account of having been a British Commander, was entitled to come back to his former position and enjoy a pension; but the matter was put entirely on the special ground that they were approaching a period of difficulty with a great Power, and it was possible that Hobart Pasha, supposing that they had a pecuniary hold upon him, might render some service to this country. What service could he have rendered to his country, because the right hon. Gentleman did make a reference to the time when they maintained their neutrality? When Turkey was going to war with Russia they were obliged to detach Hobart Pasha lest they should have been implicated in their official relationship with the belligerents. But although Hobart Pasha was re-instated in the British Navy he remained in the Turkish Service. Surely Turkey was concerned in her neutrality, and for us to put her in the position that her neutrality was in danger was anything but worthy of us. From first to last it appeared to him that this proceeding savoured very much of chicanery. He felt more strongly on this matter, because this unjustifiable act had been done by men with whom he had a political connection. He could only wish the matter remained where it first stood, or that the responsibility rested elsewhere than on the shoulders of the late Government. He should have great pleasure in voting against the grant.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON said, he intended to vote for this pension, and would like to give his reasons. It appeared to him that the whole question turned upon the importance to this country of there being a British officer concerned in the Navy of Turkey. He must confess he did not see the slightest meanness in keeping up a connection with the Empire of the Porte. It was of the greatest importance from a political point of view, and also from a naval point of view, that they should have, he would not say the control, but certainly something to do, at any rate, with the Navy of Turkey. It was well they should have an officer whom they could trust well acquainted with all the details of the Turkish Navy; and on that ground alone he intended to support the re-instatement of Hobart Pasha upon the Navy List of this country. With respect to the pecuniary part of the question, he thought he would be supported by the hon. Members who had been and were connected with the Admiralty, when he said that Hobart Pasha's claim to retired pay could not be for a moment questioned. When Hobart Pasha was re-instated he was without doubt entitled to the pay of his retired rank. He (Mr. A. Egerton) thought the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) and the Government would do wisely to support the decision which had been come to after grave consideration by the late Government.

Dr. CAMERON asked if Hobart Pasha signed the declaration which the right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) mentioned as being required in such cases?

Mr. CROPPER inquired if it was true that Hobart Pasha was still drawing his pay from the Turkish Government? It seemed to him rather too much that a Turkish Admiral should expect to be at the same time an English Admiral, so that if Turkey became bankrupt and was unable to provide him with half-pay he could fall back on the revenue of the English Navy.

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY (Lord George Hamilton) said, he had exhausted his right to speak; but perhaps the House would allow him to answer a question which had been put to him. Hobart Pasha was re-instated in 1874, and he (Lord George Hamilton) understood that the Admiralty then consented to the gallant officer serving in the Turkish Navy. He regretted that when speaking on this subject the other day he stated that he was under the impression that Hobart Pasha had left the Turkish Service. He was in error. Hobart Pasha was still in the Turkish Service.

Dr. CAMERON: Did he sign the declaration?

The FIRST LORD: No, it is not necessary.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 107; Noes 55: Majority 52.—(Div. List, No. 222.)

Sir ROBERT PEEL said, before the next Question was put from the Chair, he wished to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether it was not correct, as he had stated, that the declaration he had read to the House was required from an officer before receiving half-pay? With all respect to Mr. Speaker he submitted that he was entitled to ask that question.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Question is, "That this House do agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

SIR ROBERT PEEL: Before you put that Question I submit that I am entitled to ask the Government whether the following declaration is not required to be made by a naval officer before receiving half-pay—

> "I . . . . . do solemnly and sincerely declare that I am entitled to half-pay at the rate of . . . . . and that I have not accepted any employment under any other Government except under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty."

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY: I thought I had answered that question already; but if my right hon. Friend is not satisfied, and will place a Notice on the Paper, I will answer it again. In 1874 Hobart Pasha was in the service of the Turkish Government, and he was afterwards re-instated. I presume that the Lords of the Admiralty would not have re-instated him if they had not approved of his being in the service of the Turkish Government.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the House do agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

MR. CAUSTON said, as the right Gentleman the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel) had been requested to put a Notice of his Question on the Paper it might be desirable to adjourn the debate.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER asked whether the hon. Member for Colchester had not exhausted his right to speak on this question?

MR. CAUSTON said, he would give hon. Members an opportunity of expressing their views on that subject by moving the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Causton.*)

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS) said, he thought the hon. Member for Colchester had made his Motion for the adjournment of the debate under a misconception. His noble Friend had answered the question of the right hon. Baronet most distinctly.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, it seemed to him that as since 1877 Hobart Pasha had been acting in breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act, it was impossible that the Government should not know it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): Sir, I hope the hon. Member for Colchester will not press his Motion for the adjournment of the debate. The House has already expressed an opinion on the subject-matter of the question; and I am sure my noble Friend will do his best to satisfy the right hon. Baronet to-morrow after further inquiry.

MR. CAUSTON said. he should be happy to withdraw his Motion. At the same time, he asked what other opportunity there would be of protesting against the Vote?

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he should like to hear some explanation of the statement that Hobart Pasha had played the part of a blockade runner.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 184.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, in giving his reasons for moving the second reading of this Bill, which seemed to have been abandoned by its parents, he should not detain the House at length, yet he hoped that on the next stage of procedure hon. Members would be able to have some discussion upon the subject of the Bill. He wished to make one or two remarks in reply to some of his hon. Friends who were of opinion that the Bill was not sufficient to meet the case of the Crofters in the Western Islands. He did not look upon it as conceding all that was wanted, but as one which gave a large measure of concession. It proposed to confer upon the tenants fixity of tenure. That, he said, was a great advantage. It also proposed to confer on the tenants fair rents; and that, he thought, must be regarded as a great relief to farmers, who had long struggled under a burden which they were no longer able to bear. The next provision of the Bill related to compensation. When the late Lord Advocate introduced the Bill he had objected to this provision, and said that freedom of sale would be much more agreeable to the farmers; and at the same time he remarked that the point could be dealt with in Committee.

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER rose to Order. The hon. Member was moving the second reading of a Bill on which his name did not appear.

Mr. SPEAKER: When a Bill is an Order of the Day the Bill becomes the property of the House, and it is competent for any hon. Member to move its further stage.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he was about to observe, when the hon. Member opposite interrupted him, that the late Government had, in his opinion, made a mistake in omitting free sale from the Bill. He had expressed the opinion before, and he still thought that it would be a great advantage both to landlords and tenants that that provision should be substituted for compensation. But that, as he had said, was a detail which might be amended when the Bill was in Committee, and therefore he did not think it should be recorded as an objection to the Bill being read a second time. Then it was objected by the friends of the Crofters that there was not provision made in the Bill for giving them more land. He admitted that that was a defect in the Bill, but he did not see how it was possible to provide in the Bill any machinery for the purpose of giving the Crofters the land required; neither had the friends of the Crofters who so strongly recommended the giving of land to them indicated any machinery by which that might be done. For his own part, he looked forward to the establishment of municipal government as likely to provide the means of constituting a responsible body with some powers in the matter. But at present no body existed to which control could be given with advantage, or which could undertake the responsibility. Finally, he repeated that if the Bill did not give all that the Crofters desired it gave a great deal; and if it passed through Parliament, as he hoped it would, with a provision contained in it for securing fair rents and a reduction of excessive rents, he believed that in most cases it would give satisfaction. He therefore begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay.*)

Mr. MACFARLANE said, it was a remarkable thing that a few days ago they had the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) announcing that the Bill contained contentious matter, and to-day they found the Bill amongst the Orders of the Day marked as a Government measure. It was very peculiar also that the Members of the late Government were not in their places. Neither the Leaders of the late Government nor the present Government were prepared to support the Bill, and therefore he would ask in what position it stood? The hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) said truly that the Bill contained valuable principles; but those principles required something to which they might be applied, and he believed that the Bill as it stood would be no cure for the disease. It was of no use giving people fixity of tenure in land that was insufficient to provide them with the means of living. The great disease in those parts of Scotland was insufficiency of land. To say, here was a holding absolutely insufficient to maintain them, and that they should have fixity of tenure of it was a thing of no value; and he maintained that unless the Bill contained a provision for the extension of land, and, what was more important than that, for the extension of pasture land, the Bill would do no good. There were some people who, having sufficient land, were desirous of having fixity of tenure in it at a fair rent; and those people, who were best off, would derive very great advantage from the measure, while most of those who were crowded and suffocated in wretched localities would derive no advantage from it whatever. Notwithstanding that, if Her Majesty's Government chose to pass the Bill, and if it only did good to 1 per cent of the people concerned, it would meet with no opposition from him. But he told Her Majesty's Government at once that it would be no settlement of the question, and they must be prepared to have it again raised next year. Whether they would proceed with the Bill in view of that prospect it was for Her Majesty's Government to decide. He intended neither to oppose nor support the Bill. He said it would not solve one-tenth part of the problem. Would Her Majesty's Government support the Motion for the second reading, or would they move the adjournment of the debate?

He was very curious to know what line they would take on the subject. In his opinion, it would be better, fairer, and more straightforward for the Government to throw the Bill overboard at once, or to say they would deal with it as a Government measure. They had reached the middle of July, and there was little or no chance of the Bill being passed. He had said when the question was raised last Tuesday week that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would grant the second reading and carrying of a Bill to suspend evictions, it would be far more popular in Scotland than the Bill then before the House. Finally, he believed that if they passed the Bill with all its statutory provisions, which would be rigidly adhered to when it became law, without providing for the extension of land, the measure would be worth absolutely nothing.

DR. CAMERON said, he was sorry that his hon. Friend had thought it necessary to damn the Bill with such very faint praise. He had never considered it a final measure, or one that would work everything that was claimed for it; but he had always looked upon it as a step in the right direction, and that so far as it went it ought to be accepted. He believed in the maxim which taught people, when they could not obtain all they wanted, to take as much of what they wanted as they could get. They knew the great stress which had been laid upon the passing of this Bill, the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) having said that it was absolutely necessary that it should pass for the peace of the country was to be preserved. He regretted that some leading Member of the late Government was not present to assist in getting the Bill read a second time. His hon. Friend who had just spoken said "suspend evictions;" but even that was a detail the settlement of which in Committee might be arrived at. The Government had told them that they could not proceed with such an important measure without due deliberation. It was only that night that they had had the matter pressed upon them, and they had been told that the proper course was to adjourn the debate. But he would point out that the moving of the second reading of the Bill did not put them in any worse position; they had command of the Bill; they would have command of it when it left the House; and hon. Members, as was constantly done, could take the discussion on going into Committee quite as well as on the second reading. There was one advantage in moving the second reading of the Bill under the circumstances of the evening—namely, that they would know who wanted the Bill and who did not; those who would vote for it and those who would vote against it.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, he hoped the House would not be led into adopting the dangerous precedent suggested by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), who wished them to record their approval of the principles of the measure after a very short debate. He (Mr. Paget) wished to protest against that being done. The course had been occasionally adopted with reference to measures of light importance, but the House had now before it a Bill of considerable importance; and at that hour of the morning, and after such a debate as they had had, it was surely not proper to thrust the Bill hastily upon the House. He maintained that it was impossible for hon. Members to arrive, at that Sitting, at any agreement on the principle of the Bill; and, therefore, he thought it better at once to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. R. H. Paget.*)

MR. RAMSAY said, he had no intention at that hour of the morning (2 A.M.) of unduly occupying the time of the House; but he would like to make a few remarks. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, he did not intend to detain the House very long, and when he had spoken hon. Members would be able to consider what he had to say. It would be better to hear him before objecting. He concurred very much in the remarks which had been made by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane); and he could not conceive that anyone acquainted with the condition of the districts in which the distress had arisen, and which was caused by——

MR. SPEAKER: I must call the hon. Member's attention to the fact that the Question before the House is the adjournment of the debate.

MR. RAMSAY said, he was just putting before the House an argument in favour of the adjournment of the debate. He thought the House, when it understood the condition of the population, would agree to the proposal. He would merely state the fact that the whole ground for the introduction of this Bill had been the riotous conduct of the people, who had been distinguished in times past——

Mr. SPEAKER again rose to Order, and the hon. Member (Mr. Ramsay) resumed his seat.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) said, he would not follow the hon. Member into a discussion of the Bill, but would confine himself to saying, as he had said on Tuesday last, that the Government did not see their way to taking charge of it. What might be the pleasure of the House with regard to it he did not know; but after what they had heard from Scotch Members, two of whom had declared that they were not satisfied with the measure, he did not think there was anything like an unanimous opinion amongst them in its favour, or that anyone in the House could seriously argue that a question of this importance could be properly discussed at such a period of the evening. He trusted, therefore, that the House would be disposed to agree to the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he would make an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was admitted that there was a deal to be said on both sides as to this Bill. The late Prime Minister (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) had laid before the House his view that the peace of the country would be endangered if the Bill was rejected. On the other hand, the right hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House had said that he had not made up his mind what course he would take. He (Sir George Campbell) would implore the Chancellor of the Exchequer to allow the Bill to be read a second time, on the understanding that the discussion could be taken on the next stage, which would be a short one. That course had already been taken in regard to another very important Bill before the House—namely, the Federal Council of Australasia Bill. He (Sir George Campbell) had had a Notice of opposition down in regard to that measure; but he had been requested by the Government to withdraw his opposition, on the ground that, time being pressing, it would be well to take the discussion on the next stage—that was to say, on going into Committee. He thought it would be an advantage in this case if the right hon. Gentleman would consent to the present stage of the Crofters Bill being taken as a formal stage, the discussion to be taken on going into Committee. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had said that two Scotch Members opposed the Bill. Well, he (Sir George Campbell) regretted that the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane)—who, by the way, was not a Scotch, but an Irish Member—had seen fit to make remarks that he thought had gone too far in depreciation of the Bill. As a matter of fact, only one Scotch Member had declared himself opposed to the Bill.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that to remove misapprehensions, such as appeared to be entertained by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), he wished to say he entirely adhered to everything that he had said on Tuesday last as to the inability of Her Majesty's Government to take up the Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 81; Noes 47: Majority 34.—(Div. List, No. 223.)

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (TERM OF IMPRISONMENT) BILL.

(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

[BILL 180.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Mr. HEALY said, he had on the Paper a Notice to move an Instruction to the Committee. He did not know whether it was necessary; but, subject to explanation on that point, he would move it. It was as follows:—

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to insert an Amendment directing prisoners who propose to apply for a certiorari to be admitted to bail pending the decision of the High Court."

Within his own knowledge magistrates had frequently been in the habit of inflicting a month's imprisonment upon prisoners because there was no appeal, and had done it in a regular manner for that reason. If a prisoner sentenced to a month's imprisonment applied for a *certiorari* that term of punishment would be over before the application could be decided. As there was no appeal for a month's imprisonment, he contended that in out-of-the-way villages the magistrates were often induced to act illegally; and he thought it necessary, therefore, that prisoners should have the power of applying for *certiorari.* He had had under his notice within the past six weeks no less than five convictions by magistrates, in each of which, if it had not been that the convicted parties had not taken French leave, the term of imprisonment would have expired before the cases could have come before the Queen's Bench. The Queen's Bench had quashed the convictions ultimately; but what consolation would it have been to the defendants if they had undergone the imprisonment? He begged to move the Instruction to the Committee which he had put on the Notice Paper.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to insert an Amendment directing prisoners who propose to apply for a certiorari to be admitted to bail pending the decision of the High Court."—*(Mr. Healy.)*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) said, that the proposal to insert a clause such as that indicated by the Instruction would load the Bill, and tend somewhat to endanger it. However, if the hon. and learned Gentleman was anxious for it to be raised, he (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) would not resist the Instruction.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS) BILL.

(Mr. Attorney General, Sir Charles W. Dilke.)

[BILL 99.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. WARTON said, that before Mr. Speaker left the Chair he desired to move the Instruction to the Committee standing in his name on the Paper—namely—

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that it have power to amend the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, in respect of the provisions of the First Sechdule thereto, as to the charges of Returning Officers."

Before he went into this subject, he wished to say that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross)——

MR. SPEAKER: The Instruction the hon. and learned Member would move is not necessary. The Committee will be competent to deal with that question without such Motion.

SIR FARRER HERSCHELL said, that in the absence of his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. J. B. Balfour), who had a Notice relating to this Bill on the Paper, he would move his right hon. and learned Friend's Motion. It was as follows:—

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to extend the Bill to the expenses of Returning Officers at Parliamentary Elections in Scotland."

It was obvious that the Bill should extend to Scotland.

Motion made, and Question,

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to extend the Bill to the expenses of Returning Officers at Parliamentary Elections in Scotland,"—*(Sir Farrer Herschell,)*

—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. HEALY said, that he and his Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had several Amendments they desired to propose, but which they were not now in a position to bring on. He begged to move that the Chairman do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—*(Mr. Healy,)*—put, and *agreed to.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*

LABOURERS (IRELAND) (No. 2) BILL.

(Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.)

[BILL 68.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, he thought that even at that hour (2.25 A.M.) the House would allow him to take the second reading stage of this Bill. Of course, if it did, he should give due Notice of the Committee stage.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he would not oppose the second reading though the hour was so late—far from it. There were one or two points in connection with it which he thought were well deserving of the attention of hon. Members in Committee. Clause 9, for instance, which dealt with re-hearing on appeal, should receive the close attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. Amongst several excellent provisions was that giving an appeal to the Privy Council; but the clause relating to power to add rent to the houses would require grave consideration. Clause 16 was exceedingly good; but he would request the Chief Secretary to give his attention to it, and also to Clause 18, before they went into Committee. He would take the liberty of blocking the Bill, but desired it to be known why he did so. It was not with any intention of delaying the Bill, but simply for the sake of making sure that there was fair opportunity given for Amendments to be put down and fairly considered, and that the Bill should not be taken at an inconvenient time. He did not intend to press his block, or continue it, if the measure were brought on at a convenient time.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday.*

CHOLERA HOSPITALS (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Colonel Nolan, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Biggar.*)

[BILL 231.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

COLONEL NOLAN said, this was exactly the same Bill as the Act of last year. Its object was to continue the Act up to May next, and it was proposed on account of the danger of cholera reaching their shores from the Continent.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

Sir William Hart Dyke

MOTIONS.

——o——

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR): In obedience to the pledge which I gave the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), I rise, even at this late hour of the night, to explain a Bill which I am about to introduce; but the House will not be surprised if I cut down my remarks to the narrowest limits, and do enough, but not more than enough, to redeem the pledge I gave the hon. Member. I will, therefore, simply content myself with describing to the House the extent to which my Bill agrees, and the extent to which it differs from that brought in by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich. In the first place, it agrees with the Bill brought in by the hon. Member in that it is a Bill to abolish the disqualification of persons from voting for receiving medical relief. It is not an Omnibus Bill dealing with the general question of registration. It is a Bill to deal with a specific grievance, or, at any rate, a specific disqualification; and it will not include any of the questions which were pressed upon us by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke). But while it does all the hon. Gentleman's Bill proposes to do, it does something more. It appeared to the Government that if they were going to abolish the disqualification in the matter of Parliamentary Elections in regard to medical relief, it would be impossible to avoid abolishing it also in the matter of other elections. The Bill, therefore, removes this disqualification not merely at elections for Parliamentary Representatives, but also at elections for burgesses, school board elections, and the like. There is but one exception to that general rule. We have not thought it right to allow a man to vote in Poor Law matters—for men to deal with the funds of the Unions—who receives relief from the funds managed by the Poor Law Guardians. And therefore to the general principle of removing disqualification for all elections on account of this relief we have made the solitary exception that in the case of the election of the Body which had itself to distribute the funds for Poor Law purposes the disqualification shall still exist. Then, Sir, the only other clause which we have added to the provision suggested by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Jesse Collings) is the clause to make the Bill retrospective. If the hon. Gentleman's Bill were carried in the form he proposes, it would only apply after its passage. The injustice of that is manifest to the House, and we have therefore made our Bill retrospective for the past year. No man will be disqualified at the next General Election on account of medical relief received since last July. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer reminds me of an omission in my statement. There is another great distinction between our Bill and that of the hon. Gentleman's. The hon. Gentleman's Bill was only for one year. It appeared to us that if it be just at all—a question I shall argue on the second reading—to remove this disqualification, it is absurd not to remove it permanently. It must be obvious to everybody that if this House gives the power to vote, it will never be able to take it away. And if you are never able to take it away, why not at once make the provisions of the Bill permanent? These are the principles on which we have drawn our Bill, and we trust they will prove satisfactory to the majority of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to prevent Medical Relief disqualifying a person from voting."—(*Mr. Arthur Balfour.*)

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, he was glad to hear what the right hon. Gentleman had just stated with respect to the permanent character of the removal of the disqualification. Of course, it had always been contemplated that the relief should be permanent; but seeing that a clause to that effect was negatived by this Parliament, he and his hon. Friends were afraid to bring in a Bill having such a provision, lest it should be ruled out of Order. He thought that the exception which the right hon. Gentleman had mentioned was somewhat illogical. A man in receipt of medical relief was not to have the power of voting in the election of those who administered the relief. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to forget altogether that there were many cases in which men had paid the poor rates for years; he knew instances in which men had paid poor rates directly or indirectly for the greater part of their lives; and therefore it appeared rather hard that when old age crept upon such men they should not be able to receive some help from the community in the shape of medical relief, if they needed it, without losing their right to vote for the disbursers of the relief. But he did not wish to detain the House on the matter at present. He was very pleased that his Bill had been taken up by hon. Members opposite, for the reason, amongst others, that advances in the direction he desired would be made a great deal easier. He was very glad to find a Conservative Government had gone so far in regard to a reform he had so much at heart. It only remained for him at that time to ask if the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Balfour) would, for the convenience of the Members of the House who were very much interested in the question, state when he proposed to take the second reading and the subsequent stages of the Bill? He would also like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman would consent to put a clause in the Bill instructing the overseers to make out supplementary lists, which lists should contain the whole of the names of the voters who had been left out of the general lists owing to the receipt of medical relief? The overseers were compelled to make out the lists of voters. The lists were being made now very rapidly; they had to be revised, printed, and published by the 1st of August. However rapidly, therefore, this Bill might go through the House, it was evident there was not time to put the men who had received medical relief on the general lists. On that account he was anxious that the right hon. Gentleman should give positive directions to the overseers to make out within a reasonable time—say, by the 14th or 15th of August—lists which should contain all the voters who had been left off the general lists. He named the 14th or 15th of August, because claims could be made up to the 25th of August. If supplementary lists mere made out up to the 15th, 10 days would be left in which anyone who found his name off the general or supplementary lists could make a claim within the statutory time. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would be able to answer the two questions he had put. He did not ask them for his own convenience alone, but because he knew there were many Members of the House to whom it would be convenient to know when it was intended to take the subsequent stages of the Bill.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, that before his right hon. Friend (Mr. Balfour) answered the questions put by the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), he should like to express his fear that the Bill was a departure from those sound principles of political economy by which he had hoped his right hon. Friend was imbued. He supposed, however, that the considerations of political exigencies entered into the calculations of both Parties in the House. That was not the time to discuss the principle of the Bill; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give them something like adequate Notice of the second reading of the Bill, and that he would also make sure of its coming on at a time when the Bill could be discussed in a manner proportionate to its importance. Although the Bill was a small one, it contained a principle of far-reaching importance.

Mr. GRAY said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Balfour) would extend to Ireland the relief in the case of elections other than Parliamentary.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he was sorry he was obliged to disagree with his hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Talbot). Whenever this relief had been proposed he had always voted for it, and therefore he congratulated his right hon. Friend (Mr. Balfour) upon the introduction of the Bill. He particularly congratulated the right hon. Gentleman upon the fact that the Bill was a much broader measure than that of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings). In the measure of enfranchisement which Parliament had recently passed he did not see why those persons who happened to have received medical relief should not be included. The measure which the right hon. Gentleman had just explained was one of a very sweeping character; but he thought the Government had acted wisely in introducing it. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the people affected by the Bill were not to be disqualified from voting this year. That intention was one thing, and the registration of the people was another. In his Bill the right hon. Gentleman would have to see that the men who had received medical relief during the present year were not only not disqualified, but that they were put on the Register for the Election which was to take place in November next. He (Mr. Onslow) was speaking with some little experience. For many years he had been a member of a Board of Guardians, and he thought it extremely foolish and unreasonable that the poor creatures who had, unfortunately, had to apply for medical relief should be disfranchised on that account. The Government had said they did not intend to introduce any Bill of a contentious character. He hoped that this Bill would not create any contention. Personally, he believed that with very few exceptions it would be acceptable to both sides of the House; while it would undoubtedly please the vast majority of the people.

Mr. HEALY said, he thought some attention should be drawn to the fact that while the Radical Party had made a tremendous fuss recently about the question of medical relief, they never once thought of it until the Irish Party proposed to introduce a clause guarding against the disqualification in the Irish Bill. The Irish Party first raised the question last year on the Representation of the People Bill, but they did not get a tittle of support from the Radical Party. The late Government treated them with scorn, and defeated them on that Bill. Then they raised it on the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill, but got no satisfaction whatever, because the late President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), a Gentleman, no doubt, of very kind words, would make no promise. Thirdly, they agitated the question on the Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill, and succeeded in inducing the late Government to insert a clause preventing the disqualification. The hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), or any other Gentleman connected with the Radical Party, did not extend to them the smallest modicum of help or sympathy. But when they got their clause into the Registration Bill, and it passed the Lords, the Radical Party suddenly woke up to the importance of the question; and what happened? When the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) introduced his Amendment in Committee on the Registration of Voters (England) Bill it was defeated by the then Government, and it was only by the votes of the Irish Party, in a small House and a scratch division, that the Amendment was carried on Report. But for the votes of the Irish Members the proposition would never have got to the Lords, and their Lordships would never have been accused of attacking the rights of the working man. Such was the history of the question. The English Radical Party knew nothing of the question of medical relief until it was raised by the Irish Party.

MR. PELL trusted, with his hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Talbot), that the second reading of the Bill would not be taken until hon. Members and the country had had some time to consider what would be the effect of the measure. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Balfour) told them he would give no arguments in favour of his measure—that he would adduce the arguments on the second reading. Now, if they were to have a statement of the provisions of the Bill to-day, and the arguments on the second reading, he only desired to say, in support of his hope that the measure would not be proceeded with without a proper interval, that what was proposed would prove a most momentous change in the law of England in reference to the relief of the poor. People were misled by the generalities which were indulged in as to medical relief. After all, it was not medical relief, but the relief of destitute persons who asked for medicine. There was another class of destitute persons who wanted bread, and that class he understood was not to be affected by the Bill. Before a person could be granted medical relief he must be destitute. He might be ever so ill, but if he was not destitute the Guardians could not give him relief. The right hon. Gentleman now proposed to remove permanently the disqualification which had always attached to destitution. He (Mr. Pell) maintained that that would be a most momentous change in the law of England; and on that ground he asked that the second reading should not be taken until the Bill had been in the hands of Members and before the country for a time sufficient to admit of its being adequately considered.

MR. CARINGTON said, he recollected a case in his constituency of a boy working in the fields meeting with an accident. The poor fellow was taken to the parish doctor—[*A laugh.*] The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pell) might laugh, but what he was saying was perfectly true. The boy was taken to the parish doctor and treated for the injury. In consequence of that the lad's father was struck off the Register of Voters. The man was by no means destitute; but it was presumed he was struck off the Register because he held Liberal opinions.

MR. COURTNEY said, he did not rise to defend the conversion of the Radical Party, of which the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had spoken. As a matter of fact, he (Mr. Courtney) was one of those still unconverted; but if any congratulations upon the introduction of the Bill were due, he thought they were due to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) rather than to the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Balfour). He desired now to impress on the right hon. Gentleman the very great importance of not taking the second reading of the Bill at once. The right hon. Gentleman had enlarged the Bill of the hon. Member for Ipswich in two very material directions—he had made the Bill permanent, and he had extended its provisions to all elections except those of Poor Law Guardians. He (Mr. Courtney) was not aware there had been any application from any part of the country for a relaxation of the law in respect to municipal or school board elections. It was perfectly obvious that the relaxation in reference to school board elections would have a most momentous effect on free education. It was right, therefore, that due Notice should be given of the second reading.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD said, that, by the indulgence of the House, he might be permitted to say it was important that the Bill should be pushed on as rapidly as possible. It was not a complicated Bill; on the contrary, a glance at the clauses would give everybody an adequate idea of its contents. The Bill would be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow, and he did not imagine there would be any serious objection to the second reading being taken to-morrow evening. ["Oh!"] He was afraid that, in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), he could not alter the arrangement come to with him. If the right hon. Gentleman were present, he would be able to appreciate the appeal which had been made; but, speaking in his absence, he (Mr. Balfour) could only say it was the present intention of the Government to take the second reading to-morrow evening, not as the first, but as the second Order. Of course, the Committee stage could not yet be fixed. He appreciated the necessity of enabling those affected by the Bill to vote at the ensuing General Election, and he would take care that they should be placed on the Register. He could not state a more definite course than that.

Mr. CLARE READ said, that this was an important Bill to introduce at 3 o'clock in the morning. They were told by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Balfour) that the Government intended to take the second reading in the course of this very evening. Perhaps it would be better to say at once that he (Mr. Clare Read) and the few Friends present intended to exhaust all the Forms of the House in order to get the Bill properly considered by the House and the country. He, therefore, moved that the debate be now adjourned.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he was very pleased to second the Motion for Adjournment. Though he supported the Bill of his right hon. Friend most cordially—perhaps more strongly than many Members even on the other side of the House—he could not give his sanction to the second reading being taken to-morrow. This was a Bill affecting Boards of Guardians, and therefore they should have time to consider its details. Surely the right hon. Gentleman must see the enormous importance of the Bill. In a few hours they were about to change the whole system of electioneering in the country.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Clare Read.*)

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY (Lord George Hamilton) pointed out that until the Bill was read a first time, it could not be printed. The only effect of carrying the Motion for Adjournment would be to prevent the printing of the Bill. He was sure his right hon. Friend would be glad to meet the convenience of the House as far as he could; but everybody must see it would be convenient to put the Bill down for to-morrow.

Mr. PELL said, that he and his hon. Friends would divide the House unless they got an assurance that the Bill would not be taken to-morrow, and that, indeed, a reasonable interval would be allowed for the consideration of the measure.

An hon. Member said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would stand to his guns. He was afraid some of his hon. Friends objected to the principle of the Bill; but he trusted that, for the sake of a few, they would not, as a body, be convicted of giving the proposed relief with a grudging hand.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT believed his hon. Friends would be quite satisfied if the right hon. Gentleman would consent not to take the second reading before Thursday. What was asked was time for the consideration of this most important Bill. It was not a question of giving the relief with a grudging hand, but it was a question of knowing what they were giving.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD desired to point out to the House the inconvenience of the course suggested by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Talbot). The Budget was fixed for Thursday. This Bill could not be taken until the debate on the Budget closed, and they were not sure what time that would be. He thought hon. Gentlemen had exaggerated the importance of the Bill; but would it not meet their wishes if the second reading were taken to-morrow, and the principle of the Bill debated on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair? If his hon. Friends would consent to the Bill being read a second time to-morrow, he was confident his right hon. Friend the Leader of the House would give ample time before the subsequent stages of the Bill were taken.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, he thought the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman was a very reasonable one, and he had no doubt those who were anxious to pass the Bill would be content that the second reading should be taken to-morrow, and the subsequent stages put down for Thursday or Friday next. It was important that the Bill should be passed with the utmost rapidity, because the time was short within which the overseers had to prepare the Registers.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that the Bill had been extended beyond all conception. This measure, which introduced considerations respecting local government entirely foreign to the principles hitherto approved and adopted by both sides of the House, was brought forward at 3 o'clock in the morning. The country could know nothing of the Bill, for it was now too late for the present proceedings to be reported in to-day's papers, and yet the House were asked to read the Bill a second time to-morrow. He hoped the Motion would be pressed, unless they had a strong assurance that the second reading would not be taken before Thursday.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 5; Noes 33: Majority 28.—(Div. List, No. 224.)

Original Question again proposed.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) said, he did not wish to prolong the debate unnecessarily. If the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) would be content to have the second reading of the Bill taken on Thursday, he would agree to it.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, and Mr. Dalrymple.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 232.]

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT [COST OF PROSECUTIONS].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment of the Costs of Prosecutions incurred under the provisions of any Act of the present Session for making further provision for the protection of women and girls, in like manner as the expenses of prosecution in Ireland, of felony, and in Scotland, of a crime, are paid.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter after Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 14*th July,* 1885.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Archdeaconries (150); Tithe Rent Charge Redemption * (165).

Committee—Secretary for Scotland (117-178).

Select Committee—Earldom of Mar Restitution * (107), *nominated.*

Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * (147); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (156); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * (157); Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order * (148); Pier and Harbour Provisional Order * (114).

NEW PEER.

Gavin, Lord Breadalbane (Earl of Breadalbane in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland), having been created Earl of Ormelie in the county of Caithness, and Marquess of Breadalbane —Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

(No. 117.) COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1 (Short title).

On the Motion of The Earl of Rosebery, the following Amendment made:—In page 1, line 5, in the title, after ("Scotland,") insert ("and President of the Scotch Education Department").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 2 and 3 severally *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Seal, style, and acts of the Secretary).

On the Motion of The Earl of Rosebery, the following Amendments made:—In page 1, line 27, leave out from ("and") to ("Secretary") in line 31, both inclusive; in line 34, after ("him,") insert ("or by any Secretary or other officer appointed by him for that purpose;") and in page 2, lines 1 and 2, leave out ("the Assistant Secretary, or any,") and insert ("any Secretary or").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Transfer of powers of Secretary of State).

On the Motion of The Earl of ROSEBERY, the following Amendments made:—In page 2, line 12, leave out ("or any Committee thereof;") and in line 13, leave out after ("Schedule") to ("Scotland") in line 15, both inclusive.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in explanation, said, that the object of the change was to provide for the transference of the functions in a different form in a new clause.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in proposing, after Clause 5, the insertion of a new clause in order to provide for the transference of the control of education to the New Department, said, it was not exactly the same as the one which appeared on the Notice Paper. It had been drawn up in consultation with the hon. and learned Lord Advocate, on the analogy of the constitution of the Board of Trade. There was no doubt that, if the clause were carried in the form in which it appeared on the Paper, it would be superseding, or in some respects interfering with the functions of the noble Viscount opposite the President of the Council (Viscount Cranbrook). The new clause which he now proposed was a more elaborate and distinct method of doing what the Bill already attempted to do, by reciting the Acts of Parliament which referred to the matter in question. It was found in practice, when they came to examine the Acts under which the Vice President of the Council exercised authority over education, that it was simpler to transfer the Scottish Education Department bodily to the control of the new Secretary, instead of reciting the Acts, clauses, and Schedules which were not quite complete in their operation. There was another object, which was to make the scope of the change more complete. Instead of a Committee of Council for Scottish Education, which had hitherto been more or less a collection of phantoms, it was proposed that the new Department should be assisted by a Council which should have to deal, not only with the primary education, but with secondary education, exercising power over endowed schools in Scotland, and also exercising power with regard to the Universities. Their Lordships would see what a very complete and interesting scheme of educational reform this opened up. He thought that those who objected to the Bill from an educational point of view would feel that, in some degree, their objections were removed by the great prominence and importance given to education in this clause; whereas those who, like himself, were anxious to transfer education to the new Minister in the most complete and absolute fashion, would feel that that had been done much more efficiently by the new clause than by the somewhat passing references to the subject in the sub-section and in the Schedule. He wished to remove one possible ambiguity. Their Lordships would observe that it was said—

> "It shall be lawful for Her Majesty from time to time, by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, to appoint the Secretary for Scotland to be Vice President of the Scotch Education Department,"

and so forth. That had the appearance of a permissive clause, and it might cause some alarm among those who wished to place education under a Scottish Minister. They might think that this would only be an option given, and that somebody under the Scottish Minister might hereafter be appointed Vice President of the Scottish Education Department; but, as a matter of fact, that exact form of words was copied from the Acts appointing the Vice President of the Council Minister of Education for England, and they might be perfectly safe as to the construction of the clause. There need be no fear that it was simply a permissive clause; it was an enabling form of words which he now proposed.

Moved, after Clause 5, to insert as a new clause:—

(Appointment of Secretary for Scotland as Vice President of the Scotch Education Department.)

"It shall be lawful for Her Majesty from time to time, by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, to appoint the Secretary for Scotland to be Vice President of the Scotch Education Department, and the Scotch Education Department shall mean the Lords of any Committee of the Privy Council appointed by Her Majesty on Education and Universities in Scotland."

(Transference of powers and duties of Scotch Education Department.)

"From and after the appointment of the Vice President of the Scotch Education Department, as hereinbefore provided, all powers and duties vested in or imposed on the Scotch Education Department constituted under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, shall be transferred to, vested in, and imposed on the Scotch Education Department constituted under this Act; and wherever in any Act of Parliament, Minute or Regulation, reference is made to the Scotch Education Department, such reference shall be read and construed as applying to the Scotch Education Department constituted under this Act."—(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK) said, the House was in some little difficulty on account of the proposed Amendment coming before them, as it did, at that late period, and in a new form. Until he came down to the House he had not had an opportunity of seeing the form in which the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery) proposed to transfer the Scottish Education Department to the new Secretary for Scotland. Previous, however, to the Bill passing the second reading, he (Viscount Cranbrook) had endeavoured to introduce into the Scottish Council some Representatives of Scottish feeling and Scottish knowledge, who might very effectively have taken part in the administration of education there; and inasmuch as education was to be transferred to this new Official it should be done carefully, and therefore he was very glad, if it was to be done at all, that it was to be done in the way proposed by the noble Earl. The Department existed, the Secretary for Scotland would find that everything was ready to his hand, he would enter on his Office with Inspectors and other officials all ready, and he would merely have to take the place at present held by the Vice President of the Council for England, who was also Vice President of the Council for Scotland. But he (Viscount Cranbrook) must take an exception to the extent to which the noble Earl had gone with respect to the Universities. The Committee of Council in England had no authority with respect to the Universities in England. Judicial Committees were appointed for the special purpose of dealing with the questions that arose in reference to the Universities; but the Committee of Council had nothing to do with these matters. The nature of the duties of the Committee of Council and of the University Committees were entirely different. The noble and learned Earl opposite (the Earl of Selborne) would bear him out in saying that Committees were appointed *ad hoc* for deciding on questions relating to Universities, and that the Committee of Council in England had nothing whatever to do with the Universities of England. It was a totally different subject which was brought before those Bodies. In the case of Committees of Council on Education, it was only in an administrative capacity that they acted; while, in the case of Committees of Council for the Universities, they had to deal with judicial questions, which were of a totally different character. The gentlemen who composed those Committees and dealt with Universities were Judges and other authorities, who were able to decide judicial questions in an authoritative manner. Neither their time nor their circumstances would admit of their giving that attention which would be required in such a scheme as the noble Earl proposed in connection with the Secretary for Scotland. Therefore, he should certainly oppose the insertion of the words "and Universities" in the clause of the noble Earl; and he would venture to suggest to the noble Earl that he should omit the words from the clause, and deal, if necessary, with the question of the Universities separately. That might be a proper function in which the Secretary for Scotland should assist, in combination with men who were able to decide questions of a judicial character, with which the administration of education had nothing whatever to do. He believed that the advantages to which the noble Earl alluded in regard to education might have been obtained by a Council of Scotsmen devoting their attention to this particular subject, and on which, if it were formed, a high dignitary like the Secretary for Scotland might appropriately have a seat.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he wished to be allowed to offer a word of explanation in regard to what had fallen from the noble Viscount opposite. The words "and Universities" were inserted in this clause for two reasons. In the first place, the Bill already gave power to transfer to the Secretary for Scotland the powers which the Home Secretary exercised over Scotch Universities; secondly, there was a University Bill, which had long been before both Houses of Parliament, in which it was provided that a Committee of Council should supervise Scotch University matters. It was thought that it would be desirable to have one Council only; but if the noble Viscount saw insuperable objections to the adoption of that course, there would be time enough to consider the question when the Universities Bill came before their Lordships.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK) said, he still thought the words "and Universities" should be omitted from the clause.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he left the matter entirely in the hands of their Lordships.

Moved, To amend the clause by leaving out the words ("and Universities.")—(*The Lord President.*)

Motion *agreed to*; words *left out* accordingly.

On Question, "That the clause, as amended, be there inserted?"

THE EARL OF MINTO said, he was able most heartily to join with the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) in regard to the transference of education to the new Department. Great complaints had been made with regard to the amount of red tape and officialism which there was about the great paraphernalia of the Privy Council. When Lord Young introduced the Scottish Education Bill, he thoroughly understood the characteristics of Scottish education. The functions of the Superintending Body were really very limited, the Act having been so drawn up that the school boards were carefully guarded against being embarrassed by any unnecessary interference on the part of anybody. There was no use retaining anybody with a high-sounding title. It was far better that the control of education should be in the hands of one man, and that man, he thought, should be the Secretary for Scotland.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that, in his opinion, the noble Earl who had introduced this Amendment (the Earl of Rosebery) had very much underrated it with regard to the importance of the change it would make as respected education. The Amendment really introduced a very large change in the Bill, and he very much wished it were possible to give them a few days to consider it, as it was impossible in the few hours that had elapsed since they had received it to give it that amount of consideration which it deserved. As the Bill originally stood, it proposed to do away with the Scottish Education Department altogether, and to put the charge of Scottish education entirely into the hands of the new Secretary. This Amendment, on the contrary, proposed to continue the present system of a Scottish Committee of Council, presiding over which, or at all events a very prominent member of which, would be the Scottish Secretary. That was really to say they were going to continue the present system, with this difference, that it would be dividing education into two parts—one part for England, and one for Scotland. The form of administration in each case would be precisely the same; but the separation between England and Scotland would be complete, so far as the Committees were concerned. There would be an English Committee presided over by the Vice President of the Council, and a Scottish Committee presided over by an analogous Officer, who would be the Scottish Secretary. There would be a separate Office and a separate Secretariate, and the whole supervision of Scotch education would be conducted apart from that of England. He was very doubtful whether that system would work well. It was by no means certain that the Amendment, leaving out the part of it preserving the Committee in reference to endowed education, was a great improvement in the Bill. Unlike his noble Friend who had just spoken (the Earl of Minto), he was unable to feel such complete confidence in any person who might be from time to time appointed Secretary for Scotland as to believe that he would alone and unassisted be a perfect Education Minister. This question of education was, of all subjects, most important, and it seemed to him that they should regard the question of education first and foremost from the point of view of education itself, and that they should not look at all at it from the point of view of those who were more or less concerned about the *status* or position of the Secretary for Scotland. While he readily admitted that the new proposal in the Bill was an improvement on the original proposal in so far as secondary education was concerned, he thought that in regard to primary education they would find themselves very much where they were. The two Departments would have separate Secretaries; but, on the other hand, by the establishment of two Committees, they would lose the advantage which they had hitherto enjoyed, and which he thought had been a very great advantage—namely, that the same high Officer of State, the Vice President of the Council, had exercised a general superintendence and comparison over the systems of education in both countries, over their Codes and the regulations under which their teachers were appointed. In short, they would lose the bond of union which had hitherto existed between the systems of education in the two countries, as he believed with very great advantage to both. But there was more than this. Their Lordships would see that, if they now established two systems of education, with separate Departments and separate Officers, they would virtually make it impossible to discuss the question whether there should be a Minister of Education for the whole country. Their Lordships knew that that question had been considered by a Committee last Session, and that that Committee reported unanimously in favour of the appointment of a Minister of Education. More than that, the late Prime Minister himself was in favour of the system.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: No.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, his noble Friend said that was not so; but he (the Earl of Camperdown) could only judge the Prime Minister by his own words. [*Laughter.*] He meant the late Prime Minister, and the future Prime Minister, he would call him, if they chose. He quite admitted there was very great difference of opinion on the Bench below him, and he had some reason to think that opinion on the Treasury Bench was not absolutely united on the subject; but on the 6th of November last, a Question was put to the late First Lord of the Treasury as to whether it was the intention of the Government to bring in a Bill at an early date to carry out the recommendations of the Select Committee on Education; and Mr. Gladstone, in reply, said—

> "I propose, on an early day—I cannot name the day exactly, but on an early day—to adopt a measure founded upon the Report of the Select Committee."

These were the words of the late Prime Minister, and they justified him (the Earl of Camperdown) in saying that that right hon. Gentleman was then, so far as they knew, in favour of the proposals of the Select Committee, and not of those contained in the present Bill. But he wanted to point out that, if they accepted the proposals contained in the Bill, they would render the discussion of the whole question of a Minister of Education impossible. He had gone very carefully into the Petitions; and when they found that the School Boards of Glasgow, Govan, and Dundee, the Educational Institute of Scotland, almost all the institutes and local branches, and many persons eminent in education, went strongly against the transfer of these powers to the new Secretary, they must admit that there was a very considerable difference of opinion in Scotland on the point. The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) said the other day that this was a change in the direction of decentralization; but he (the Earl of Camperdown) thought it was not a change in that direction at all, and that, if anything, it was rather a change in the opposite direction. By the Act of 1872, Scottish education was as much decentralized as it was possible to decentralize it, for it was to be conducted by the school board of the parish, subject only to the general supervision of some Central Authority. Undoubtedly, it was not proposed that the authority of this Scotch Secretary should be less direct than that of the present Educational Department; and, therefore, so far as it was a change, it was in the direction not of decentralization but of centralization. But the real truth was that this change was a change in the direction of Home Rule. The word might be ungrateful or not to their Lordships, but that was the meaning of the change. They were going to establish a Department of Education for Scotland, as separate and distinct from that of England as was the Education Department of Ireland. He therefore hoped that, in making up their minds on the question, their Lordships would take that into consideration. He had objected to the transfer on general grounds. He did not propose to enter upon these at present; but he asked their Lordships whether his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) would not really do better if he were to withdraw this question of education for the present. He (the Earl of Camperdown) wished to deal with the Bill as fairly as possible. He had stated more than once in that House that he was anxious to have a Secretary for Scotland, and he wished to give him a very good position indeed; but he did not wish to hand over this question of education to him in such a form as to narrow and insularize, if he might use the term, the education of Scotland. He would not move the Amendments he had himself put upon the Paper; but he should ask their Lordships to divide against the proposal, upon the ground that they should not make it impossible to establish a Ministry of Education, if, on discussion in Parliament, it should be deemed desirable.

The Duke of ARGYLL said, he considered the Amendment of his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) an improvement upon the Bill. He was one of those who had regretted from the first that the whole question of Scottish education was not kept exclusively a Scottish question. Scotland had been long before England in a system of national education. The parish schools of Scotland had been the admiration of the world, and had educated their people in a manner in which no other people were educated; and these schools had no other fault than this—when they changed hands, that they had ceased to cover the whole population, and it was necessary to enlarge the system. He had always regretted that, owing to the grant by the Privy Council under the extended system of education, the management of the schools, to a very large extent, so far as money was concerned, should have been centralized in London; and he must say that, when they were creating a Secretary for Scotland, he thought education was one of the very first matters which they ought to intrust to his care. Therefore he entirely agreed with his noble Friend the late Lord Privy Seal in the general principle of the Amendment he had introduced. He (the Duke of Argyll) was in favour of the separation of Scottish and English education. Scottish education was different from English in its history. It was different in its origin, and, to a large extent, it was different in its actual and existing system. But then he had always felt that, considering the Privy Council had been established for a considerable number of years, the complete transfer would be a matter of serious inconvenience. The Privy Council had the strings in its hands; it was in personal communication with all the Parochial Boards in Scotland; and the existing system had many friends in Scotland who thought their special interests would be interfered with by the change. He, therefore, was very anxious as to the mode in which this most important change should be carried into effect, and thought that the present proposal was a good way to meet the difficulty. They would not amalgamate the two systems, and he understood the effect of the Amendment of his noble Friend to be that the Scottish Secretary would be the permanent Chairman of the Scottish Committee on Education. That would ease the transfer, and would give a reality and life to the Scottish Committee on Education which it had never had before. At the beginning the Scotch Committee were occasionally summoned to decide two or three questions of principle; but since then they had never been summoned at all. It would be different when the Committee were presided over by the Scotch Secretary. Practically, it was a phantom or non-existent body, such as that to which his noble Friend had referred; but the effect of the Amendment, he (the Duke of Argyll) believed, would be to make it a practical working body, and to carry out the proposed change in a more convenient way.

Lord BALFOUR said, he thought it would be awkward to vote upon an Amendment like that now before the House without seeing the words of it in print. He was one of those who looked with suspicion upon this proposal to transfer the question of education to the control of the Scottish Secretary. He frankly admitted that he thought the proposal to continue the Committee of the Privy Council was a very great improvement and a very great safeguard in the Bill, and he was very glad to see it. But he did not think it removed all the objections that could be taken to the proposal itself. The proposed transference would render it absolutely impossible in all time coming to have a Minister of Education for both countries. He was not to be understood as asking that the two systems of education—the Scotch and the English—should be made similar in all respects; but what he did say was that there was much that each country could learn from the other, and he looked with very great suspicion upon any proposal which should stereotype the educational system of Scotland for Scotland and the system of England for England. They ought, he thought, to do all they could not to have the two systems controlled by the same Staff and the same officials; but that they should be supervised, if he might say so, by one Parliamentary Head or Minister, who could take a comprehensive view of the interests of each country, and could import what was good for one system into the other, and gain experience for the management of one country by what was going on in the other. He very much regretted the change, if that was to be taken away from them. Therefore, if his noble Friend (the Earl of Camperdown) divided the House on the question whether the clause should be inserted, he should feel bound to support him. On the other hand, he was not quite certain whether there was any use dividing the House; because it was obvious, from what had taken place on former occasions, that there was in this House likely to be a majority in favour of the transference of education. As the noble Earl opposite had pointed out, the condition of the Front Benches, and the gaps behind them, showed that those against the view he took in this matter had got the upper hand. It was therefore useless for individual Members to divide the House, and although it was with great regret he said it, he could not recommend his noble Friend to go to a division. If, however, he did so, he should be very happy to record his opinion in his noble Friend's favour. He thought that, to some extent, the House had been misled—he did not mean intentionally—as to the way in which opinion in Scotland was running upon this question. He knew that there was very great dissatisfaction with the present system, and he, for one, would not ask that the present system should be continued; but the dissatisfaction which had been expressed with the present system must not be taken to be co-equal with satisfaction at the proposal now before them. There was a very strong current of opinion in Scotland in favour of a Ministry of Education, which he thought was at least as strong in that direction as that in favour of the transfer of Scottish education to the new Scottish Minister. There was no doubt in the East of Scotland, and perhaps in the South, a considerable body of opinion in favour of the transfer of the charge of education to the Scottish Secretary; but he knew that in the West of Scotland, and among those who were mainly concerned with the management of education itself—he meant the school boards and the teachers—there was, if not a carelessness and indifference on the matter, at least amongst a great many the opinion that this transfer should not take place. He was sorry to hear the remark made on the other side, that the teachers had opposed this transference, solely because they thought it would interfere with their professional interests. That idea was certainly a wrong one; he believed it might have been to some extent caused by their action; but he was perfectly certain, from what he knew of them, that they had taken up the position they had done from an intelligent appreciation of the questions at issue, and the real belief that this proposed transference was not in the best interests of Scottish education. While he welcomed the change which was now proposed as in itself an improvement on the Bill as it stood when read a second time, he still regretted that it was proposed to transfer the charge of education to the Scottish Secretary. He would have preferred to keep the matter open until the question for and against a Minister of Education for the two countries had really been discussed and decided.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, he must confess that he was exceedingly relieved to hear the speech of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Camperdown), because he (the Marquess of Lothian) had supposed, from the noble Earl's

Amendment, that he had intended to give their Lordships reasons against the proposal of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery); but the fact was that he had come down and blessed the Bill. The Bill, as amended by the noble Earl who was in charge of it, was a very great improvement on what it was when it was first brought into their Lordships' House. The noble Earl who gave Notice of the Amendment (the Earl of Camperdown) seemed to agree entirely with the proposal of the noble Earl who brought in the Bill; he had not one word to say against that proposal. The only objection he (the Marquess of Lothian) understood the noble Earl to make now was that, if the proposal of the noble Earl was carried into effect, it would make it impossible in future to consider the question whether there should be a Secretary of State or a Minister for Education for the United Kingdom. That was another question altogether. He should be very sorry, for one, if anything done in their Lordships' House should have the effect of prejudging a question of that kind, and especially a question that had been so much considered. That question was before Mr. Childers's Committee; but if the proposal of the noble Earl to put education under the Scotch Minister was in itself a good one, it would be a wrong to postpone what was really good, with the view that some other thing that might take place hereafter might, in the opinion of some of their Lordships, be better. He was quite opposed to putting the education of the country under the control of one Minister of Education. The noble Lord who spoke last (Lord Balfour) said he was very much opposed to putting Scottish education under the control of the Scottish Minister, on the ground that the educational system of Scotland and England would be stereotyped. It seemed to him (the Marquess of Lothian) that when they talked of stereotyping education, they could not possibly do so more effectively than by putting the control of the education of the country in the hands of one Minister. As he had said on the previous occasion, he thought the Scotch system had more merits than the English system; and if the two systems were under the control of one Minister, the tendency would be that the Scotch system would gravitate down towards the English system, although the English system might, to some extent, have a tendency to rise. But if they kept the systems separate, there was the tendency to emulation; and on that ground alone he would be very glad to see the Scottish system kept apart. In his opinion, no argument had been brought forward against the proposal, except, perhaps, that it would prejudice the case in favour of a Minister for Education for the whole United Kingdom; and he, for one, was prepared heartily to congratulate the noble Earl on his proposal, and to give him his support.

The Earl of ROSEBERY said, it would perhaps be convenient, as he did not see any other noble Lord rising, if he now intervened in the debate with a general statement, which he trusted would not be at all a long one, in answer to what had been urged on the other side. He must, first of all, be allowed to congratulate himself on the nature of the discussion. It had been singularly favourable to the principles of the Bill which he had in charge at that moment; and he had reason also that night to congratulate himself the more on finding the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) on his side, for he had had very recent experience that it was much better to have him on his side than against him. With regard to what had fallen from his noble Friend behind him, who said the late Committee of the Privy Council was a phantom Committee, and that he feared the next Committee would be the same, but who at the same time wished that the Committee should not exist at all, it seemed to him that these two objections met each other. If the new Committee was to be a phantom Committee, it would not fetter the discretion of the new Minister; whereas if it were, as he believed it would be, a solid, substantial, and improved Committee, it would very materially assist him. As regarded the meaning of the words "Lords of the Privy Council," he might point out that the very keystone of the existence of the educational system, which was the Act of 1872, described the Scottish Education Department in these words—

> "The Scottish Education Department shall be the Lords of any Committee of the Privy Council appointed by Her Majesty on Education in Scotland."

Therefore, in adopting these words, he

was only taking them as the absolute legal definition of the Scottish Education Department. Coming to what had fallen from his noble Friend behind him (the Earl of Camperdown), who had an Amendment on the Paper, his noble Friend complained—he thought very justly—that he (the Earl of Rosebery) had not given sufficient Notice of this Amendment; but their Lordships would, he thought, remember that they were placed in a somewhat difficult position; they had really no time to postpone this Amendment. He put it down for yesterday. Had it been possible he would gladly have postponed the Committee until Thursday in order to give an opportunity for considering the Amendment; but he thought on the whole, as the choice of two evils, it was much better to give shorter Notice of his Amendment than risk the passing of the Bill for want of time. He wanted also to point out that the Amendment was perfectly congenial, and absolutely in accordance with what he said on a former occasion, which, it would be remembered, was that, whereas Mr. Childers's Committee proposed that there should be two Educational Departments—one for England and one for Scotland—but both responsible to the same Minister, he (the Earl of Rosebery) only proposed that there should be two distinct Departments, responsible to two distinct Ministers. His Amendment only emphasized and made clear what he ventured to lay down in that contention. His noble Friend, in one part of his speech, said this was not a measure of decentralization, and towards the end of his speech, he said it was a measure of insularization. He (the Earl of Rosebery) did not pretend to weigh exactly the meaning of those two expressions; he must leave that to those more competent in dialectics than himself. Coming to the more general objection that had been raised, and which had been urged the other day, he wished to say one word as to what had been frequently discussed — he meant the real popularity of this measure in Scotland. He thought that, on a former occasion, he was somewhat misunderstood in regard to that position. It was understood that he had said there were only 40 Petitions from school boards in favour of this proposal; and the noble Lord opposite (Lord Balfour) very justly said there was 970 school boards in Scotland, and that 40 was only an insignificant fraction of the whole. He (the Earl of Rosebery) did not in the least pretend to enumerate all the Petitions that had been presented in favour of the Bill. He hastily jotted down some of the principal school boards who had petitioned; but he made no pretence whatever to an exhaustive computation. For instance, so defective was it that he omitted the School Board of Aberdeen, one of the most important cities in Scotland.

LORD BALFOUR said, that he had been reported as if he had said the Aberdeen School Board had petitioned against the transference, whereas he knew it had petitioned for the transference; he had quoted the School Board of Dundee.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he was quite sure the noble Lord had no wish to lay stress on the matter; but he (the Earl of Rosebery) could never have put forward 40 as representing the Petitions from school boards, because he was aware that there were a great many more, one of his noble Friends having presented 40 Petitions himself, and he (the Earl of Roseberry) did not think any of them were reckoned in the list he submitted to their Lordships. The Petitions from school boards, which had not been sought or got up in any possible manner, were especially valuable as an indication of Scotch education opinion. They were spontaneous, therefore they had an importance of their own. But what, after all, were school boards? School boards very often contained persons of one idea, who thought that education was the only thing to be considered, and therefore were apt to take somewhat narrow views of the question. But, as a matter of fact, he wanted to know what number of Petitions were presented from school boards against this proposal? The noble Lord could not say that whatever Petitions had been presented against this proposal were spontaneous, because both the Educational Institute and another important public body sent the "fiery cross" round with the utmost ardour and with the utmost eagerness to get up Petitions against this proposal. He wanted to know how many had come? The noble Lord could count them on the fingers of one hand. The noble Lord paraded three. He always had these three. He (the Earl of Rosebery) did not want to underrate their importance; but three Petitions, however important, did not represent the feelings of the school boards of Scotland. Then there was the question of the municipalities. The great municipalities of Scotland were keenly alive to public questions. He wanted to know what municipality in Scotland, great or small, had petitioned against this proposal? They had had it before them for months, and they were ready, if ever they had been ready, to petition against it, and he did not believe that one Petition had come from any of the municipalities of Scotland against the Bill. He must even take them one step further. It was useless for the House to ignore the fact that, in November, there would be a very interesting series of contests throughout these Islands, and the Scottish people were exceedingly alive to that circumstance. They had candidates and Members of every shade perambulating every part of Scotland—candidates some of whom they could hardly define; but he wanted to know from the noble Lord, and he hoped the noble Lord would give him an answer on this point—had there been any single candidate, or any single Member, he thought he might say, but he would certainly say candidate, who, in his public utterances, had not only not pledged himself against this proposal, but had not pledged himself most ardently in its favour? That was to say, that amongst the whole political candidature of Scotland not one man had ventured to stand on a platform and oppose this proposal. That, he thought, was enough on the question of feeling. He was prepared to put the question of Scottish feeling on this subject to any test which the noble Lord might suggest; but these candidates and these Members went further, and urged that the Secretary for Scotland should have a seat in the Cabinet. He thought they all urged that; but the noble Earl (the Earl of Camperdown) went a little further the other night, and made a suggestion which he was sure the future Minister, whoever he might be, would cordially endorse—which was that his salary should be much larger than was proposed by the Bill. When that question was touched upon by the noble Earl on that occasion, it brought to his mind a most grave irregularity in this Bill, for which they could only make an almost suppliant apology to the other House; because their Lordships ought never to have named salary in the Bill at all. It was a great indecorum— it was a breach of Privilege. He (the Earl of Rosebery) did not know that he might not be an inmate of the Clock Tower when the Bill reached the other House; and much more so his noble Friend behind him, for his comment on and his desire to amplify that salary. But as regarded a seat in the Cabinet, which the noble Lord opposite seemed to think so essential and desirable a thing in this matter, he must make one general remark. It applied both to a Minister for Education and a Minister for Scotland. The noble Lord said he thought a Minister for Education was much more likely to have a seat in the Cabinet than a Minister for Scotland, and that he would have a much better opportunity for urging his case on that Body. As regarded the Minister for Education, they had had 15 years' experience of him. The Vice President of the Council had been Minister of Education—in practice, though he knew not in form—for 15 years; and up to the formation of the present Cabinet, in these 15 years the Minister of Education had only been once in the Cabinet; and he confessed he thought a Minister for Scotland, *plus* Scottish education, representing the interests of a great and important portion of the community, was more likely to have a seat in the Cabinet than a Minister for Education alone. The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) could probably give their Lordships the result of some recent experience which would be of value upon this point. It was impossible for any Bill to lay down what Ministers should or should not be in the Cabinet. They had now a Cabinet of 16. Heaven knew where the amplification of the Cabinet was going to stop if every interest and if every crotchet demanded a Minister with a seat for its representative in the Cabinet. It would become a great popular Body that would require to sit in Westminster Hall; and he, for one, was not prepared to see that unfortunate result. But, of course, they could do as had been done opposite—they could relegate two Members of the Cabinet to Dublin, and it might be possible to relegate the Minister for Scotland to reside in that country. Then there was the very important question about the teachers. The noble Lord said the teachers feared that they would not be so liable to be employed in England, if this Bill was passed and Scotch education was placed under a separate Department, as they were before.

LORD BALFOUR explained, that what he said was that the certificates would not be interchangeable.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, the matter was one of very simple arrangement indeed. The fact was, that they should require in both countries the most efficient teachers they could get. He believed it was a most futile fear on the part of the teachers. The most efficient teachers would be wanted, and would be got wherever they were to be found, no matter whether the Education Department was all under one Administration or not. The noble Lord also raised a difficulty in connection with the Science and Art Department. That, again, was a perfectly vain fear of his noble Friend. The Science and Art Department was in no degree touched, even remotely, by the Bill, and there was no reason why it should be. The Science and Art Department had authority in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland. It dealt with all Three Kingdoms, although Ireland had its own system of education under its own local managers, and there was no idea or proposal to interfere with the existing arrangement. He must say a word as to what fell from both his noble Friends (the Earl of Camperdown and Lord Balfour), who let the cat of the Education Minister out of the bag of their objection. He (the Earl of Rosebery) did not pretend to try to legislate for Scotland with a view to the possible necessities of England. There were characteristics of Scottish education, the education of Scotland differing not merely in degree, but in kind, from the education of England. There were characteristics in Scotland which they should always be unwilling to leave at the risk of neglect by a Minister of Education in England. After all, what were the Votes? The Vote for Primary Education in England and Wales was over £3,000,000; the Vote for Scotland was under £500,000. It was quite clear which system of education would go to the wall under a Minister who would have charge of both. He did not say he personally should be unwilling to consider the case of a Minister of Education; but there was no possibility of a Minister cf Education. Mr. Childers's Committee never proposed, or ventured to propose, a Minister of Education. They heard no independent Scottish witnesses; therefore, they made the proposal he had referred to with regard to Scotland. They did hear a witness from Ireland, and from that moment all idea of including Ireland under a Minister of Education had vanished for ever. What, then, was the noble Lord looking forward to in the distant future? It was a two-thirds Minister of Education—a vulgar fraction of a Minister of Education. He entirely and most emphatically objected to postpone the interests of Scottish Education until they had a Minister of Education, or a two-thirds, or any other vulgar fraction of a possible Education Minister for England and Wales and Scotland. He believed if they were able to propose a Minister of Education for the United Kingdom they might have some chance; but as a Minister of Education would only have charge of a part, would not be really what he was in name, he did not think there was the slightest use in their persevering with their idea. He had now to apologize for detaining their Lordships at the length he had while addressing them; but there had been a great many illusions which it was necessary to dispel, and if there were any further illusions to be dispelled, he should be very happy to deal with them.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL said, he would suggest that the Bill should be reprinted and circulated the following day.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he only wished to say a word with regard to what had fallen from his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery). The noble Earl told them just now that he was not prepared to postpone the necessities of Scotland for the necessities of England. They did not ask the noble Earl to do anything of the kind. What they were looking to was the good of the whole country. His noble Friend had addressed to their Lordships stirring words with regard to the question of Petitions. He had said the Educational

Institute had sent round the "fiery cross" to get up Petitions against the Bill. He (the Earl of Camperdown) did not know whether or not that was the case; but if the Educational Institute sent round the "fiery cross," they appeared to have been not the only persons who had taken that course. He had taken the trouble to examine the Petitions in favour of the Bill, and he discovered that more than a half — perhaps three-fourths—of them were drawn up in two forms, and the words were rather peculiar. Therefore, if the "fiery cross" went forth from one side, it went forth at least as much from the other side.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: And with more result.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN proceeded to say that Petitions in favour of the Bill had been sent from small burghs, school boards, literary associations, and other institutions of the same sort. [The Earl of ROSEBERY dissented.] He could assure the noble Earl that if he would only read his own Petitions he would find that that was so. He was afraid he would not obtain much support on the present occasion, because he perceived that many of the strongest opponents of the noble Earl's proposal were conspicuous by their absence, while he saw that every enemy was in his place; and as the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) with his mighty legions would probably overwhelm him, he thought the wiser course would be to leave the matter for discussion in "another place." He should not, therefore, trouble their Lordships with a division.

On question? *Resolved* in the *affirmative.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Remaining clauses severally *agreed to.*

Schedule *agreed to,* with an Amendment.

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be printed, as amended. (No. 178.)

ARCHDEACONRIES BILL.—(No. 150.)

(*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Earl of Camperdown

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it was directed simply to explain Clause 34 of 3 & 4 *Vict.* c. 113, so as to enable the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to make up the salaries of archdeacons to the sum originally fixed. That clause had been interpreted in the sense of this Bill for 30 years up to 1869, when an opinion was given that the same stipend could be reviewed only once. Hence the intended stipends of £200 a-year, which often sufficed only for travelling expenses, had, in some cases, sunk much below that sum. This Bill merely explained that the Commissioners might, from time to time, review the cases and remedy the grievance.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

THE WELLINGTON STATUE—RE-ERECTION AT ALDERSHOT.

QUESTIONS. OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD, in rising to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether an eligible site has finally been decided upon for the re-erection of the Wellington Statue at Aldershot; and, when the work in question is likely to be completed? said, that it had been reported that a site had been selected upon Cæsar's Camp, from which the statue would be visible to the whole camp and also from the South-Western Railway. He hoped the noble Viscount would be able to confirm this. There was another Question in connection with the subject which he would like the noble Viscount to answer, and of which he had given him private Notice—Whether it was true that up to the present time £6,000 had been spent in the work, and how much the expense was expected to come to?

LORD DE ROS said, he hoped that the noble Viscount would be able to tell them that the statue was to be put up where it would be visible to all the camp. If it were put up upon Cæsar's Camp, one of the wishes of the great Duke would be fulfilled—that the statue should be seen from one of the houses, not Apsley House, but Strathfieldsaye.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, that there had been unsatisfactory delay in this matter. For the last year the delay was endured in silence, because it was understood that the late Government had some intention of placing the statue at Khartoum; but, as that plan was not to be carried out, it was hoped that the statue would at once be erected upon the site selected for it.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Viscount BURY), in reply, said, that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as President of the Committee, assisted by other Members of it, had chosen a very prominent site for the statue upon a knoll on the North side of the Royal Pavilion at Aldershot. The works were already in progress, the pedestal for the statue being in course of erection; and Messrs. Martin and Wells, the contractors, had promised that the whole work should be completed by the end of August.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, the noble Viscount had not answered as to how much the works had cost up to the present time, and what would be the total cost when the work was finally completed?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE: Perhaps the noble Viscount will give Notice of the Question.

EGYPT (THE NILE EXPEDITION)—SIR CHARLES WILSON.

QUESTION.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether there would be any objection to give official publicity to the following telegram which was sent by the Marquess of Hartington on or about 11th February 1885, to General Lord Wolseley, but which does not appear in the Papers recently presented to Parliament —viz.:

> "Express warm recognition of Government of brilliant services of Sir Charles Wilson, and satisfaction at gallant rescue of his party."

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Viscount BURY): I believe that the omission of the telegram was an accident. The Papers in question were published by the Foreign Office, and furnished by the War Office, and by some means the telegram was omitted; but it will now be published.

THE VOTE OF CREDIT—NAVAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LATE GOVERNMENT.—OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: My Lords, as certain charges have been made in "another place" by the Chancellor of the Exchequer against the administration of the Vote of Credit for Naval and Military Operations by the Admiralty, I am sure your Lordships will indulge me while I state the facts of the case, and show that, in my opinion, none of those charges have any foundation in fact.

I wish to make one preliminary observation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke of the time that he had spent in examining into this question Your Lordships will be surprised to hear that he has, nevertheless, entirely avoided asking for any information on the subject from the only person who was capable of affording him a full explanation as to the administration of that Vote of Credit. Your Lordships know that Votes of Credit differ very much from ordinary Estimates. An ordinary Estimate is divided under different heads of expenditure; so much is allowed for one branch and so much for another; and the Heads of Departments at the War Office, or at the Admiralty, are responsible that the grants under each head are not exceeded. A Vote of Credit is essentially and entirely different from an ordinary Estimate; it gives a lump sum for a certain purpose, and is not divided under different heads. The reason of the difference is that a Vote of Credit is only conceded by Parliament when the requirements are uncertain and an Estimate cannot be prepared. Therefore, it is framed in the general way I have described. It seems to me that, in these circumstances, the responsibility for the administration of a Vote of Credit must rest, and can only rest, with the responsible Heads of the Departments concerned. I happened at the time to fill the Office of First Lord of the Admiralty, and I was the responsible Head of that Department, and responsible for the administration of a part of the Vote of Credit. At that time the probability of war was great, and that was the only justification for a Vote of Credit. Your Lordships will readily understand what the administration of such a Vote for the Navy involved. Care must be taken that the expenditure is right and necessary. There must be care taken that orders are given promptly, and it is necessary in many cases that the orders should be secret. It is essential, moreover, in the administration of such a Vote that the Minister responsible should be a Member of the Government, in order that he may be aware of all those political considerations which may greatly affect the course of the expenditure. In fact, anyone who will think for a moment on the subject will see that the Head of the Admiralty alone can be responsible for the administration of a Naval Vote of Credit in all its varied aspects. The responsibility, therefore, rested with myself alone. Any information which I received from the different branches of the Admiralty, and from the Accountant General's weekly Reports, which I directed to be furnished to me, was entirely subordinated to the more general knowledge I alone could have of the whole administration of the Vote. In these circumstances I say I was the only person who could give the Chancellor of the Exchequer the full information he required. No information was reliable unless communicated by me, or by my instructions. Any demi-official communications between subordinate officers must necessarily have been imperfect. When I heard the statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons, I was astonished how it could have happened that he had not asked me for any information on the subject, as I am convinced that an hour or two's conversation between us would have enabled him to avoid the mistakes into which he has fallen. Not only did he not ask me for information, but I received no fair Notice from him that such an attack was to be made in the House of Commons, so that it was impossible for me to ask anyone in the House to answer the attack. Nothing can exceed the courtesy with which my noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton), the present First Lord of the Admiralty, has treated me in this matter. He at once afforded me every facility for seeing the Papers in the case, so that I might make this statement.

What, then, is the charge made? The Chancellor of the Exchequer has ascertained that there may be an excess of expenditure of £850,000 over the Vote of Credit which was laid before Parliament on the 21st of April last; and he has attributed that excess partly to the uncertainty of affairs, but mainly to certain "blunders" which he asserted had been committed.

I must first state the facts of the case. The Vote of Credit was prepared in April, and some expenditure had taken place before that time. It was thought at the time that there was an immediate probability of war. That Vote included, under the head "Remaining Charges in the Soudan and Upper Egypt," £500,000 for transport—I am alluding only to the naval part of the Vote—and under the head "Special Naval and Military Preparations," £2,500,000. Out of that £2,500,000 I arranged with the Secretary of State for War that £200,000 would be at the disposal of the War Office for the provision of mining defences for certain coaling stations and commercial ports at home, leaving at the disposal of the Admiralty £2,300,000. There is no division of that £2,300,000 in the Estimate. I had calculated that out of that sum £500,000 would be spent by the Transport Department of the Admiralty in the hire of merchant ships to be used as cruisers. To show the inaccuracy that pervades the whole statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I may say he has mis-stated even the foundation of the Vote. He said—

> "Out of the Estimate of £2,800,000, £1,000,000 was allowed for transports, besides a further sum for vessels taken up for ocean cruisers."

This was not the case. He continued—

> "Subsequently £80,000 was added to this before the defeat of the late Government."

Where the Chancellor of the Exchequer found that piece of information I am quite ignorant. I am unable to explain it, because no such piece of information has ever come to my knowledge. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has, therefore, given an inaccurate statement of the foundation of the Vote.

I wish, as far as the responsibility which rests upon the Admiralty, to distinguish between that part of the Vote which is for transport in the Soudan and Upper Egypt, and that part of the Vote which is for Naval and Military Preparations, because the whole responsibility for the latter part of the

Vote rests upon the Admiralty; but as regards the Vote for Transport that is not entirely the case. As your Lordships are probably aware, it is convenient that the Transport Department of the Admiralty should take up ships for the transport requirements of the Army. As respects the cost of taking up those ships and the economical administration of the work of the Transport Department, the Admiralty are responsible; it is their duty to see that the freight paid is at the lowest rate practicable under the circumstances. Further than that the Admiralty cannot be held responsible; moreover, the Admiralty cannot exercise any control over expenditure for transport incurred in India by the Government of India, which, nevertheless, for purposes of account, is charged against the Navy Vote for Transport.

Such was the basis of the Vote of Credit when, in May last, there was reason to believe that our difficulties with Russia might be immediately settled; and Mr. Childers, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, asked me to tell him what saving might be effected if peace was assured. From the Reports I received and my own knowledge, I came to the conclusion, in the middle of May, that there might be a saving of £150,000 out of the money allotted to the Navy. But your Lordships know that the negotiations dragged on, and every day's delay in the orders to arrest preparations diminished the amount of the possible savings. On the 28th of May I instructed the Accountant General of the Navy to acquaint Sir Reginald Welby at the Treasury, who had been placed in communication with him by Mr. Childers for the purpose, in the following terms:—

> "You can tell Sir Reginald Welby that it would not be safe to calculate upon any saving upon the Vote of Credit for the Navy. Possible credits"—I omit the particulars as it might not be desirable even now to mention them—"might prevent an excess; but I am by no means assured of this. The delay of the negotiations with Russia has hampered us. When I said some weeks ago that we might save £150,000, it was under the impression that peace was assured and our preparations might cease at once. This, unfortunately, has not been the case."

Now, my Lords, I have brought the matter down to the 28th of May, a few days before Mr. Childers made his statement, which was on June 5. I wish to state the figures which were before me at that time. They show that there were incurred at that time liabilities of about £350,000 beyond the Vote of Credit. I had engaged more cruisers than I had expected; and there was another liability, to which I shall have again to allude—namely, the providing of torpedo gear for certain boats. It was my opinion that, if peace was assured, I might save this sum of £350,000; and I believe I might have done so by taking vigorous and immediate action. In the figures before me the pay and victuals for 1,000 men were taken for the whole year, and some of the stores for which Estimates had been made had not been ordered. It was at that time possible to make considerable savings in respect of the chartering of the mercantile cruisers, colliers, and transports; besides other assets which I cannot mention in detail. Thus I came to the conclusion that the liability of £350,000 in excess of the Vote of Credit might have been saved if peace had been assured. That was the basis of the information I gave to Mr. Childers, on which he made his statement to the House of Commons. No one who reads the Papers presented to Parliament can doubt that Mr. Childers was justified in making his calculations on the assumption that peace might be assured; because, at that time, the settlement with Russia might have taken place at any hour.

Such being the facts of the case, I now come to the statements made by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, the correctness of which I impugn. The first is couched in the following language:—

> "The grave fact which I have to bring before the Committee is that we have now discovered that the Estimate of £2,800,000 presented to the late Government at the time I have stated (the 5th of June) by the Admiralty did not include all the liabilities that had been incurred. So far as I have yet ascertained the error was no less that £500,000."

I asked the First Lord to be good enough to furnish me with the information given to the Chancellor of the Exchequer from the Admiralty. I am unable to find from that information any justification for the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I can assure your Lordships that no such Estimate as mentioned by him was ever furnished by me or by my authority to the Government. The only statements that were furnished to the Government on my authority were the statement I have read to your Lordships, and a verbal statement to the same effect made by me at a meeting with some of my Colleagues; and this would have been at once explained to him if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been good enough to speak to me on the subject. I assert that I can imagine no reason for the allegation that at that time the liabilities of the Admiralty were under-estimated by £500,000. I have explained to your Lordships that I calculated we had £350,000 of liabilities beyond the Vote of Credit, but that I expected to save that sum if peace was assured.

Failing to see how the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have made such a statement, it is to my mind still more extraordinary that he could have gone on to speak as he did when he said—and this is the second statement made by him which I have to notice—

> "I hope it will not be supposed that I blame the late Government collectively for this. One right hon. Gentleman in particular did his best to prevent it. In spite of the many and urgent affairs that must have distracted his attention at that moment, the late Prime Minister found time to put his finger on this very blot, and to represent to the Admiralty the urgent necessity for checking an expenditure which, I must say, so far as I have yet been able to investigate the circumstances, appears to me to have been incurred with an absence of method and supervision, to say the least, which is far from creditable to such a Department as the Admiralty."

Certainly it is one of the most remarkable characteristics of Mr. Gladstone that he is able to attend to large political questions, and at the same time to master financial details; and it is quite true that Mr. Gladstone instructed Sir Reginald Welby to communicate with the Accountant General of the Navy as to what saving could take place on the Vote of Credit, assuming peace to be assured, and that he noticed especially the possibility of saving money by paying off ships which had been contracted for, but would not in the altered circumstances be wanted. Mr. Gladstone was quite right. If peace had been then assured, we could have reduced our liabilities for cruisers and transports, and so have effected the saving which he suggested; but other liabilities had already been incurred which absorbed this contingent saving. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has, by some confusion of ideas, turned this inquiry by the Prime Minister into a contrast of his economy as compared with assumed Admiralty extravagance. There was no question then of actually reducing any expenditure. The only question was as to the best calculation which could be made of the possible reductions of expenditure if peace had been assured. Peace, as I have said before, was not assured; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had no right to assume that when the time came I should not have acted as vigorously as Mr. Gladstone could have wished in the direction of economy.

The third accusation made against me by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is still more extraordinary. It is this—

> "I am sorry to add that this is not all. . . . I said the Admiralty had exceeded their Estimate of £2,800,000 by no less than £850,000. This is not all due to the increased cost of transport. It is also due to the fact—although, I think, quite rightly—provision was made in this £2,800,000 for building or purchasing 40 torpedo boats, the Admiralty actually omitted from that Estimate any provision whatever for furnishing these boats with torpedo gear."

That was naturally received with a considerable amount of laughter in the House; and the Press have, of course, taken the impression that there has been gross mismanagement by the Admiralty. For instance, *The Globe*, the next day, said that the Admiralty—

> "Mismanaged in a manner as absurd as it was gross the public service to which the money was applicable. It reads like a passage from a burlesque, that the late Government lavished a huge sum on the construction of torpedo boats, but made no provision for furnishing them with torpedoes."

Well, my Lords, this is one of the most extraordinary mares' nests I ever came across. I will explain in a few minutes how this ridiculous mistake occurred. When preparations were being made, it was found desirable that we should get a considerable number of very fast boats to carry quick-firing guns, being armed with which these boats could attack and destroy any of the enemy's torpedo boats which might attack our fleets. I should not like to do any harm to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in retaliation for his attack upon us; but I should rather like to put him on board a boat armed with torpedoes, in the position of a lieutenant of the Navy, and let one of my gallant friends, who were likely to command our squadrons, order him to attack and destroy a Russian torpedo boat. What would the right hon. Gentleman have done, I wonder? A torpedo runs eight feet below the water, and a torpedo boat draws only six feet of water; and consequently he could not have possibly done any harm with his torpedoes to the torpedo boats which he would have been sent to attack. It was intended that these boats should be used for the purpose of attacking the enemy's boats with quick-firing guns; but they were ordered of such a class that, if peace was assured, they might be utilized as torpedo boats, and it will then be necessary to have torpedo gear for them. That is how the Chancellor of the Exchequer has fallen into his error. Then the Chancellor of the Exchequer says that no provision was made for the torpedo gear in our Estimates. I should like to know how the right hon. Gentleman knows that. If he had asked me, I should have told him that that was one of the liabilities which were before me at the very time I calculated the charges upon the Vote of Credit at the end of May, and when I made the calculation which I communicated to Mr. Childers. Fortunately, I have documentary evidence here, for in the letter from the Accountant General to me, on receipt of which my calculations were made, he informed me that £162,000 more might have to be spent for the provision of this torpedo gear. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has doubtless fallen into this error innocently, because he may have taken Departmental Estimates which did not, and indeed could not, contain the whole of the facts before me. Such a fuss has been made about this torpedo gear question that I wish to make it quite clear. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might ask me why the sum required was not put down in the later Estimates among the other liabilities. The reason was that, being of a frugal turn of mind, before settling what kind of torpedo gear should be bought for these boats, I thought it desirable that a trial should be made, and only after the description of the gear had been settled could a reliable Estimate have been prepared.

I have now answered the three allegations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, I hope, explained exactly how matters stood respecting the Vote of Credit for Military and Naval Preparations when I made my calculations at the end of May. What has been the state of things since that time? Would it have been right for me to have put any check upon the naval preparations which were actually going on? I do not think I need ask your Lordships to answer that question. If it would have been right for me to make any change in that expenditure, how does it happen that last night Her Majesty's Government asked for a Vote for the whole of the 35,000 men which the late Government intended to ask for when the question between this country and Russia was in its most critical state? Expenditure, of course, went on, and every day rendered it more and more impossible to effect any economy. Therefore, when the end of the month of June came, I was not surprised to hear that the whole power of economizing was gone, and that, in all probability, expenditure would have to be incurred in excess of the Vote of Credit. By the courtesy of Lord George Hamilton, I have seen Papers which give me some idea of the state of the liabilities at the present time, and I believe that the excess expenditure on the Vote of Credit for Naval and Military Preparations may be about 400,000. I should think, my Lords, it will probably be more, because of the expenses in regard to cruisers which have been manned and fitted abroad. That is a source of increased expenditure which will probably swell that sum of £400,000, and which would have been almost entirely stopped if peace had been assured at the end of May last. My Lords, if preparations for war continue during more than three months—a condition of things which places extraordinary responsibility upon the Admiralty, upon which Department the main work would have fallen if war had broken out, with the serious duty of protecting our enormous Mercantile Marine—it must be expected that Estimates made three months ago under the expectation that the condition of uncertainty would have shortly ceased will be exceeded.

Having dealt with that part of the Vote of Credit allotted to Naval and Military Preparations, I come to the Vote of £500,000 for Transport Charges in the Soudan and Upper Egypt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that some excesses of expenditure were to be expected in consequence of the unsettled state of foreign affairs, for which no one could be blamed, and I presume that he meant to refer to these charges for transport. According to the statement which I have received from Lord George Hamilton, I believe there is expected to be a further charge of either £200,000 or £300,000 in respect of the Transport Vote. I have already explained the degree of responsibility which rests upon the Admiralty in respect to it, and I understand part of this excess has been caused by the expenditure in India for the transport of the Indian Contingent, with which the Admiralty have nothing to do, having been larger than was expected. I have only to observe, generally, that in May last I had no reason to suppose that the Vote of £500,000 would be exceeded. I will also say that I believe there is no Government Office which has done its work better than the Transport Department of the Admiralty, which was for many years under the direction of a distinguished officer, Sir William Mends, who was worthily succeeded by Sir Francis Sullivan. These officers have been assisted by a valuable public servant, Mr. Baughan. In the Egyptian Campaign of 1882 and the Soudan Expedition of 1884 that Department did its duty in such a way as to elicit the highest commendation from the Naval and Military Commanders-in-Chief. Where I find that a Department is well conducted, it is my habit to repose complete confidence in it; and this is especially necessary in respect to the engagement of freight, where promptitude in dealing with tenders is very necessary, both for efficiency and economy. On a recent occasion some attacks that were made upon the Department were triumphantly disposed of in the House of Commons, and I have every confidence that the Department has done its work well on the present occasion.

The excess upon the Vote for the Soudan and Upper Egypt and upon that for Naval and Military Preparations accounts, as far as I can calculate, for £700,000 out of the £850,000 which the Chancellor of the Exchequer said was the whole estimated excess upon the Vote of Credit. With regard to the £150,000 difference between those sums, your Lordships will be surprised when I explain that I believe it to consist of an Estimate, I do not know how framed, up to March, 1886, for the maintenance of a larger Force than that which was calculated would be kept in Egypt when the ordinary Estimates for the year were prepared. That Estimate may, or may not, be correct; because it is very difficult to say what Force may or may not be required in Egypt during the rest of the year. If it be true that the Mahdi is no longer alive, that may, of course, make a great difference as to the number of British troops to be kept on the Frontier. But, however this may be, I cannot understand how the Chancellor of the Exchequer could suppose that this charge could properly be put against the Vote of Credit, which can be used for two purposes only—namely —I am quoting the words of the Vote—first, "for Remaining Charges in the Soudan and Upper Egypt," and, second, "for Special Naval and Military Preparations."

My Lords, I have finished what I have to say upon these details; but I beg to impress upon your Lordships that the real question is, whether the expenditure incurred by the Admiralty under the powers given to us by the Vote of Credit has been rightly or wrongly incurred; whether the country will have, or would have had, if war had taken place, the money's worth for the outlay; whether I, as the responsible Minister, have taken such pains as I could, under the circumstances of the case, to order what was necessary, and what was necessary only; or, whether I have improperly administered the Vote of Credit, and misused the responsibility which Parliament has placed upon my shoulders? I beg to express my thanks to the First Lord of the Admiralty for having announced that Her Majesty's Government had deferred their decision whether any, and, if any, what kind of inquiry should take place until after my statement of to-night. I have to say, then, that in my opinion this is not a Departmental question at all. The person responsible is the First Lord of the Admiralty; and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Her Majesty's Government are not satisfied with the explanation I have given, let them formulate their charges against me—let the Government appoint a Committee of the best and most impartial men, who are qualified to judge of the question, and who are accustomed to the management of large affairs. There are men, both in this and the other House of Parliament, who have filled the same Office which I have just left, and are quite unconnected with the late Government; and I shall be ready, and even desirous and anxious, to offer to such a Committee any explanation in my power. I do not for a moment say that, in dealing with the various pressing matters which arose day by day and demanded immediate decision, affecting, as they did, the protection of our enormous commerce in the event of war, I may not have acted hastily, or that I may not have made mistakes; but I repeat that, with regard to any such cases, I am ready to give every explanation in my power, and I am willing to abide by the opinion of those who are qualified to judge of the validity of such charges.

My Lords, I have now concluded the observations I have to make upon the statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer which refer to the naval portion of the Vote of Credit. But I am obliged to allude to a remark which he has made, touching the Army portion of the Vote. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said—

> "The War Office share"—of the Vote of Credit—"was to include £200,000, to be expended in the defence of coaling stations and commercial harbours; an item for which, in spite of its great importance and in spite of the pledges given to Parliament last December by the First Lord and the Secretary to the Admiralty, no provision had been made in the Army Estimates."

My Lords, I heard this remark with astonishment, for I was under the impression that, in accordance with the assurances given to Parliament by me in December last, and the programme which had been approved, and, I believe, laid before Parliament, a considerable sum had been taken in the ordinary Army Estimates of the year for the defences of coaling stations. In order to satisfy my mind upon the matter I inquired at the War Office, and received the information which I will read—

ESTIMATES, 1885-6.

Coaling stations abroad. Provided in Vote 12 (normal). Guns, &c.	£134,600	
Submarine Mining and Stores and Ships	20,000	£154,600
In Vote 13, Works		43,750
Total		£198,350

So that, so far from no provision having been made, a sum of nearly £200,000 has been provided in the ordinary Army Estimates for the defence of coaling stations abroad. The additional sum which was to be applied from the Vote of Credit was, I understood, to be for the purpose of such additional provision as might be desirable in the immediate prospect of war. As regards the defence of commercial harbours, I have only to observe that I gave no pledge in the statement I made in your Lordships' House last December—my only observation on the subject was that it was under the consideration of the several Departments concerned, and that if the main responsibility of protecting those harbours should be placed upon the Navy I might have to propose an addition to the Naval Estimates for that purpose.

My Lords, when I gave Notice, on Friday last, of the remarks which I should have to submit to your Lordships to-night, I did not expect that I should have to trouble you with any observations, excepting those which I have now concluded, upon the statements made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but my noble Friend the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll), in his eloquent speech on that evening, made certain remarks as to the naval policy of the late Government upon which, out of respect for him, I am bound to offer some observations. I know that my noble Friend's remarks were not made in any spirit other than friendly towards myself personally. I cannot suppose that he is really a hostile critic of his old Colleagues generally; and therefore I trust he will be glad to receive an assurance from me that there is no real foundation for his impression that the statement I made in your Lordships' House last December, explaining the additions which the late Government proposed to make in this year's Estimates for Shipbuilding, indicated that there had been any differences of opinion among us upon the maintenance of the naval supremacy of Great Britain. I am glad of this opportunity of stating that there was no difference of opinion between myself and Mr. Childers, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, with respect to the Navy. Indeed, I have been in constant communication with him during the past five years, and we are quite in accord on the subject, and I can also assure my noble Friend that there never was any such disagreement between Mr. Gladstone and myself. On no occasion during the five years I was First Lord of the Admiralty has Mr. Gladstone declined to accede to the proposals which I considered it my duty to make on the subject of increased expenditure upon the Navy. In fact, it is quite a mistake to suppose that there was any disagreement between the Members of the late Government upon this question.

As my connection with the Navy has come to an end, I can speak to-night with greater freedom than I have been able to do heretofore with regard to the policy of the late Government and of the late Board of Admiralty as to the building of ships. In 1880, when the late Government came into Office, we found the naval supremacy of this country in respect to ships perfectly secure for the present; but we also found that, with regard to the future, matters were not so satisfactory, because our powerful friend and neighbour France, in the exercise of her undoubted right, and for every good reasons, was building a great many armour-plated ships, and their number was greater than that of those we were building ourselves. We found, moreover, that France was superior to us in respect, not to the number or the armament, but to the speed of their cruisers. I do not say this with a desire to throw any blame upon the Board of Admiralty which preceded ours. It is impossible for me to say that they would not have pursued, if they had remained in Office, exactly the same policy which we have pursued and with equal success, and therefore I have no reason to blame them. I am simply stating facts. This having been the state of the case, I might have come to Parliament with a story of the neglected state of the Navy under our Predecessors, have been praised to the skies by all the military papers, and have spent a large sum of money in ordering at once a great number of ships. I deliberately abstained from doing this. I did not wish to throw any blame on our Predecessors, as I have said before; but I had another and a stronger reason for not stating the case publicly then. I did not want to proclaim our condition to the world, for if I had done so we might have been placed in an awkward position as regards our future supremacy at sea; for it would have been quite competent for our friends on the other side of the Channel to say—"We now know in what state the English Navy is, and we have only to increase our expenditure to keep up our strength to theirs." That would have defeated the object I had in view.

In order that your Lordships may feel satisfied that this description of our policy is not an afterthought, or invented for the occasion, I may mention that in 1881, when I was asked by the Royal Commission upon the Defences of the Colonies and Trade to appear before them, I gave my opinion respecting the general condition of the Navy, and I stated then frankly the circumstances of the case, and explained that the policy of the Admiralty was to increase very considerably the number of armour-plated ships and of fast cruisers. My Lords, that has been done steadily and gradually since. Year by year, as Members of the other House know very well, the money spent upon shipbuilding has been increased, and year by year we have laid down more armour-plated ships and more fast cruisers; and when public opinion was roused upon this subject, I am bound to say long after the Board of Admiralty were aware of the facts and were engaged in dealing practically with them, we gladly took advantage of the feeling for the purpose of adding considerably to the rate of expenditure. As I was satisfied, by carefully watching the progress made in the construction of ships of war abroad, that there was no immediate risk, I believe we were right in moving gradually and in accordance with public opinion. In my view, in a country where the Government depends upon the support of the House of Parliament elected by the people, it is not safe for any Administration to undertake large expenditure in advance of the general feeling of the people.

That has been our policy, and now I ask your Lordships to consider what the result has been. The result has been what whereas five years ago the number of armour-plated ships and fast cruisers building was very limited, that number has largely increased. At the end of 1880 there were seven armour-plated ships under construction, all in Government Dockyards. At the present time, there are building 10 armour-plated ships, and to these may be added five belted cruisers, which should be included, because they are fully equal to many foreign iron-clads. Therefore, there are 15 armour-plated ships building, eight by contract and seven in the Dockyards, as against seven in the year 1880. I may just mention that during the period of which I am speaking France has commenced only five armour-plated ships, and not one of these is advanced so far as those we laid down at the same time. As regards fast cruisers, in 1880 there were only three being built. At the present time we have 13, without including two armed despatch vessels. Very few ships of the same class are being built in France. These are a few important facts showing the policy of the Admiralty and the condition in which we now stand, which is very different from our position of five years ago. I hope these remarks will satisfy my noble Friend that our policy has been consistent throughout. We have done quietly, without talking about it, what we intended to do five years ago, and we only took advantage of public opinion to increase the rate of our progress.

When the discussions in the Press to which the noble Duke alluded were going on last autumn I happened to be abroad, on a mission which I did not seek myself, and my acceptance of which I regret. I do not think I should have advised that the special statement, which it became my duty to make to this House last December, should have been made in that manner, and at that time. I am ready to admit that it may have given the impression that there was a change of policy—an impression which might not have been given if some other manner of putting our case before the public had been adopted. I was away, as I have said, at that time, and I was not personally responsible for this; but it made no difference as to the real facts of the case.

As respects the class of ships we have built, I will just say that we have avoided building such very large ships as have been built, for example, by the Italian Government. I will also say a word about the record of naval construction. Some years ago I read that our lunatic asylums were largely filled by persons whose minds had been absorbed by questions of religion and of currency. I almost think we are not unlikely to have shortly to add another dangerous subject to those two—namely, the calculation of tonnage as a test of progress in the construction of ships; for there is almost as much to be said about the question, "What is a ton?" as about the question, "What is a pound?" I will only observe now that I am well aware of the objections to our present system of calculation, and I have only abstained from altering it because, in doing so, I should have laid myself open to the imputation of casting blame upon my Predecessors in Office—for the result would have given the impression that they had done less than was supposed in the building of ships. My Lords, my practical conclusion is, that whether we take the returns of tons, which has been our system, or of percentages of progress, which is the French system—they do not really help us much. There are three stages in the building of a ship which cannot mislead anyone—first, when a ship is laid down; next, when a ship is launched, which shows she must have made considerable progress; and, lastly, when she is ready for sea. These are the points to which my attention has been mainly directed with respect to the rate of progress of our own and of foreign ships.

My Lords, I wish to say a word or two as to the Fleet now manœuvring under the command of Sir Geoffrey Hornby, for I have heard some remarks passed on its constitution. The Board of Admiralty never for a moment imagined that it could be supposed that the constitution of that Fleet was the constitution our Squadrons would assume in the event of war. Sir Geoffrey Hornby is one of the best and most capable officers in the Service to conduct the important experiments we desired to make; and it was for that special purpose that the ships of all classes were collected and placed under the command of Sir Geoffrey Hornby, leaving to him full discretion to distribute them as he pleased for experimental purposes.

In what I have said, my Lords, with regard to the policy of the Board of Admiralty, I should not do justice to my own feelings if I were not to put aside all claim to personal merit in the matter. I had the advantage of the assistance of my noble and gallant Friend (Lord Alcester) and other naval officers of great ability and devotion to the Public Service. I am glad to have this opportunity of testifying in the highest terms to the eminent qualities of Sir Cooper Key, who during the five years I was in Office filled the important position of Senior Naval Lord of the Admiralty to the great advantage of the Public Service. I have seen it asked in the newspapers, and I believe the same thing has been said at the Military Clubs—"Why on earth do you naval officers stop at the Admiralty, when you know that the Navy is managed in a way you do not like? Why do you not give your opinions and leave the civilians to their own devices?" I think what I have said will be an answer to those observations. During my administration the Naval Lords supported the First Lord of the Admiralty with the utmost loyalty, and with the most perfect freedom from political or personal bias; and I am sure I am not misinterpreting their feelings when I say that they have done so because they knew that I was determined, in general accordance with their views, to insure the naval supremacy of this country. I challenge a comparison at the present time of the position of Great Britain in respect of ships ready for service and building with the position in which this country has stood in recent times. Your Lordships know very well that many years ago England had a large preponderance in the old sailing line-of-battle ships. The introduction of steam equalized matters, and again all nations were put upon an equality for a time when armour-plating was introduced; but I will venture to say that the naval supremacy of this country is more firmly established now than it has been at any former time since the introduction of steam into shipbuilding. In saying this as to the strength of the Navy in ships, I hope your Lordships will not suppose that, in my opinion, the ships of the British Navy form its real and its greatest strength. It is not in ships, but in officers and men, that the real strength of our magnificent Navy consists. I venture to assert that never in the history of England have our officers and men been more thoroughly instructed, animated by a higher spirit of discipline, or better able to maintain the honour of the British Flag whenever they may be called upon to do so in any part of the world.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Earl of HARROWBY): My Lords, on the part of Her Majesty's Government I wish at once to express my regret, and that of my Colleagues, that the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Northbrook) should think that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had intended to make a personal attack upon him with regard to this large question affecting the Admiralty. It is the very last thing we should do, and after being in Office so very short a time it would be impossible to assail in a hasty and rash manner the reputation and character of the noble Earl, who has rendered such distinguished services to the country, and who is justly entitled to the respect of every man in it, by reason of the high character which he holds. I think that the tone and intention of the speech of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has been very much misunderstood by the noble Earl, and that there was no such intention on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as the noble Earl imputes to him. I am sure that my right hon. Friend did not make any personal attack either upon the noble Earl or upon any one of his Colleagues. He expressly said—"I cannot say at present who is to blame." I hope that the noble Earl will receive my assurance that at the present time no Member of Her Majesty's Government wishes to assail him, or any officers of his late Department. My right hon. Friend said that Her Majesty's Government reserved their opinion on this serious and grave question for the present, and that they neither attacked nor assailed any single individual. I am not so very much surprised at the tone the noble Earl adopted, when I see that he puts the issue on such false and mistaken grounds as he has done. He says that the expenditure in excess of the Vote of Credit was right and proper, and he maintains that that is the question. That is not the question in the slightest degree raised by my right hon. Friend in his Budget Speech in the House of Commons. The question is a perfectly different one. We do not give any opinion whatever on the subject of the expenditure, and we neither say that it was right or wrong, nor excessive or deficient. We do not go into that question, or enter into the subject of the administration of the Vote at all. The question we do raise is one of great gravity—namely, whether the financial control and the accounting arrangements in the Board of Admiralty have been efficient or not. That is the point raised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I will remind the noble Earl that my right hon. Friend did not rake up this matter for the purpose of making any attack upon anyone, either upon him or his Government; but it was forced upon his notice by his being compelled to bring forward a Budget on behalf of the new Government. The fact came under the notice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer when composing his Budget. Mr. Childers, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech on the Budget, observed of the Vote of Credit for £11,000,000 that only £9,000,000 would be wanting, and that there was a surplus of £2,000,000. Of that £9,000,000, £3,000,000 were devoted to the Navy. From that it was necessary to deduct £200,000 allotted to the Army for coaling stations and commercial harbours, and the remaining £2,800,000 was allotted to the Navy. That was the statement made by Mr. Childers in his Budget Speech. The new Government received their Seals on the 24th of June; but, by a curious legal arrangement, the First Lord of the Admiralty was unable to execute any legal functions of his Department until July 3—a very inconvenient arrangement. As soon as that inconvenience was got over, Lord George Hamilton took possession of the Admiralty, and began to inquire into the administration of the Vote of Credit in connection with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. What did he find? When he made inquiries, he was assured that all the liabilities under the Vote of Credit amounted to £2,874,000. That was much the same as stated by Mr. Childers, with the exception of being £74,000 more. It must be borne in mind that the whole finance of both Governments, both Liberal and Conservative, was based upon the accuracy of those figures, as to what remained to the good of this Vote of Credit. Both the Liberal and the Conservative Chancellors of the Exchequer consulted the Admiralty as to the consumption of the Vote of Credit, and both were assured that only £2,800,000 would be required. When Lord George Hamilton found that there would be an excess of £74,000, he communicated the fact to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord George Hamilton thought that it would be better to inquire still more closely into the matter, and he was then told that there was a further liability of £350,000. That induced him to push his inquiries further, and in another week's time he was able to ascertain that that £350,000 had risen to £700,000. A few days more showed that, instead of the sum of £2,800,000 announced by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer to have been expended by the Admiralty out of the Vote of Credit, no less than £952,000 more, or nearly another £1,000,000, had been spent. I have studied these details of gradation in order to show the extreme difficulty which my noble Friend had in ascertaining the real financial position of the Admiralty; and I venture to say it is somewhat strange that the Admiralty was not left in a position to afford that full information which the noble Earl the late First Lord states that he had in his breast with regard to these financial matters. I cannot help thinking that the revelations which have been made point to a very loose arrangement and great defects in the Department. It does seem extraordinary that it should take three weeks' pressing before the Head of a great Department can find out that the Department was under a liability of nearly £1,000,000 more than had been publicly stated. After the speech of the noble Earl opposite, I think I ought to give in a few words the exact statement now made to my noble Friend at the head of the Admiralty as to this deficit of £952,000. First of all, as to the excess which was reported to him on his assumption of Office——

The Earl of NORTHBROOK asked where did the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) obtain the information?

The LORD PRIVY SEAL: This Paper has been officially given to the First Lord.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: By whom?

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL: I do not know, therefore I cannot give the noble Earl the name; but, no doubt, my noble Friend will be happy to supply the name to the noble Earl. I will give four sets of figures to your Lordships. The first excess which was reported to my noble Friend was that of £74,991 for further liabilities contingent and unavoidable. I may say that this excess is totally unprovided for in the Estimate or in the Vote of Credit, and falls due within the financial year. My first figure of items of excess ascertained is £16,000 for special gratuities to seamen and Marines—as promised to the Army —for their work in Egypt and their services in the Soudan. My second figure is £25,000, and that excess is due to the balance still owing on the contract for the purchase of the submarine cable for the Baltic, and is in addition to the sum of £190,000 provided for in Mr. Childers' Estimate. My third figure of excess is £127,000, being the cost of arming the 40 torpedo boats ordered by the late Government. The excess is in addition to a sum of £500,000 provided for the torpedo boats themselves in Mr. Childers' Estimate. I ought to state that the Naval Members of the present Board of Admiralty all agree that torpedo boats are almost useless without torpedo fittings; and, as far as we are able to ascertain, that was the opinion of the professional Members of the late Board. The fourth set of figures which I give is that of £710,000, in addition to £1,000,000 taken in Mr. Childers' Estimate, for the liabilities actually incurred upon transport; or, rather, I should say that £510,000 represents the liabilities actually incurred for transport before the present Government took Office, and £200,000 the amount which will probably be required in order to bring home the troops from Egypt, in consequence of the action of the late Government. This £710,000, I repeat, is in addition to the £1,000,000, which was stated in Mr. Childers' speech. The total excess, therefore, over the Vote of Credit assigned to the Navy comes to the figure of £952,991. I will say, however, that the First Lord of the Admiralty hopes to reduce that sum by, probably, £100,000, by selling submarine cables and other such matters. I ought also to say, while upon this subject, that my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty has had great satisfaction in being able to reduce the expenditure on transports by about £281,000 monthly, with regard to some he is able to discharge. Otherwise the bill would have been larger still. That is a short statement of the accounts that have been placed in the hands of the present Government, and I think your Lordships will feel that it was a serious picture that was laid before the present Government. We blame no one; we do not go into the question of how these errors in the administration of that Vote of Credit was made. We do not go into the merits and demerits of the expenditure of the Vote of Credit; but being face to face with these extraordinary disclosures, for such I am bound to call them, we think it absolutely necessary that there should be some Parliamentary inquiry into the subject. If they can be explained away satisfactorily, no one will rejoice more than Her Majesty's present Ministers; but it is absolutely essential that the absence of financial control which has resulted in the relation of the First Lord of the Admiralty with his Department, with liabilities amounting to £950,000 over and above what they were represented by his Predecessor—that this state of things should be thoroughly examined into by Parliament. My Lords, I will not trouble you with any longer statement. All I will venture to say is, that Her Majesty's Government feel that economy is most necessary in the present time of severe distress and industrial suffering. We feel that economy is one of our first duties; but, as men of business, we feel that it is hopeless to expect to secure economy in our great Departments unless there be a thoroughly good system of accounts in those Departments. It, therefore, becomes for us a very, very solemn duty to see that a perfectly good system of accounts is established in this great Department, if it is true that it does not exist. I confess, my Lords, that the statement of facts I have laid before you leads me to think that there must have been some slackness somewhere. Either the system is faulty, or the supervision of it is faulty, or the system is not worked out properly—where the screw may be loose I cannot say; but, in the face of the statements I have made, I think your Lordships will agree with me we are right in having settled that Parliamentary inquiry in the interests of all Parties ought to be made; and I confess my own opinion upon this has been still further strengthened by hearing the statement of my noble Friend opposite, which shows a great number of discrepancies from the statement which we have received and which is now before the House. We have dealt with this question with a total absence of anything like personal feeling, and simply with a desire to do what is right, honourable, and best in a grave and very serious state of things.

THE EARL OF **RAVENSWORTH** said, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Northbrook) was very candid, now that he was no longer hampered by official harness. He had broken loose, and he had told them that he had not been altogether satisfied with the condition of things at the Admiralty for a long time. If that were so, why had the noble Earl not attempted to mend them during his five years of Office? He (the Earl of Ravensworth) concurred with the Government in the necessity of Parliamentary inquiry into the matter. Votes of Credit were naturally, as a rule, asked for in times of emergency, and were granted with a little want of care as to how they were to be spent. He would point out that an audit did not interfere with the action of a Department at a time of emergency, but was merely a history, compiled afterwards, of that action. What he wanted to know was, what steps were taken by the Admiralty to satisfy the country that the Vote had been properly expended, and with a due regard to its interests? One great source of expenditure was labour in the Dockyards, and the system of checking the bill for labour by the Admiralty left a great deal to be desired. Unless the Admiralty were determined to weed obsolete ships out of the Channel Squadron, we should continue liable to the charge of being content with a paper Fleet. The Committee on which he served last year could not help seeing that there was room for still further inquiry as to the constitution of the Admiralty, and the administration of the Dockyards. The country certainly ought to be satisfied that steamers taken up for transport had been obtained on reasonable terms, in a favourable market, and that money's worth had been obtained for the money expended.

Motion *agreed to.*

EARLDOM OF MAR RESTITUTION BILL.

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

On Motion, that the Lords following be named of the Committee:—

L. Chancellor.
L. Privy Seal.
D. Bedford.
M. Bute.
E. Sydney.
E. Redesdale.
E. Selborne.
L. Hopetoun.
L. Ker.
L. Rosebery.
L. Penzance.
L. Moncreiff.
L. Coleridge.
L. Blackburn.
L. Watson.
L. Bramwell.
L. FitzGerald.

THE EARL OF **WEMYSS** said, he did not wish to enter into the question of the constitution of the Committee; but he thought it very desirable that it should contain some Peer who was conversant with the facts of the case, and competent to represent certain interests.

THE MARQUESS OF **SALISBURY** said, that this was a Bill moved from the opposite side of the House, and it was difficult to discuss it in the entire absence of the Party opposite; but he should have imagined that all interests were duly represented in the Committee as nominated. It would be better for his noble Friend to give Notice of any alteration he desired.

THE **LORD CHANCELLOR** (Lord HALSBURY) said, that the Committee could receive explanations or information from others than Members, and he did not see any necessity to increase the number.

THE EARL OF **WEMYSS** said, that what he desired was simply for the purpose of giving public satisfaction.

Motion *agreed to.*

The Committee to meet on *Wednesday* the 22*nd instant*, at Two o'clock, and to appoint their own Chairman.

House adjourned at Eight o'clock,
to Thursday next, a quarter
past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 14*th July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN — Lord Arthur Hill, *for* County of Down.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES — CLASS IV. — EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART; Votes 1, 2, 11; CLASS III. —LAW AND JUSTICE; Votes 5 to 16, 18 to 20; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES; Vote 1.

Resolutions [July 13] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Considered as amended* —Rathmines and Rathgar Township.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Marriages (Saint John Cowley) * [234].

Second Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 2) * [212]; Ecclesiastical Commissioners * [227].

Committee—Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) * [180]—R.P.; Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) [99]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Public Health (Members and Officers) [114].

Committee — Report — Third Reading — Polehampton Estates* [216]; Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) * [231], and *passed.*

Report—Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (No. 2) * [207]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 1) * [162]; Metropolis (Hughes Fields, Deptford) Provisional Order Confirmation * [205]; Metropolis (Tabard Street, Newington) Provisional Order Confirmation * [204].

Considered as amended—Copyhold Enfranchisement [26].

Third Reading—Post Office Sites * [193], and *passed.*

Withdrawn — Law of Evidence (Criminal Cases) * [65].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

RATHMINES AND RATHGAR TOWNSHIP BILL [*Lords*] (*by Order.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clause 11 (Persons qualified to vote for Commissioners).

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he rose for the purpose of moving the first Amendment which appeared on the Paper in his name. It was not the Amendment which stood on the Paper yesterday, but a further Amendment, which would precede the one he had intended to move. The original Amendment proposed to omit the words "to the yearly value of ten pounds," and the clause would then provide that the electors should consist of all male persons of full age who were rated to the Rathmines and Rathgar Township rate. The Amendment which he now proposed to move, in the first instance, would, if accepted by the House, substitute the "poor" rate for the Rathmines and Rathgar Township rate. His object was to leave out the annual £10 ratal value which existed in Rathmines and Rathgar, and some other townships. The franchise of the Irish townships was not uniform; and in some of the townships immediately adjoining Rathmines and Rathgar it was only about one-half what it was in the township of Rathmines and Rathgar itself. Now, the £10 ratal franchise which existed in the Irish towns was about equivalent to a £20 franchise in this country, the difference between the ratal and the rental value in the Irish towns being very much greater than in England; and it was computed that a nominal £10 ratal in Ireland was about equivalent, in the majority of cases, to an £18 rental in the rest of the United Kingdom. The majority of Members in that House were now committed to a reduction both of the Municipal and Parliamentary franchise in Ireland; and he believed that more than one-half of the Members in the House had, at one time or other, voted in favour of that principle. As one of the Members of the Royal Commission, over which, indeed, he had had the honour to preside, he had become acquainted, through the evidence adduced before it, with the pressing character of the evils which now existed in Ireland with regard to municipal representation, and of the necessity which existed for a reduction in the borough franchise. He was not able to refer in detail to the statements contained in the Report of the Commission, nor did he think that he would be justified in referring in detail to the evidence given before the Commission, inasmuch as the Report of the Commission and the evidence were not yet in the hands of the House. He hoped, however, that the Report would be issued in the course of a few days. Under those circumstances, he was only justified in stating to the House the impression which the evidence given before the Commission had produced upon his own mind. The evidence of witness after witness given before the Commission—and he was bound to say that it was most uniform evidence—the evidence of witnesses belonging to every political Party from all parts of Ireland was of the strongest possible kind as to the effect of the very high franchise which at present existed in the Irish townships. The statement which was heard everywhere was that the franchise was limited to a certain class of people, by whom the representatives returned to the Irish municipalities were only capable of being elected. The effect in regard to the Town Commissionerships was to place the entire power, so far as election and administration was concerned, in the hands of a small ring of persons, upon whom the general public opinion of the locality could have no bearing whatever. The result of that was seen in the extreme difficulty which there was of securing a proper administration of the Sanitary Laws in the Irish townships, and in the fact that the death rate in the Irish towns was three-fold that of the rural districts in Ireland. With regard to this particular Bill, the Rathmines and Rathgar Town Commissioners had taken objection to it at the last moment. It was a subject to which he had paid attention for some years; but this particular case had only been brought before him in a prominent way in the recent inquiry. He said that by way of explanation to the House for not having taken this action before. If the Bill related to an English town, or to an English Local Board District, there would have been a Report made upon it, going through the Bill clause by clause, by the Local Government Board. But in Ireland that was not the case. The Local Government Board in Ireland was not in the habit of reporting generally upon Irish Private Bills, but only upon specific points brought before them. The Irish Local Government Board did not report on Private Bills clause by clause in the way in which Private Bills were reported upon by the Local Government Board in England, or by the Board of Trade, where they related to improvements concerning trade, or by the Home Office under the system lately introduced by his hon. Friend the late Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. H. H. Fowler). A Report, however, was made to his right hon. Friend the Chairman of Ways and Means (Sir Arthur Otway) by the Local Government Board of Ireland to the effect that an application was made by the promoters for a Bill without the sanction or approval of the Board; but the Secretary of the Board intimated that the Board were not aware of any objection to the proposals contained in the Bill. That Report, he might say, had regard to the financial proposals contained in the Bill. The Local Government Board of Ireland did not consider the merits of the scheme contained in a Private Bill, nor did they express approval or disapproval in this particular case of the provision to re-enact the £10 ratal franchise. There was no Report from any Public Department in Ireland which could be referred to the Chairman of Ways and Means. The ordinary qualification — the qualification in the case of the majority of Irish towns—was a £5 rating franchise, which was about equal to a rental of £9 or £10. The qualification in one case was as low as £4; but he believed that the average qualification was £5. In Kingstown he fancied that it was £4; but, at all events, if an inquiry were made hon. Members would find that £5 was the qualification in a majority of cases for the election of Town Commissioners. The Royal Commission of which he was a Member took some evidence upon that point, and he had the opportunity of seeing and hearing the able and excellent Secretary of the Rathgar and Rathmines Town Commissioners. That gentleman said to the Commission, in the course of his examination, that there had been certain complaints in Rathmines and Rathgar in regard to the over-representation of property as compared with the representation of the inhabitants generally. The Town Commission, of course, was not prepared to admit the fact; but it was acknowledged that such a complaint had been made. Generally speaking, there could be no doubt that throughout Ireland it was the almost universal opinion that the effect of this very high franchise, which, in this case, answered to an £18 rental qualification, was such as to limit to a very great extent the number of electors and the persons who were qualified to be elected upon the Town Commission, and therefore prevent them from being able to carry out sanitary improvements on a large scale, because, as he had said, whenever improvements of that kind were to be carried out, it was necessary that they should have the general support of the mass of the people of the locality. He did not hesitate to say himself—he did not know what the effect might be which would be made on the House by the Report of the Royal Commission, and the evidence taken in connection with it—but his own opinion was very strong that sanitary improvements were altogether hindered in Ireland by the very high franchise which prevailed in regard to local affairs. He now came to the circumstances under which he thought the form of Amendment which he had placed upon the Paper would put this question in a more satisfactory position in future. As he had already explained, he had originally intended to move the Amendment which stood second on the Paper, and the reason why he had changed that intention was because he discovered that in the township of Rathmines and Rathgar it was the practice not to rate persons below £10. A somewhat similar system formerly existed in England; but it was altered by the Reform Act of 1868, and by the Act which was passed by the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) in 1871. Under the present law a tenant, in a case where the landlord compounded for the rates, was entitled to have his name returned, and to appear as the ratepayer in the book. That system had been applied to Ireland with regard to the Parliamentary elections by the recent Registration Act, and it extended to Ireland the same principle which the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had introduced in regard to this country. The Amendment which he proposed to move would have the effect of creating a £4 rateable franchise, which was the poor rate franchise, instead of the existing qualification. He believed that the present poor rate franchise in Ireland was a £4 franchise—that was to say, that no persons below that amount were rated, and, therefore, had no power to take part in the Poor Law elections. In a statement which had been circulated on the part of the Rathgar and Rathmines Commissioners, they stated that this clause of the Bill followed the lines laid down in an Act passed in 1847; but the words "Rathmines and Rathgar township rate" had been substituted for the words "poors rate." He proposed to return to the words "poors rate," and to take out the £10 limit, the effect of which would be to reduce the franchise to a £7 or £8 rental qualification. That would be a great improvement upon the £18 rental franchise which the Bill, as it stood at present, would continue without alteration. He did not know that it was necessary that he should refer the House to former Private Acts of this particular Body; and he would only deal, before he sat down, with an objection which might possibly be taken to the Motion he now made. The most likely objection he could foresee was this—"We admit that it is probable it may be desirable to reduce the borough franchise in Ireland, or the franchise for the election of Town Commissioners, and, indeed, all the local franchises in Ireland. But, although we admit that, we should not be prepared to reduce the franchise in the case of the first Private Bill which comes before the House this Session in which the question is raised." He had considered that objection, believing that it might probably be taken to his present action. Of course, it might have some weight with the House, and some hon. Members might be persuaded by that view to refuse to alter the franchise in an exceptional case. He, therefore, felt fully the responsibility of the course he was taking; but, in the face of all the facts which had come to his knowledge, he felt that he could not be a party to the continuance of the present high franchise. He, therefore, felt bound to press this Amendment on the attention of the House, even although it might seem hard upon the promoters of one particular Private Bill. At the same time, he did not see in what way the promoters of this Private Bill would be damnified by the lowering of the franchise in this township. With regard to the Bill itself, he could not speak from personal knowledge of the prudence or wisdom of the provisions contained in it; but if the scheme which the promoters had in view was a good scheme it could harm them to reduce the franchise in the way proposed.

Amendment proposed,

In page 11, line 15, by leaving out the words "Rathmines and Rathgar Township," and inserting the word "Poors."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'Rathmines and Rathgar Township' stand part of the Bill."

MR. ION HAMILTON said, the right hon. Gentleman was very candid in admitting that his Amendment would convert the Bill into a Franchise Bill; but he seemed to overlook the fact that it would become part of an Act under which the townships of the county of Dublin had been constituted, and that it would introduce a condition of things which had never yet been taken into consideration by the people of that county. By the Improvement Act of 1847 the qualification of voters for the election of Town Commissioners was fixed and adopted, and he would appeal to the right hon. Baronet not to press the Amendment for this reason. There had never been any objection raised, as far as he was aware, to the existing qualification; and at that late period of the Session, if the Amendment were adopted, the Bill would have to be returned and reconsidered in the House of Lords, where it would run a good chance of being rejected, and the consequence would be that this important township would lose all the valuable improvements which were proposed to be carried out under the Bill. He believed that the right hon. Baronet was earnest in his wish to lower the franchise; but it would be more desirable that he should introduce a special measure for that purpose, which should apply to all of the Irish townships, rather than press an Amendment which would only carry out his object partially, seeing that it would apply to one township in the county of Dublin only, and would have no effect upon the other townships returning Town Commissioners. He, therefore, trusted that the House would not accept the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman, but would agree to pass the Bill as it stood, its provisions having already been fully considered in "another place," and also because the question now raised was an entirely new subject.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, that he was not surprised that his right hon. Friend should have felt his duty to bring this matter forward. He thought that any hon. Member, or any Englishman who had sat upon the Royal Commission and heard the evidence given in Ireland, must have been struck with the farce, if he might so call it, of the municipal government which existed in that country, so far as municipal government was understood in England. The rating qualification in the Sister Country was so high, so complex, and so calculated to prevent anything like real representation, that he, for one, was not astonished to find how few people, even in populous boroughs, had the command and management of the business of the locality. He ventured to say that, in comparison with England, one of the chief drawbacks to all sanitary reform, and to the carrying out of public works and improvements in boroughs and localities of Ireland, was that the representation was so limited, and limited by the franchise being so high. It was quite evident that the poorer classes were compelled to suffer from that state of things, because they had no voice in correcting any evils or abuses which might exist. In point of fact, English Members, who were acquainted with municipal government in this country, did not understand the state of things that existed in Ireland, and he thought his right hon. Friend would have been altogether ignoring and forgetting the experience he had acquired by serving on the Royal Commission if he had not brought this question forward. If hon. Members would look at the Bill they would see that comparatively few representatives would be returned under the restricted franchise, and if they would look at the powers which they would have to exercise he did not think, at any rate at this time of day, that Parliament would be disposed willingly to place such powers in the hands of a body elected under so restricted a franchise. The Commissioners of this township, under the provisions of the Bill, would have power to take lands compulsorily, to purchase property, to sell lands not required, to borrow money to create township stock, and, in fact, would enjoy all the powers which belonged to a thoroughly representative body in England. They knew the difficulty which was often experienced in the exercise of such powers by a really responsible and representative body in England, and yet they were asked to intrust such enormous powers as these to those who were rated at only £10 a-year, which, they were told, amounted in Ireland to a rental of £20. There was another question which formed a puzzle to Englishmen — namely, the manner in which the valuation was carried out in Ireland. Hon. Members would see at a glance that by passing the Bill as it stood the affairs of a large borough with a considerable population would be placed in the hands of a few owners of property. He did not see how any English Member who had never been accustomed to that sort of thing could vote for such a measure, and he hoped that his right hon. Friend would persevere with his Amendment.

Mr. GRAY said, he hoped that the right hon. Baronet who had moved the Amendment would not be deterred by the remarks of the hon. Member for the county of Dublin (Mr. Ion Hamilton) from pressing it. The hon. Member said that if it were carried there might be a danger of the Bill not being passed. He (Mr. Gray) did not see why there should be any such danger. There was abundance of time for the passing of the Bill in the course of the present Session, even if it were necessary that the Bill with the Amendments of the right hon. Gentleman should go back again to the House of Lords for consideration. It was perfectly possible, however, that valuable and important as the hon. Member described the Bill to be, the promoters would abandon it rather than consent to grant to the township a true representation. He would venture to say the House would find, in the event of these Amendments being carried, that that was really the meaning of the opposition to them of the hon. Member for the county of Dublin. No doubt, it was extremely difficult for an English Member to believe that such a condition of affairs could exist as had been described in this township, and which was proposed to be perpetuated by the provisions of the Bill under consideration. The franchise was very high—quite equal to a £15 or £20 rental franchise. Such a franchise was altogether unknown in any large municipality in England. The Town Commissioners, when elected, held their meetings in secret; they refused to admit any member of the public to their meetings; and it was therefore impossible to know how their business was conducted, or even if it were legally or constitutionally conducted. He was informed that the business was occasionally transacted by one man. The meetings were summoned for an early hour in the morning; but the majority of the Commissioners left as soon as their names had been read over and a quorum formed, leaving to a single individual —the Chairman of the Township Board —the entire transaction of the business. The Board persistently refused to carry on any business in the presence of the public; and, more than that, the Commissioners themselves formed a close ring. When the annual vacancies occurred, and one-third or one-fourth of the members of the Board had to be elected, the Commissioners, as a body, issued to a restricted number of owners a list of the names of those whom they desired to see returned, and all the Commissioners who remained in office, together with the outgoing Commissioners, acted together and voted as one for the list submitted by the Commissioners themselves. The result was that, although attempts had been made over and over again to break this ring, it was found absolutely impossible owing to the way in which the Commissioners worked together. This was the body, carrying on its business in that way, which this Bill sought to perpetuate. More than that, whenever a casual vacancy occurred in this body, the Commissioners had power under their Local Acts to co-opt. It would thus be seen that the Town Commissioners of Rathmines and Rathgar were a body who carried on their business in secret, that they issued a house list to the electors, so as to insure the same individuals being elected over and over again, and that they co-opted the casual vacancies. On various occasions within the last five or six years a Municipal Franchise Bill had been introduced into the House of Commons. Sometimes it had only received a second reading, on other occasions it had been sent to the House of Lords and rejected there; but no one could doubt that within the next two years, and probably within the next 12 months, the whole of the municipal system of Ireland would be reformed and an extended system of municipal government passed into law. Probably, hon. Gentleman opposite would vote against it, or be induced themselves to propose a scheme. But the Commissioners knew very well what was coming, and they had brought in this Bill to enable them to borrow an enormous sum of money in order that they might carry out a radical change in the administration prior to the reform which they knew to be coming. As one who was deeply interested in the prosperity of Dublin he would prefer, rather than that the intention of the hon. Member for the county of Dublin (Mr. Ion Hamilton) should be carried out, that the Bill should be withdrawn altogether. Such a course would be infinitely preferable than that these powers should be granted to an effete and immoral body like the Rathmines and Rathgar Town Commissioners, who would inevitably be swept off the face of the earth in the course of a few years. There was another matter which he ought to mention. On the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman now the Leader of the House, some time ago, a Special Committee was appointed to inquire into the local government of towns in Ireland. The result of the inquiry of that Committee was the recommendation of the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the boundaries of the towns in Ireland. That Commission sat in 1877 and reported at the end of that year, or the beginning of 1878, and recommended as essential and necessary the extension of the boundaries of the City of Dublin, so as to take in this township and certain other townships, and make the nominal boundary conterminous with the real boundary. That recommendation had not been acted upon; but the Commissioners of the township of Rathmines and Rathgar knew that the day was coming very soon when it must be acted upon, and therefore they were anxious to pile up debt in the township and obtain Parliamentary powers of all kinds to strengthen their case against amalgamation, and to prevent the reform of the franchise. Those were the real motives of the Bill now before the House. The right hon. Baronet proposed an Amendment which provided that if the objects contemplated by the Bill were useful and salutary they should be carried out by an enlarged constituency. He believed that the experience gained in England would be repeated in Ireland, and it would be found that representatives elected by an extended franchise would be far more eager than those elected by a restricted franchise to carry out useful reforms. But if many of the objects suggested were, as he believed them to be, utterly unnecessary, and a mere waste of money, and proposed to be carried out for political, and not for sanitary, purposes, if the township obtained a real and genuine control over its own affairs, it was probable that the wishes of the ratepayers would be consulted. He, therefore, trusted that the right hon. Baronet would be successful in his attempt to secure for one of the townships in the neighbourhood of Dublin a real representation, and he trusted that the House would support him. He was satisfied that every Member from Ireland would, except, perhaps, the two Members for the county of Dublin (Mr. Ion Hamilton and Colonel King-Harman).

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, that until the close of the remarks of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) he had been unable to understand the meaning of the Amendment moved by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke). It was quite clear now that the right hon. Gentleman's Amendments had been put upon the Paper simply to gratify the spleen of the members of the Corporation of Dublin against the flourishing township of Rathmines and Rathgar. [*A laugh from the Irish Members.*] Hon. Members opposite might laugh, but for a long time the Corporation had sought to bring this township within the boundary of the city; but the inhabitants knew very well that the moment they became incorporated with the city they would be taxed much more heavily than they were at present, and in a manner that would seriously affect their interests. The right hon. Baronet, in introducing the Amendments, had found no fault with the Bill itself. The hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) had, however, stigmatized it, without the slightest justification, as a job. He need hardly ask the hon. Gentleman to read the Bill through and see whether his statements were correct or not; but he would only say that the Bill had already passed through the House of Lords, and had received very careful consideration in that House. It had since been examined by a Committee of the House of Commons, and nothing wrong had been discovered in its provisions. The hon. Member for Carlow said that it was quite possible, if the promoters desired to do so, to pass it through Parliament in the course of the present Session, and that there was plenty of time for doing so; but, as everybody knew, it was a serious matter to make a vital alteration in a Private Bill at this period of the Session. The hon. Member said that he knew nothing of the proceedings of the Commissioners of Rathmines and Rathgar township, and that the public generally knew nothing whatever about them. The hon. Gentleman then proceeded to make it a sort of accusation that the business was conducted by one man, and so forth. If the hon. Member said that neither he nor the public knew how the business was transacted, how could he know that? The fact was very well known that this township, knowing the exceptionally bad management of the Corporation of Dublin, had strenuously and most properly, at great expense, objected to be incorporated with the city. So far as the power was concerned of co-opting whenever a casual vacany occurred, he did not think there was a body of Commissioners in Ireland to whom the power had not been reserved. The power to co-opt when there was a vacancy was nothing new, and there was nothing corrupt in its exercise. It was exactly the same in this township as it was elsewhere; and the fact of the matter was, that these Amendments were brought forward simply for the purpose of lowering the franchise in one borough in Ireland, and in one borough alone. He did not propose to go into the question whether it was desirable to lower the franchise in Ireland generally; but if the right hon. Baronet thought that such a reduction of the franchise ought to be made, let him bring in a Bill covering the whole of Ireland, and not attack in this insidious manner one township, and one alone. The right hon. Gentleman had informed the House, in an airy sort of way, that the death rate of the large towns in Ireland was very much higher than in England, owing to the want of sanitary improvements.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, that what he had said was that the death rate in the Irish towns was higher than in the rural districts of that country. He found that in the South of Ireland the rural death rate was much lower than in the large towns of the country.

Colonel KING-HARMAN begged the right hon. Gentleman's pardon if he had misunderstood him. Certainly, so far as the township of Rathmines and Rathgar was concerned, its death rate was much lower than that of Dublin. There could be no doubt whatever that if the Amendments which the right hon. Gentleman had placed on the Table were accepted by the House, the Bill would be almost certainly lost. [*Cheers from the Irish Members.*] No doubt, that was the object of the hon. Members opposite who cheered. The time and money which had been spent in promoting the Bill would, so far, be lost, and the inhabitants of Rathmines and Rathgar would have to wait for some time longer for the sanitary provisions they were now asking for. He, therefore, trusted that the House would reject the Amendments, which, although proposed to be inserted in a Private Bill, were, in reality, intended to attack the borough franchise in Ireland, although only in one borough alone.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, there were one or two remarks which had fallen from the hon. and gallant Member for the county of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) upon which he desired to comment. He thought the hon. and gallant Member had entirely misunderstood the motive of his right hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) in bringing forward these Amendments. His right hon. Friend had stated that it was in consequence of information which he had obtained in another capacity, in which, as they all knew, his right hon. Friend had rendered important public service both to England and Ireland, that he had been induced to bring forward this recommendation, and his right hon. Friend had also intimated that when the information obtained by the Royal Commission was brought to light views entirely contrary to those which had been expressed by the hon. and gallant Gentleman would be placed on record. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) could not see why the Bill should be abandoned if those Amendments were carried. There could be no difficulty with regard to them. It was just as easy to amend this Bill as it was to amend any other that came down from the House of Lords, unless the promoters were opposed to the Amendments themselves, and preferred to take refuge behind the question of time. He could only say that if the statements of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) were correct, and he had no doubt that they were, it would not be an undesirable thing that the Bill should be thrown out, and that this body of Commissioners should be swept away altogether. He strongly objected to a public body being allowed to elect themselves to transact their business in private. Such a thing was utterly unknown in England, and no Member of that House who had taken any part in local administration could justify such a course. That, however, was not the question before the House. The question was simply the Amendment which his right hon. Friend had moved, and the point upon which the House was asked to vote was this—whether, in the same year in which they had passed an Act of Parliament to entitle every householder, no matter what rent he might pay, to vote for a Parliamentary Representative, and at a time when the household franchise existed in this country in reference to the election of the whole of our Municipal and Local Authorities, they were going to keep up in Ireland an £18 rental qualification, for he understood that a £10 ratal meant an £18 rental? [An hon. MEMBER: £15.] At all events, whether it was £18 or £15, there was very little difference, and he could not conceive that any English Member could support so antiquated, so restricted, and so objectionable a franchise.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY) said, there was one observation which had fallen from his hon. Friend who had just sat down which he did not agree with. He should very much regret if anything were to occur to interfere with the passing of a Bill which contained provisions for carrying out a variety of useful purposes—not only of a local and domestic character, but also powers for the extension of waterworks and the erection of artizans' and labourers' dwellings. It was true that some of the provisions in the Bill conferred rather extensive powers upon the Commissioners, and it was those powers which seemed to alarm his hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings). The question might well be asked whether the Commissioners on whom it was proposed to confer those powers, and who already possessed similar powers, were exactly the persons who should exercise them, and if they were chosen and put in their present places by the proper constituencies? Now, he must say that, having given a great deal of consideration to this matter after the Amendment of his right hon. Friend the late President of the Local Government Board had been brought under his notice, he had come to the conclusion that it would not be proper to retain the franchise under which those Commissioners were elected. He was, therefore, prepared to advise the House to consent to the Amendment of his right hon. Friend. He regretted that his right hon. Friend had altered his Amendment, because, in his opinion, the Amendment was much better as it originally stood on the Paper when his right hon. Friend only proposed to move the omission from the clause of the words "premises to the yearly value of £10." It was now proposed to insert the words "Poor's rate," and the objection was that, although it was made conditional upon the payment of the poor's rate, the poor's rate itself in some of the townships was fixed at a high figure; and he doubted whether the provision would be as valuable as the Amendment which his right hon. Friend had originally intended to propose. Some observations had fallen from hon. Members who had taken part in the debate in reference to the franchise in Ireland generally; and he thought it was right that in a sentence or two he should explain exactly how the question stood. It seemed curious that a franchise of this kind should still exist; but what practically occurred in regard to the Irish towns was this. There were three Acts under which the Local Government of Ireland was carried on—the Acts of 1878, 1840, and 1854. By the first Act houses rated at £4 were included, and that was the lowest franchise. That Act governed 11 Irish towns; there were also 11 governed by the Act of 1840, which established a £5 rental; and the last Act gave a £10 rental qualification. Dublin alone had the qualification of household suffrage, accompanied by the payment of rates. It might be observed, in regard to the action of the House of Lords, that the present Bill came before him (Sir Arthur

Otway), in the first instance, as an unopposed Bill, and the presumption was that when a Bill was unopposed, there was no great objection to it. He was informed that the provisions of the Bill had been made known to the ratepayers of Rathmines and Rathgar at a public meeting, and that public notifications had been issued; that no Petition had been lodged against its provisions, and that ample opportunity had been afforded for notice of objections. Under these circumstances, he had viewed the Bill with some degree of confidence; but when he looked into the matter he came to the conclusion that under the circumstances in which they were living, with the changes that were constantly taking place, although this franchise had been in existence so far back as the year 1847, it was, nevertheless, of so restricted a character that it ought no longer to be retained for any township. He therefore supported the Amendment of his right hon. Friend, and advised the House to assent to it.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he was one of those who, upon all questions, was anxious to be guided by the superior wisdom of Her Majesty's Government, and as he saw the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) in his place, and as he believed the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Sir William Hart Dyke) was also in the House, he hoped, before the discussion came to an end, that the House would have the pleasure of hearing those right hon. Gentlemen upon the proposal of the right hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke).

Mr. HEALY remarked that, looking at the statement which had been made by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), and the facts which had been stated by the Members for the county of Dublin (Mr. Ion Hamilton and Colonel King-Harman), as far as he (Mr. Healy) was concerned, and acting entirely upon his own motion, he felt deeply indebted to the right hon. Baronet for his action in the matter.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 92; Noes 141: Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 225.)

Question, "That the word 'Poors' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to*.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, that in moving his next Amendment, in page 11, lines 16 and 17, to leave out the words "premises to the yearly value of ten pounds," he hoped he might be allowed to say a word in reply to the observations which had fallen from his right hon. Friend the Chairman of Ways and Means (Sir Arthur Otway). He had copied the words of the 41st section of the Rathmines Act, and according to that Act the township rate was under £10. The effect, therefore, of the Amendment as it originally stood would have been *nil*, and no effect would have been produced by it, because no property was rated under £10.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE moved, in Clause 11, line 21, to leave out "and taxes."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE moved, in Clause 11, line 21, to leave out from the words "under the provisions of the former Acts."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Voters qualified by occupying premises in immediate succession).

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE moved, in line 30, to leave out the words "and taxes."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause 15 (Revising officer to revise list).

Mr. HEALY moved, at end, to insert—

> "The eighth section of the Act of the forty-eighth Victoria, chapter seventeen, shall be deemed to be incorporated by this Act; but where the words 'the Registration Acts' occur in the said section, the words 'this Act' shall be substituted."

The hon. and learned Member said, this Amendment was necessitated by the Amendments which had been adopted at the instance of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke). The clause proposed that a Revising Barrister of seven years' standing should revise the list of voters between the 20th and 31st of October in each year. He had taken the addition he proposed to insert from the Registration Act, and his object was to give to any person who was dissatisfied with the decision of the Revising Barrister the right of appeal to the High Court of Appeal, as was provided in the Registration Act.

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES said, he did not know whether the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had considered what the effect of this Amendment would be. He (Sir Arthur Otway) could not entirely approve of it, as it was calculated to encourage litigation. He had heard, however, from the promoters of the Bill that if the Amendments of the right hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) were adopted, there would be no objection to insert the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan. They had no objection to it in principle, although they thought that its wording might be advantageously altered.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill to be read the third time.

QUESTIONS.

NAVY—ROYAL MARINES AND THE COMMISSARIAT STAFF.

COLONEL NOLAN (for Colonel COLTHURST) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If there is any objection to officers of the Royal Marines volunteering for the Commissariat Staff as probationers?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. RITCHIE): Officers of Royal Marines are not eligible under existing Regulations for transfer as probationers to the Commissariat Staff; but a communication on the subject will be made to the War Office, and when a reply is received, the matter will receive the consideration of the Lords of the Admiralty.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—RECIPIENTS OF MEDICAL RELIEF ONLY.

MR. SALT asked the President of the Local Government Board, If he can state the number of persons in England and Wales who are in receipt of medical relief charged upon the rates, without being recipients of relief under the Poor Laws in any other form?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR): I have no statistics giving the information which my hon. Friend desires. I hope, however, on the second reading of the Medical Relief Bill to give some facts to the House which may partially meet his views.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the President of the Local Government Board, If the information he intended to give the House on Thursday on this subject would be based on that received from Inspectors of the Board?

THE PRESIDENT replied in the affirmative.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1884—UNDERGRADUATE OCCUPIERS.

MR. MARUM asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government is prepared to advise Her Majesty to exercise Her Royal Visitorial Prerogative as appertaining to Colleges of the Universities of the United Kingdom, and especially those of Oxford and Cambridge, with the view of having the "occupation" tenures of any chambers or premises in any of the Colleges or Halls of the same modified, so as more fully to give effect to the repeal of the disfranchising section of the Reform Act of 1832, and so as to extend fully the benefit of the Representation of the People Act to the undergraduates and other occupiers of all those institutions, or whether Her Majesty's Government will adopt such other course, as in the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown may effectually carry out the above object and the intention of Parliament?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he was advised that the Royal Prerogative was not properly applicable to the circumstances referred to in the Question, and he thought that the persons interested must be left to enforce their rights under the Statute, if advised to do so. The Government, meantime, could not propose any fresh legislation.

TURKEY—THE LIQUOR TRADE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

MR. WHITWORTH asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true, as stated in *The Times* of July 6th, that the British Consul General at Constantinople has been thwarting the Turkish Government in its attempt to check the liquor trade being carried on there by British subjects?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BOURKE), in reply, said, he had seen the report in *The Times* referred to in the Question, and it appeared to be very eulogistic upon the conduct of General Fawsitt; but no communication had been received at the Foreign Office in respect to it.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — COURT MARTIAL ON SERGEANT M'BRIDE.

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary of State for War, Can any review be obtained of the sentence of the court martial which ordered Sergeant M'Bride, of the Monaghan Militia, to be dismissed the Service on a charge of intoxication, although seven witnesses deposed to his sobriety on the occasion; and, is it the fact that, when the case for the prosecution closed, another witness against him was called, in opposition to the military regulations, on the pretence of going into a rebutting case, and that M'Bride will now lose the pension attached to his six years' service?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH): I am advised that the proceedings of the court martial on Sergeant M'Bride, of the Monaghan Militia, on a charge of drunkenness were quite regular; and there is no reason to suppose that the conviction was improperly obtained. Under these circumstances, it is not intended to interfere with the sentence of reduction to the ranks. The prisoner will lose the increase to his Line pension which would have accrued for good and faithful service with the Militia.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—DEEP SEA TRAWLING.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether fishermen trawling last July in the deep sea in Ballysodore Bay, on the coast of Sligo, were ordered off by the chief boatman of Portavade coastguard station, and compelled to desist from the pursuit of their avocation by threats of seizure of their boats and trawls; whether the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries, on being applied to, stated that "Colonel Cooper, of Markree, possesses the exclusive right of fishing in Ballysodore Bay including Portavade," and that "trawling in Ballysodore Bay or at Portavade without Colonel Cooper's permission is illegal;" what is the nature and extent of Colonel Cooper's right, and whether it entitles him to prevent working fishermen from pursuing their industry in the deep sea, fully three miles from the mouth of any river; and, whether the coastguards are directed to interfere in such a matter, and to make use of threats?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): It is a fact that certain fishermen who were trawling last July in Ballysodore Bay were stopped by the Coastguard, who were under the impression that trawling in the place in question was illegal. I am advised that the Coastguard are not directed to interfere in such cases, except where bye-laws exist prohibiting trawling, and there are no such bye-laws in this instance. Colonel Cooper's rights in Ballysodore Bay are defined by a Private Act of Parliament. The Inspectors of Fisheries wrote the letter referred to in the second paragraph of the Question; but six days afterwards, having some doubts on further examination of the map as to whether there had been any infringement of Colonel Cooper's rights, they made a further communication to the fishermen, informing them of the exact bounds of those rights as stated in the Act of Parliament.

MR. SEXTON: Will the Coastguard be informed that they should not interfere again?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: Directions will be given to that effect.

IRELAND—MR. C. H. JAMES, OFFICIAL ASSIGNEE IN BANKRUPTCY—INVESTIGATION OF ACCOUNTS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that the inquiry into the accounts of Mr. Charles Henry James, of Dublin, official assignee in bankruptcy, has been abandoned or suspended, upon the plea that there is no fund out of which the cost of the inquiry could be provided; and, whether the Government will undertake that the funds set apart for the purposes of public justice shall, if needful, be applied to the prosecution and completion of this inquiry?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): It is quite true that an inquiry into the accounts of Mr.

James, which had been ordered by the Judges, had to be suspended in consequence of there being no fund to meet the cost of it, which is expected to be very heavy; but the matter having been brought to the notice of the Government, we think that the inquiry must go on and be completed without delay, and we are now considering how effect can best be given to this decision.

BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—SLIGO HARBOUR BOARD—REPAYMENT OF LOAN.

MR. SEXTON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, with regard to recent correspondence between the Treasury, the Irish Board of Works, and the Sligo Harbour Commissioners, Whether the Treasury have agreed to grant the prayer of the memorial addressed to them by the Harbour Board in January last, desiring certain alterations in the terms and conditions of the Treasury Loan, so as to avoid the necessity of abandoning the improvement of the harbour?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): The Memorial of January was answered more than two months ago. The Treasury are ready to make considerable concessions with regard to the repayment of principal if the Harbour Commissioners will improve the security by a proper re-adjustment of their tolls. A new Memorial from the Harbour Commissioners was received a few days ago, and is now under consideration.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—SENTENCES AT THE SURREY SESSIONS.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of Linsey Redman (a married woman), convicted at the recent Surrey Sessions, after previous convictions, of stealing a pewter pot, and sentenced by the Chairman, Mr. Hardman, to ten years' penal servitude; whether the Chairman stated that the court had no alternative, as she had been sentenced previously, and to ten years' penal servitude, than to send her again for ten years' penal servitude; whether the previous sentence of ten years was passed at the Surrey Sessions, and for what offence; and, whether he will feel it right, by the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown, to secure that sentences of such severity be more proportioned to the actual crime than to the cumulative effect of previous convictions?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS), in reply, said, he had not thought it right to interfere in the matter, because no such sentence had ever been passed. In the case of the prisoner mentioned, the sentence was 12 months' imprisonment, and not 10 years. The hon. and learned Member, however, seemed to have been misled. A woman of another name was sentenced at the same Sessions to 10 years' penal servitude for stealing pewter pots, which it was believed were to be used in coining; but he did not think the hon. and learned Member would say much about the case, considering that the prisoner had been 11 times previously convicted, and had been three times sentenced to penal servitude.

MR. HOPWOOD: And she is now sent for 10 years' penal servitude for stealing a pewter pot? [*Cries of* "No, no!"]

TURKEY—THE BLACK SEA.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any record in the Foreign Office bearing out the statement of *The Daily News* of July 13th, to the effect that, during the late "strained relations" with Russia, "arrangements were made for the British Fleet to enter the Black Sea?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BOURKE): In reply to the hon. Baronet, I have seen this report in *The Daily News*, and I have caused inquiries to be made at the Foreign Office whether any record exists on the subject; and I find that there is no record whatever bearing out the statement of *The Daily News*.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL—STORING OF GRAIN AND RICE.

MR. HICKS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will consider of the propriety of extending the provisions of Section 6 of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, with its subsections, to the storing and removing of raw grain and rice?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The provisions in Section 6 are intended for a particular object—namely, to check frauds committed by dissolving sugar and syrup without entry or charge. To extend these provisions to the storing of raw grain and rice would be a very different matter.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SEA FISHERIES AMENDMENT BILL.

LORD ELCHO asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government can see their way to taking up and passing the Sea Fisheries Amendment Bill, which has been before the House of Lords, and to which there is no opposition of any kind?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, this Bill had only just received a second reading in "another place." When it reached this House, he would consider the point suggested by the noble Lord.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)—COMPULSORY SLAUGHTER OF PIGS ATTACKED BY SWINE FEVER.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would introduce a short Bill, or make an Order, to provide compensation to the owners of pigs dying of contagious diseases or destroyed by the authorities; and, if he would place the owners of Irish pigs on the same footing in this respect as those of Great Britain?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): I am advised that there is no legal objection to passing an Order in Council for Ireland similar to that in force in England, authorizing the Local Authorities to slaughter swine and to compensate the owners. A Bill is not necessary. I shall communicate with the Veterinary Department with the view of having the suggestion brought before the Privy Council.

ARMY (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION TO EGYPT)—MILITARY CHAPLAINS.

SIR HARRY VERNEY asked the Secretary of State for War, What chaplains are appointed to the Military hospitals at Suez, Port Said, and to the other hospitals in Egypt; and, what chaplains were in the transport which brought sick and dying soldiers from Egypt?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH): Returns have not been received of later date than the 1st of April, which would be useless for showing the present distribution of chaplains in Egypt. I may add that a body of chaplains equal, as is thought, to the exigencies of the case is despatched to a foreign command; but their distribution within the command rests entirely with the General Officer commanding. Chaplains are not, as a rule, appointed to hired transports; and the men in such vessels must be dependent on any chaplains who may happen to be sent home in them. The subject is one the importance of which I recognize, and it will have my attention.

EGYPT (THE NILE EXPEDITION)—SIR CHARLES WILSON.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for War, Why the letter or telegram of Lord Wolseley to Sir Charles Wilson, asking for explanations concerning his delays, was not included among the Papers presented to Parliament; and, why Sir Charles Wilson's reasons, which Lord Wolseley said "must speak for themselves," were not included in those Papers?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH): Lord Wolseley has not forwarded to the War Office any letter or telegram on this subject addressed by him to Sir Charles Wilson.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE (No. 2) BILL—BREWING LICENCES.

MR. CLARE READ (for Mr. BIRKBECK) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will rectify the omission in the Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2) Bill of the Clause relating to half-yearly brewing licences?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, it was not to be understood that the omission of the clause would prevent the House from dealing with the subject, which he wished to consider before the Committee stage of the Bill was reached. He was not satisfied with the provisions of the clause, which had been framed by his Predecessor, and hoped to be enabled to submit another proposal.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—BELFAST PETTY SESSIONS—ATTENDANCE OF MAGISTRATES.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will move for a Return of the attendance of each magistrate for the borough of Belfast at the Courts of Petty Sessions held in and for the borough of Belfast during the past twelve months?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): Sir, I am not aware of any useful object which would be gained by moving for such a Return as this.

LAW AND POLICE—THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE"—OBJECTIONABLE ARTICLES.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he proposes to take any action against the editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, in regard to its recent articles on prostitution?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): The matter alluded to in the Question is undoubtedly a grave one, and it has received the careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government. They have come to the conclusion that it would not be desirable to take proceedings against the editor or publisher of the paper.

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY—"THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1793."

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can inform the House as to the presentation by the Emperor of Austria to the National Portrait Gallery of a picture representing the interior of the House of Commons in the time of Mr. Pitt; and, if he can lay any Papers upon the Table relating to the subject?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BOURKE): The picture in question is one by Carl Anton Hickel, representing the House of Commons in 1793, with portraits of Mr. Pitt and other distinguished statesmen of the day. It belongs to the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna, which is the private property of the Imperial owner. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria has been graciously pleased to present the picture in question to Lady Paget, the wife of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, and it has been placed by her at the disposal of the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery. It is not proposed to lay any Papers on the subject, as the Trustees have expressed their intention to notice in their annual Report, which will shortly be laid before Parliament, the circumstances which have led to the acquisition of an Art treasure of such high historical interest. I am sure, Sir, I may take upon myself to say that the whole nation feels grateful to his Imperial Majesty for his gracious and generous gift; and that the country most thankfully accepts it as a valuable and interesting addition to the National Collection.

ENGLAND AND CHINA—IMPORTATION OF OPIUM—THE AGREEMENT.

MR. CROPPER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can inform the House as to the terms of the agreement with the Government of China respecting the importation of opium into that Country; and, whether the agreement is yet completed?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BOURKE): It is expected that the agreement with China respecting the importation of opium will be signed very shortly, and when the signature has taken place the Papers will be presented to Parliament.

CENTRAL ASIA—AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether Her Majesty's Government or the Government of India have entered into negotiations, or contemplate entering into negotiations, with the Ameer of Afghanistan, in order to form a military cantonment at or near Candahar; and, whether they intend to take steps towards a military occupation of that place with or without His Highness' consent?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): The hon. Member asks me three Questions — first, whether Her Majesty's Government or the Government of India have entered into negotiations with the Ameer of Afghanistan in order to form a military cantonment at or near Candahar? My answer to that Question is in the negative. The second Question is, whether Her Majesty's Government or the Government of India contemplate entering into negotiations with the Ameer for that purpose? My answer to that Question is that I am not aware that any negotiations of that kind are contemplated; but, at the same time, I must be allowed to remind the hon. Member and the House that the terms of the hon. Member's Question are extremely wide. The House should bear in mind that this country is under certain pledges towards the Ameer of Afghanistan to the effect that under certain conditions, which are pretty clearly defined, military assistance would be rendered to him. If those conditions should by any chance come into active operation, and if the military assistance thereby rendered necessary should take the form of an application from the Ameer for aid towards the defence of Candahar, either in men, money, or material, then I imagine that—no matter what Government was in power—the course of the British Government would be very clear and well marked. The hon. Member also asks me whether Her Majesty's Government intend to take steps towards a military occupation of that place with or without the Ameer's consent? The hon. Member will, perhaps, excuse me if I suggest to him that this is a most extraordinary inquiry; because to take steps towards a military occupation of Candahar without the Ameer's consent would be an act of war against the Ameer, and the hon. Member must be aware that at the present moment the Ameer of Afghanistan is our friend and our ally.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he was not quite sure that he understood the limitations in the answer, and he would ask if he was right in assuming that the limitation put upon the two first Questions was in the event only of threatened hostility of any Foreign Power?

The SECRETARY of STATE: I do not think, Sir, I can well add to what I have already said. I think the hon. Member will find that my answer covers almost every imaginable eventuality.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

Mr. HOPWOOD asked, If it was the intention of the Government to proceed with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill that night?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): No, we cannot proceed with that to-night. It had been our intention to take the Medical Relief Bill immediately after Supply, and to report Progress early for the purpose; but, as the House is no doubt aware, we have been disappointed in that intention by what passed during the early hours of this morning, and it cannot be taken till Thursday. I stated yesterday that it was not our intention to take the Criminal Law Amendment Bill to-night.

Mr. JAMES STUART asked what day the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was likely to come on; and on what day the Government Amendments were likely to be placed on the Paper?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I am afraid I cannot answer the first Question. The Amendments will be placed on the Paper in ample time to allow them to be considered by the House.

Mr. HOPWOOD: And the country?

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

Mr. HENEAGE asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he would give orders to the overseers to place on the Parliamentary Register all who were entitled to vote, marking, for the assistance of the Revising Barrister, those who had received medical relief?

The PRESIDENT (Mr. A. J. Balfour), in reply, said, that he had it under consideration to include in the Bill some provision by which those who under the present law would be disqualified by the receipt of medical relief should be relieved, as far as possible, from disqualification in the event of the Bill passing.

Mr. HENEAGE asked if the 20th of this month was not the last day on which the overseers could send in their Returns?

The PRESIDENT said, he did not think so. The date was much later—somewhere about the end of the month.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked after what hour the Government would not bring on the Bill?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): Not after half-past 10 o'clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art.

(1.) £2,102,772, to complete the sum for Public Education.

The VICE PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Mr. E. Stanhope): Sir, I rise to move the Education Estimates. It is customary, on these occasions, for the Minister in charge of these Estimates to submit to the Committee some account of the Educational Budget and the educational progress of the year. To that duty I shall almost entirely confine myself to-day. The Estimates I have to submit are those of my Predecessor, and the Committee will not, I am sure, expect from me any general statement of policy. The sum voted for Education in England and Wales during the last financial year was £3,181,875. If hon. Members will look at the Estimates, they will find this somewhat in excess of the figures given there, because it includes a Supplementary Estimate, which was not voted until too late to be taken into account in the comparison. With this sum of £3,181,875 we have to compare the amount which I now ask the Committee to vote—namely, £3,302,772, showing an increase, as nearly as possible, for England and Wales of £121,000. Now, this increase is almost entirely due to the growth in the rate of grant for day scholars, and upon the increase in the average number of children in attendance at school. When the Estimates for 1884-5 were prepared, the effect of the New Code, during the few months it had been in operation, appeared to be somewhat to check the rate of increase in the average attendances. But a recovery soon took place, and the ultimate result during the inspection year ending August 31, 1884, was that the rate of increase in the average attendance rose to 4·67 per cent, and there was an increase of 1*d.* in the rate of grant for a day scholar. Hon. Members will observe that the comparison is made, not with the original Estimate for last year, but with the actual results. Taken in this way, the increase I have to describe to the Committee may be said to show only about the normal rate of increase; but, judging from the results of the last four months of the financial year, the Department is now inclined to think that the rate of increase may be somewhat higher than the Estimate. The cost of maintenance per scholar in average attendance is also increasing. In all the board schools of England and Wales the cost per scholar in average attendance last year was £2 1*s.* 8½*d.*, showing an increase of 5*d.* over the preceding year. In the voluntary schools in England and Wales it was £1 5*s.* 2*d.*, or 3¾*d.* per scholar more than in 1883. It will be seen that the average cost per scholar in the board schools of England and Wales exceeded that in the voluntary schools by 6*s.* 6½*d.* This disproportion is greatest in the towns, and if the comparison had been limited to the country districts, the excess would have been somewhat less than half that amount. It is still specially great in London, although the cost of maintaining each child in a board school in London has decreased, and is at the present time less by 1*s.* 11½*d.* than it was two years ago. But even now the cost of education in the board schools of London exceeds that of educating a child in a voluntary school by a far greater proportion than in the rest of the country. If we take London alone, the cost per child in board schools exceeds that in voluntary schools by no less than 12*s.* 4*d.*; but if we take the whole of the country outside London, hon. Members will find the difference between the cost per child in board and voluntary schools is only 3*s.* 1¼*d.* It may be interesting to the Committee to hear what is the total annual expenditure we are now making, from all sources, for the support of elementary schools in England and Wales. I give the figures for last year. We have, first of all, the Government grant, which I have stated at £2,846,000; voluntary contributions provide £734,000; school pence—including the amount paid by the Guardians in aid of poor children—£1,734,000; the rates contribute £915,000; endowments and all other sources of school income, £222,000—making a grand total of annual expenditure for Elementary Education in England and Wales of £6,451,000, or, roughly, £6,500,000. But, besides this annual expenditure for purposes of Elementary Education, the Committee will, of course, remember that there have been very considerable sums laid out in building, enlarging, and improving schools buildings and teachers' residences. I have had an estimate made of this amount since the passing of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, and the figures are very remarkable. Voluntary schools since that period have received from the Government in building grants, £312,000; but the voluntary contributions, partly to meet these grants and partly to erect school buildings independent of Parliamentary grants, have reached the very large amount of £6,348,000. During the same period—I am giving the figures up to Michaelmas last—board schools had borrowed for these purposes rather over £16,000,000 on security of the rates; so that the total capital expenditure since the Education Act passed, in building new schools and improving existing ones in England and Wales, has not been far short of £23,000,000. I have troubled the Committee with these figures only to show how great the efforts are which have been made in this country to overtake the great problem of providing all our children with good elementary education, and that they cannot be measured only by the amount of the Vote I am now submitting. It becomes now my duty to point out to the Committee, in some little detail, what are the chief results which our expenditure has obtained for us. First of all, I would like to ask, what is the present supply of school accommodation, and how far is it sufficient to meet the wants of that portion of the population of the country which ought to be at school? After making allowance for various reasonable causes of absence, the usual and well-known calculation is that school accommodation ought to be provided for one-sixth of the total population of the country. Taking the estimated population of England and Wales in 1884 at 27,132,449, the Returns of school places ought to show provision for 4,522,075 scholars. As a matter of fact, the total supply of school places is in excess of this, and is 4,826,738. In other words, if only the school places could be properly distributed throughout the country, we should have at the present time, in existing schools, about 300,000 more school places than we have children to send to them. But, of course, this is not so, as they are not properly distributed; and while some counties appear to have a considerable excess of school accommodation, others, especially in the South of England, are deficient. The increase in the school accommodation during the past year has been at the rate of 3·34 per cent; but if we were to look back over the last 15 years, and see what the results of our capital expenditure have been since the Education Act has been in operation, we should find that the amount of school accommodation in efficient elementary schools has increased from 1,765,000 to 4,826,000 school places; or, in other words, there has been an increase of 170 per cent. But when we come to the use which is made of this school accommodation, the picture is not so satisfactory, although showing, year by year, signs of great improvement. The number of children on the books last year was 4,337,000, and the number in average attendance 3,273,000. In other words, out of 100 children who ought to be at school, 96 were on the register, but only 72 were in average attendance. At the same time, however, the improvement in the number on the register has been since, in the year just passed, 1·5 per cent, and in the number in average attendance 4·67 per cent. The Estimate I have now to present to the Committee is, as I have said, not based upon a correspondingly high rate of increase in the average attendance, because it is perfectly clear that, as we more nearly approach the full number of children which should be enrolled on the registers of the elementary schools, we cannot expect that the average attendance should continue to increase in so rapid a proportion as it did when compulsory attendance first took effect. In the results of the examinations, the comparative improvement during the year has been greater in England and Wales than in Scotland; but the Scotch are still vastly ahead of us. The percentage of passes increased during the year by 2·36 per cent, while the number of scholars examined in Standard IV. and upwards rose by no less than 10·87 per cent. This is a remarkable rate of increase, and is all the more satisfactory if we look a little further back and see how steady and continuous this improvement has been. Whereas, in 1874, only 18 per cent of the children in average attendance were examined in Standard IV. and upwards, last year the proportion was 31¼ per cent. This review of our educational progress naturally leads to the inquiry whether it has been accompanied by any drawbacks, and obliges me to say a few words upon a matter which has attracted a great deal of attention during the past two years—I mean that of over-pressure. Its importance can hardly be exaggerated. It would be bad enough, in my opinion, if it turned out to be true that the result of the efforts we have been making to improve and advance elementary education, and to get the best possible return for the money we expend, is to make these poor little children miserable. But if it could be proved that it had a further result of rendering them weak in body and feeble in mind, and unable to bring to the real work of life the full vigour of which they would otherwise be capable, then I say a remedy must be applied promptly and effectively. But is it true? Well, I venture to express the opinion, after the best consideration I have been able to give to the evidence upon the subject, that it is sufficiently proved that such cases do exist. It may be perfectly true, as the right hon. Gentleman my Predecessor the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) suggested last year, that this result is much more generally due to the insufficient feeding that the children receive at home than to the amount of strain to which their minds are subjected. It is satisfactory to think that there are other means by which this evil can be approached and grappled with besides that of diminishing the amount of school work; and I heartily rejoice that attention has been so prominently called to this matter of deficient food in a large degree owing to the remarks made by the right hon. Gentleman himself, because it has led in many parts of the country to efforts being made to meet the difficulty, and get rid of this part of the evil. But there are, in addition to that, at least two other causes which fall more directly within my province, which appear likely to contribute to over-pressure, and which, undoubtedly, require most careful watching. They are home lessons and overtime. Now, there can be no manner of doubt that home lessons, however useful, have sometimes been a source of danger. Pushed by the eagerness of an energetic teacher beyond their legitimate and acknowledged function, they may, in conceivable circumstances, do more harm than good. So, again, with overtime, which if injudiciously imposed, in order to push a dull child beyond his physical strength up to a certain Standard, or to make up, in the last few days of the inspection, for previous omission or neglect, may well produce great evils. I recognize fully the responsibility which rests upon the Education Department, not only to exercise constant watchfulness over these possible causes of over-pressure, but also to lose no suitable opportunity of informing itself of the extent to which they prevail and may be remedied. The Committee will find, both in the Code and in the Instructions issued to School Inspectors, the precautions which, up to this time, the Department has thought it necessary to enforce in this matter for the purpose of preventing the evil. But, after all, the Committee will admit that the only real and efficient way by which these irregularities can be effectually prevented, and the health of the children adequately protected, is by constantly enforcing upon school managers that the real responsibility lies with them. It is they who can, and it is they who ought, to take care that the necessary precautions are rigorously observed, and who, by making use of the powers given to them for the exemption of weakly children, can arrest the evil at the outset. Hon. Members will forgive me if I mention the special provisions which deal with the subject. Under the Code the managers are held responsible for the health of children who may need to be relieved from part of the school work. But the Inspectors also are specially enjoined to satisfy themselves that the children are not unduly pressed. In the time-table of infant schools a due proportion of the time must be assigned to manual exercises and to recreative employment. Where overtime is improperly made use of, the managers should forbid it, or report the matter to the Inspector. And, lastly, the Instructions to the Inspectors themselves distinctly lay down the limits within which home lessons are justified, pointing out that for delicate or very young children they are plainly unsuitable, and that, in all cases, they should be used only as a means of keeping up and illustrating lessons which have been explained and mastered at school. I hope, Sir, for my part, that these precautions laid down by the Education Department, if continually enforced by the managers, may do much to prevent the recurrence of the evil. But, certainly, the action of these provisions ought to be very carefully watched, and be supplemented, if a necessity is proved. I cannot depart altogether from this subject without adding that the result of our investigation has been to bring to light the fact that whatever may have been the case among little children, the new requirements of the Code have caused a severe strain among female teachers; and it is due to them, and, indeed, to teachers of both sexes, to express how largely the satisfactory progress which I have endeavoured to explain to the Committee has been due to the efforts made by them to grapple with the difficulties presented to them. I come now to two or three special questions as to which I ought to say a word. The first is that of cookery, as to which so much interest was manifested the other day by the House that I am tempted to say that it is now taught in 121 more schools than in 1883. Grants were made to 7,597 girls; and there can be no doubt that the success attained has been sufficient to cause school boards and voluntary associations in many parts of the country to take every means in their power for including cookery in the ordinary course of school instruction. I hope to see a very large development of the scheme, especially in the agricultural districts, where it is, perhaps, more wanted than in the towns. Formerly, this teaching of cookery in schools was in many cases of a merely theoretical character. Now, the Code has been so amended as to assist in making this instruction not only demonstrative, but of a practical character, and it is hoped that the change will be most advantageous. Then there is drawing, which has been added to the list of class or optional subjects. The Royal Commission on Technical Education called attention in its Report to the prominence given to instruction in drawing in the Continental schools visited by them, and they contrasted it with the infinitesimal attention paid to it in the English schools. They pointed out that the study of drawing was the most essential step, if not the foundation, for technical education of any kind. So again the matter has been pressed upon the Department by the authorities of South Kensington, who have undertaken to conduct the examinations for the next two years, the results being forwarded to them by local Superintendents. The managers have full liberty to classify children in the Standards suitable to their drawing capacity, and as only a certain proportion need pass to earn the test grant, there will be no question of putting undue pressure upon children who are hopelessly incapable, or indisposed to learn drawing. It is hoped that the change now made in the Code will stimulate the teaching of drawing throughout the schools of the country. One other change ought to be recorded. Efforts have been made to make inspection more uniform, and at the same time to give a more complete account of the state of education in the country. Reports will no longer be required from all the Inspectors in rotation, but half of the Chief Inspectors will each year present a Report upon their division, with the assistance of the other Inspectors working in it. There are other burning questions on which I might be expected to touch; but the Committee will probably think that I only exercise a wise discretion if I ask to be allowed to defer any opinion upon them until I have had more time for examining them in detail. Certainly, anyone who enters upon the work of administering the Education Department must do so with a humbling sense of the magnitude of the great problem before him. Much, indeed, has been done. Our great educational system, founded on the legacy of 1870, is a compromise which solved many difficulties, and is still full of life and vigour. We have enlisted in our work a body of school managers full of zeal and devotion. We have created an army of school teachers of great and exceptional ability; but how much yet remains to be done? Think of the hundreds of little children who, in spite of all your machinery, and all your fine speeches, you do not get into your schools. Think of the hundreds who go away from them with a smattering of knowledge which will not stand the test of a life solely devoted to manual labour. Personally, I am very hopeful of the future, because it has fallen to my lot to have special opportunities of observing the change that has already taken place, and the progress which has been made. It was my duty, during two years before the passing of the Education Act of 1870, to study in the agricultural districts the conditions under which village schools were then carrying on their work, and the enormous difficulties under which school managers were then struggling to bring home education to the people. And in the towns the difficulties were even greater—far greater. But anyone who makes that survey now will see with rejoicing the growing success of those struggles, and the daily-increasing results that are obtained. But how has this progress been attained? Well, in my judgment, mainly because, in spite of many mistakes, you have, on the whole, succeeded in carrying the opinion of the people with your work. Take care not to lose that advantage. The zeal of educational progress must be tempered with discretion. It is a time when educational theories of the wildest and most subversive character are afloat, when the true measure of parental obligation and the limits of the duties of the State are subjected to fierce discussion. There are some inclined to place hardly any limit to the amount of the education, or to the variety of the subjects which you are to pour into a little child's head. There are others who would indefinitely extend the amount of public money devoted to education. But if we want really to carry public opinion with us, we must have a little patience, and some regard to the feelings, the prejudices, and the purses of others. We cannot yet solve, we do not yet half understand, the new and great educational problems which the complexity of our social life will present to us. All we can do at present is to go steadily on with the work, without faltering, upon the lines already laid down, and not to rest content until we are giving to all the children of the country an education in all respects calculated to increase their usefulness as citizens of the country. I will now, with the permission of the Committee, pass from these general considerations to a few questions specially affecting Scotland; and there are several questions of great importance in the various grades of Scotch education, which, I think, ought not to be passed over on the present occasion without comment. And, first, it is impossible to omit mention of the energetic work now being done by the Educational Endowments Commission. My noble Friend (Lord Balfour of Burleigh) and my hon. Friend the Member for the University of Glasgow (Mr. J. A. Campbell) and their Colleagues certainly afford an example to similar bodies of the way in which work can be got through. I believe that more than 100 schemes have already been submitted, of which the most important—the Heriot's Hospital scheme—now lies on the Table. I may also refer for a moment to the recent Circular issued by the Education Department as to the inspection of higher class schools. Under the Act of 1872 that inspection was to have been carried out by Inspectors named by the school boards. But this was not found to be satisfactory, and it certainly was incomplete. Now, by the Act of 1882, all endowed schools are to be inspected as the Scotch Education Department may direct, and the cost is to be paid out of the funds of the endowment. In order to carry out this inspection in the best manner, full representations have been invited from all those who are interested in the matter. Some have been received; and if I now venture to sketch out a proposal which satisfies some, at least, of the necessary conditions, it is not because it has been adopted, or that our minds are made up upon it, but in order to put it forward solely for consideration and criticism in Scotland. It seems obvious that in order to combine efficiency with economy and uniformity there should be a body of examiners appointed to undertake the examination of all the higher schools, whether subject by statute or by choice. These examiners might be selected by a Central Board in Scotland, consisting of Representatives—first, of the Universities; secondly, of the Scotch Education Department; thirdly, of the teachers of the higher schools; and perhaps, also, of the governors of those schools. It might be appointed triennially, and in addition to selecting the examiners it might issue instructions as to their duty in detail. Then there is the question of paying the examiners. The Treasury is ready to contribute £300 a-year. This might be thrown into a common examination fund, to which the various Governing Bodies might be called upon to contribute according to a scheme to be arranged by the Board, and which might be varied when necessary. As I have said, I throw out the scheme for the consideration of all those who are specially interested in the subject. I come now to the case of the ordinary State-aided schools in Scotland. The Vote which is now asked for shows an increase over the sum voted last year of £24,761. It is, as in the case of the English Vote, almost entirely caused by the increase of the average attendance in schools. The Estimate provides for the additional number of 11,000 children, or an increased average of 2½ per cent. The rate of grant has similarly risen from 17*s.* 11½*d.* to an estimated rate of 18*s.* 1*d.* The scholars on the register have increased by 3·3 per cent, and those in average attendance by 3·49 per cent. In the results attained the schools of Scotland still have a very great advantage over those of England and Wales. The proportion of scholars examined in Standard IV. and upwards last year was, in England and Wales, 31¼ per cent; while, in Scotland, the proportion examined in those Standards was 37 per cent. During the past year the Department has had under careful consideration that portion of the Report of the Crofters' Commission which relates to education in Highland schools. The Committee will probably recollect that that Committee pointed out that the benefits of the Education Act of 1872 did not fairly come into operation in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland for some years after it had begun to operate in the Lowlands. And it indicated certain special difficulties, such as the extreme costliness of education in some of the poorest districts, owing especially to the large number of school buildings necessary to meet the requirements of a very scattered population, and the loss of income caused by great irregularity of attendance. Since then, one of the examiners in the Scotch Department, Mr. Henry Craik, was sent by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mundella) to make special inquiry into this subject; and his Report has been laid upon the Table of the House, together with a Minute setting forth the special conditions which will in future regulate the grants to schools in the Highlands and Islands. It must be admitted that there is much excuse for irregularity of attendance, especially among infants. My hon. Friends from Scotland will, I am sure, forgive me if I mention the climate first. But the absence of good roads, and the great distances often to be traversed, are also serious obstacles. And yet, in spite of all these drawbacks, I find in the Report of Mr. Craik, to which I have alluded, this passage—

> "After seeing the parts of the country where the conditions are most unfavourable, I do not think, on the whole, that the difficulties are greater than are to be found in several mainland districts where a good attendance is obtained."

But I am sorry to say that the result is that, out of 298,000 children between four and seven years of age, only 121,000 are on the school registers, and only 86,000, or less than one-third of the total number, are in average attendance. Even of these, only 28,700 are in proper infant schools. Many others are under the male teachers of mixed schools, who are not altogether the best fitted for the task of teaching them. In other other parts of the Highlands the defective attendance is often due to the fact that the compulsory clauses of the Acts are not sufficiently put into operation. But although I am still obliged to speak in these terms of the attendance, it is only fair to admit that of late years the improvement has been very rapid. The cost of maintaining a Scotch school is rather larger in Scotland than in England, owing in part to the wider range of subjects taught in them, and partly owing to the higher salaries commanded by Scotch teachers. I notice that in all the Scotch schools the cost of maintenance per child in average attendance was £2 1*s.* 6*d.* But in the special counties to which I have just alluded it was far higher. In Argyllshire it was £2 13*s.*; in Buteshire, £2 14*s.* 5*d.*; and in Inverness-shire, £2 6*s.* 2*d.* Therefore, I think it cannot be denied that the burden laid upon many of these localities, in respect of keeping up schools, is certainly very heavy. The Committee will remember that it was proposed by the 67th section of the Act of 1872 — commonly known as the Lochiel Clause—to empower the Department to supplement the rates in the Highland and Island districts by a grant making up the 3*d.* rate to 7*s.* 6*d.* per child. The Crofters' Commission, recognizing the extreme poverty of some of these districts, recommended that the grant should be increased to 10*s.* This proposal contained manifest advantages. It would have been a direct encouragement to increased attendance, and would apply only to cases where a large population is found along with a small rateable value. This could only, however, have been effected by legislation, and the scheme adopted by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mundella) was to hold out encouragement to improved attendance by a gradually increasing payment, as the attendance approaches the number on the register. This will also have the effect of stimulating the exertions of the teachers, which is a matter of great importance. Another financial point was also brought before the Department—namely, the loans raised by school boards upon the security of the rates. The Crofters' Commission recommended that these should be cancelled. But as it was obvious that those boards which have been extravagant would have benefited unduly, while those which have been economical, or had done all they could to discharge their liabilities, would have obtained little advantage, this proposal was on this and other grounds, not accepted by the Department. There are two other points in the recent Minutes which ought not to be omitted. The first is the teaching of Gaelic, which has long been under consideration; and is now to be paid for as a specific subject. Payment will also be made to encourage the employment of Gaelic pupil teachers, in the hope of eventually providing a body of certified teachers specially fitted for employment in the Highlands. The second point is the special grant offered for the encouragement of higher instruction. One reads with satisfaction, in Mr. Craik's Report, of the keen interest which this subject excites even in the Hebrides; and it may be noted that while in England only 67 children passed in Latin and none in Greek, in the State-aided Scotch schools no less than 6,253 were qualified in Latin, and 330 in Greek. I have thought it right to put before the Committee, as concisely as I can, the object of the recent Minute. But I wish completely to reserve my own opinion upon the sufficiency of the changes which have been made. If I should continue responsible for education in Scotland, there is no part of the subject which I should wish to investigate with more care and with more hopefulness, because of the keen desire for education which exists in Scotland, than the best means of overcoming the difficulties with which these poor Highland schools have to contend. There is only one other subject which I need mention to the Committee, and it is that the Scotch Code in general undoubtedly requires careful re-examination in light of the changes recently made in the English Code; but this has been naturally postponed until the future of Scotch education has been decided. I have now to thank the Committee most cordially for the attention with which they have listened to me on this somewhat dry subject, and I will only add that I shall be happy to answer any questions that may be put to me.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said, he thought the Committee was to be congratulated on the clear and satisfactory statement which they had just heard, and the right hon. Gentleman was to be congratulated upon the ability with which he had addressed himself to the subject. If they were to have a Conservative Government in Office, and to suffer the loss of the services of his right hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), who had certainly placed his mark on the national education of the country, it was an advantage to have a right hon. Gentleman occupying the position of Vice President of the Council who was untrammelled by pledges, and who would be found, as was evident from the statement to which they had just listened, ready and anxious to carry out the education of the country in the progressive way in which it had been conducted by his Predecessors, both Conservative and Liberal. It seemed to be thought by some that, because they had an ardent friend of the voluntary system in Office, there would be a feeling of antagonism on the part of the right hon. Gentleman and on the part of his supporters to the board system. For his part, he (Mr. Buxton) could not see why there should be any such feeling of antagonism at all. There was, and ought to be, plenty of room for both systems; and they could, if properly dealt with, be worked side by side. Each had advantages which were not possessed by the other; and he believed himself that the existence of the two systems side by side conduced to efficiency and gave variety to education, instead of producing a dull uniformity. By the competition and friendly rivalry which existed, both systems would be kept up to the mark. He differed entirely from some of his hon. Friends who sat on the Benches near him, who thought that the voluntary system ought to be smitten hip and thigh from Dan to Beersheba. But, on the other hand, it ought to be clearly understood that the voluntary system must not be unduly bolstered up. The reason for the existence of the voluntary system was that its supporters considered that, in combining education with dogma, they were carrying out the proper system, and they were willing to make sacrifices in order to promote that object. If they were not willing to make sacrifices for their zeal by putting their hands in their pockets, he, for one, thought the voluntary system ought to come to an end. It would not be right, he thought, for the State to increase the grant now made to voluntary schools. It would be altogether improper to hand over a sufficient income from the public money to irresponsible persons, so that it would require no further effort on their part to keep up the system in which they were specially interested. They were told that the voluntary system at present was suffering under heavy and grievous burdens. No doubt, since 1870, not only the supporters of voluntary schools, but all persons in the country, had had to make sacrifices and bear heavy burdens in consequence of the passing of the Education Act of that year; but he thought the supporters of the voluntary system had been benefited almost more largely than any other portion of the community; and the fact that the supporters of voluntary schools had been able from year to year to increase the number of their schools showed that the system was not, at all events, at death's door. He would make an attempt to analyze the complaint that of late years, and especially last year, had been made on the part of the supporters of the voluntary system—namely, that the burden had become so heavy that it was almost impossible to carry on the voluntary schools. Taking the Church of England as one of the loudest in making that complaint, and as one which, after all, was only typical of the others, he would compare the state of their case in the last four years, during the time the Education Department had been under the auspices of his right hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), from 1880 to 1884. He had not got later figures. He thought he could show that, instead of suffering as heavily as had been supposed, on the whole the voluntary system was in a very satisfactory and flourishing condition. During the four years of which he had spoken, he found that the attendance in the Church of England voluntary schools in England and Wales had increased from 1,492,300 to 1,617,300. That was an increase of 125,000 children. He wished to endorse the satisfaction felt by the right hon. Gentleman at the great efforts which the supporters of the voluntary system, and especially the members of the Church of England, had made by means of their expenditure on buildings, and the valuable result of their labours towards increasing the amount of national education. On the other hand, while they had increased the average attendance by 125,000 children, the income of voluntary schools, from sources other than voluntary subscriptions, had increased from £1,994,000 to £2,253,000, or an increase of £260,000; and the right hon. Gentleman anticipated that that increase would be still further enlarged this year. But it had been said that the expenditure for education had largely increased also, and therefore the burden upon the voluntary system was much greater than it had been. No doubt the expense had increased, and he believed the Committee generally would congratulate themselves on that fact. But what was the amount that the voluntary subscribers of the Church of England were called upon to pay in order to meet the balance of the annual cost left over, after taking this amount of income into account? Would the Committee believe that, after four years, the schools were costing no more at all, but that there had been an actual saving of £2,000 a-year? While in 1880 the subscribers paid £587,270, they were now paying £585,072, or a diminution of £2,200 a-year. Therefore, instead of being pitied, they ought to be envied and congratulated, because, with an increase of 125,000 children, they were receiving £260,000 more in subscriptions, and the entire cost of the schools was £2,200 less than it was four years ago. Of course, it would be said that, in addition to their voluntary contributions, the subscribers had had to pay largely in the shape of rates. He found that the rate had increased from 1880 to 1884 by £189,000; but as the number of subscribers to the Church of England voluntary system was 221,000—that was, not one in 100 of the whole population—the total amount that they had to pay towards this increased rate could not be very large. The complaints were made by those who did not inquire into the facts, and there was a certain amount of apathy on the part of some, so far as the general advancement of national education was concerned, because they were subscribers to the voluntary system. He had laid these figures before the Committee in order to show that the cry was greatly exaggerated, and that the ground for complaint on the part of the voluntary schools was nothing like so great as they tried to make out. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Stanhope) had said something upon the question of over-pressure. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that it was sufficiently proved that such cases did exist. He (Mr. Buxton) had no desire to enter into that question again. They had already debated the whole question of over-pressure; but the more the matter was inquired into the more it would be found that the over-pressure supposed to exist had been vastly exaggerated. Those who cried out loudest ignored the fact, which he thought the right hon. Gentleman would allow, that under any system of education carried out under any plan—even a plan they would most approve of—it must lead to a certain amount of discomfort and over-straining in the case of a certain number of children, who were in reality suffering from other causes which affected their health and happiness. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that the outcry which had been raised had done much good. It had directed public attention to the question, and had—if it were not heresy to say so—woke up the Department; it had certainly woke up the managers, teachers, and Inspectors, and it had resulted in an attempt being made to secure the relaxation of the stringency of the Code, and to give a greater latitude to local bodies and individuals. This, together with the steps contemplated by the right hon. Gentleman, would have the effect of reducing the pressure upon children to a minimum. He was glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that, as far as he was concerned, he intended to see that the new system of withdrawal should be fully carried out; that he was impressed with the necessity of diminishing the home lessons, and that he intended to prohibit the keeping in of the children as a punishment. He (Mr. Buxton) thought the new Code was intended to meet the cry of over-pressure; but, as it had not yet had a fair time for working, it was too early to judge how far the relaxations given by it would operate. The principle of decentralization established by the Code had only been established within the last two years; but as soon as a sufficient time had been given to allow of the results being worked out he believed they would be found to be satisfactory. He had been glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman, in connection with this subject, mention the question of under-feeding, and the attempts which had been made by some of the managers to provide self-supporting penny dinners for the children. He was glad to find that the right hon. Gentleman was giving attention to the subject, and that he had taken sufficient interest in it to induce him to join the Council which had been formed for providing these self-supporting penny dinners. It was certainly most discouraging, at present, at all events, to find that while the system had been successful in other parts of the country it had been by no means successful in London. Perhaps it was owing to the fact that the system had not been sufficiently long in working order; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give encouragement to those who were engaged in the work to continue their efforts. Such encouragement might give renewed stimulus and prevent future failure. There was much in the system itself which ought to insure its ultimate success. The reasons of the hitherto partial failure were many and manifold; but he need not trouble the Committee with entering into them. A reason often put forward by some was the lack of funds on the part of the parents; but he confessed that he did not see how that could be urged as a reason for the apparent failure. The fact that the number of children who attended these dinners varied so largely from day to day and from week to week was due rather to the caprice of the parents than to any variation in the wages which they earned. The philanthropists who distributed free tickets broadcast were, perhaps, in a measure, largely responsible for the partial failure of the system. If the right hon. Gentleman would not officially—for the Department could only exercise a benevolent neutrality in the matter—but if he would unofficially encourage the efforts of those who were promoting the movement, he might do a great deal to improve the cause of national education.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER remarked that as the right hon. Gentleman who presided over this Department had promised to issue a Commission to inquire into the condition of the blind, he should like to say a few words upon that subject, and also as to the condition of the deaf and dumb, and to bring it formally under the notice of the House. He believed that every hon. Member of that House would admit that the education of deaf, dumb, and blind children was a question of the greatest national importance; and he did not think that it was to the credit of the country that they should be alone among nearly all the civilized nations of the world in doing next to nothing towards the discharge of this important duty. In these days of civilization it was hardly less cruel to neglect the education of these unfortunate children than it was in the old days of superstition to expose children on the mountains as was done by the Greeks, or to throw them into the Tiber, as was done by the Romans. He would read to the Committee the opinion of two very eminent men who were much more qualified to speak on the subject than he was himself. Dr. Buxton, in his *Notes of Progress*, said—

> "It is certainly not to our credit to know that in every country but our own, wherever the deaf are educated at all, they are educated with State aid. Even our fellow-subjects, when they live under a Colonial Government, freely tax themselves for the education of their deaf children. The British taxpayer alone, among all civilized Christian men, enjoys immunity from taxation for the instruction of those who under the name of the abnormal classes—those without hearing, without sight, without mental power—are the special care of even such a poor nation as Norway, that country having, as recently as 1881, consolidated and developed all its previous beneficent legislation for the compulsory education of the classes named."

Monsignor de Haerne said—

> "It is a great honour for England to have abolished the Slave Trade. But there are thousands of slaves in the British Empire—namely, the deaf mutes, who are the true slaves of the ignorance or carelessness either of their parents or the Government. If England is justly proud of having, to a great extent, extirpated slavery in the world, ought she to fail in finding the necessary means for the deliverance of her national slaves at home?"

He would not detain the Committee by going into too many details upon the question, important as it was; but he hoped that it might be his privilege on some future day to enter more fully into it. He had taken great pains to ascertain the opinion of men who were well qualified to speak upon the subject, and he had received most valuable assistance from Mr. Buckle, of the Blind School, York, from Captain de Bisson, author of *Our Schools and Colleges*, and others. It was a fact that in America, Germany, Belgium, Holland, France, Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and other countries, direct aid was given by the State towards the persons suffering from these maladies, and our Colonies—Canada, Australia, and New Zealand—were following the good example so set. He purposely avoided going into the methods adopted by these different countries in granting aid, because he did not wish unnecessarily to take up the time of the Committee; but, in opposition to the example set by foreign nations and our own Colonies, it was well known that we continued to go on neglecting this most important work, and practically giving little or no help to the education of these unfortunate children. It was true that in England Boards of Guardians might send a child afflicted with dumbness or blindness to school, and pay, with the sanction of the Local Government Board, £20 for his maintenance; but it was entirely a question for the discretion of the Guardians whether the child should be sent or not. No provision existed for the supply by the State of special schools; and the education of the deaf, dumb, and blind was not recognized as part of our general educational system. In the inquiries he had made into the matter he had only heard two arguments against the giving of State aid. One was that the deaf, dumb, and blind never became capable citizens, and the other that they were fit objects of public charity, and ought to be supported by the charity of the country. With the first of these objections he entirely joined issue. It was a mistake to suppose that deaf and blind children could not be made capable citizens. Science had conclusively proved that the deaf, dumb, and blind were as capable of being taught and of attaining to as high a pitch of culture as hearing and seeing persons; but, of course, they must be taught by special methods and appliances. No one could go round a blind school without being struck by the marvellous skill displayed by the pupils there in basket making, brush making, mat making, and other employments; and they were capable of studying and practising music, needlework, and in some cases drawing. In the schools for the deaf and dumb, also, the most marvellous results were obtained. To such a pitch of perfection were these unfortunate children brought by skilled methods of education, that it might almost be thought that they could see with their eyes, and they literally could speak with their mouths. He only mentioned these facts in order to refute the statement that these children were not as capable as other children; and if any hon. Member who took an interest in the question would only visit the institutions set apart for the education of the deaf, dumb, and blind, he would be unable to deny that if properly taught they could be made just as capable citizens as any other person in the country; and few would deny that it was the bounden duty of the State to do its utmost to make them capable citizens. As to the other argument—that of charity—no doubt it must be admitted that these unfortunate sufferers were fit objects of charity; and as their education was more than usually expensive, it might be right that a certain portion of the cost should be provided by charity and the rest by the State. He certainly thought that substantial aid ought to be given by the State to these institutions, and that would free a great deal of the money now given in charity for a work hardly less important than that of the education of the children—namely, establishing institutions for helping those who had the misfortune to lose their sight, and in a few cases their hearing and speech, after they had attained an age beyond that at which they could be educated. There was no doubt that a vast amount of terrible suffering existed among such persons who lost their sight after the age of education was passed. They were certainly fitting objects of charity, and some of the money now given in the shape of charity for the support of schools might be applied to their relief and assistance. It might be asked how it was that so important a work had been so long neglected in this country. It was understood that if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) had remained in Office he had some scheme which he had intended at an early date to propound. But, like a great many other Government schemes which were notoriously slow in seeing the daylight, the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman, although it had been some years in his head, had never been presented, probably because the Government had been frightened at the propect of the expense which might be incurred in carrying it out. Personally, he thought it would have been better to have expended less in the education of those who were in the full possession of their senses than utterly to neglect the education of these unfortunate children. He maintained that every child in the country, whether in full possession of his faculties or afflicted with these terrible misfortunes, ought, at any rate, to receive a minimum amount of education. He had himself prepared a scheme which he intended to submit to the

House, and which had been suggested to him by persons who were thoroughly competent to give advice; but he would defer it for the present, as he did not think it would serve any good purpose to place it before the House at this moment. He understood that a Royal Commission was shortly to be appointed to inquire into the education of the blind; and although it might be right that a separate Commission should be appointed to inquire into the education of the deaf and dumb, still he thought that the one question was just as important as the other. There ought to be no further delay in investigating these questions; and he earnestly hoped that hon. Members would consider it the duty of the State as well as of the individual to do the very utmost, and not to shrink from expense in relieving the sufferings of those afflicted with these terrible misfortunes. He was sorry that he had been compelled to detain the Committee at such great length; but he trusted that the remarks he had made would succeed, to some extent, in awakening the interest of hon. Members in a question which he and many others had deeply at heart. It was impossible to exaggerate the extent of the calamity which befell those who were smitten with blindness or deprived of the senses of hearing and speaking. Those who were even partially deprived of those precious senses knew only too well how it took away half the brightness; and they could, perhaps, realize more fully the extent of the calamity to those who were totally blind, or entirely deprived of the sense of hearing.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr. E. STANHOPE): I think it may save time if I answer my hon. Friend behind me (Sir Frederick Milner) at once. I can only say, after hearing his interesting speech, that Her Majesty's Government are fully impressed with the importance of the questions he has brought before the Committee. As regards the blind, it is the intention of the Government to cause a Commission to be issued immediately to inquire into their condition, and the means by which they may be educated and made self-supporting. I believe it is the intention of my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross) shortly to issue a Commission. As regards the deaf and dumb, I do not think the same Commission could investigate their case; but I am of opinion that the time has come when some inquiry should also be made with regard to them. I, therefore, propose to instruct the Inspectors, in certain districts, to report to me how far the Education Acts have failed to meet the case of the deaf and dumb. I hope my hon. Friend will be satisfied with that statement.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, there were one or two points in the Code to which he would like to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), and also that of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on Education (Mr. Stanhope). The first provision of the Code to which he asked their attention was that which required that if only one class subject be taken it must be English; if two, one must be English; and if three, one must be English and one drawing. The other class subjects, as the Committee knew, were history, geography, and elementary science. Now, as three class subjects only could be taken, it followed that if history were selected neither geography nor elementary science could be taken. If geography were chosen, history and elementary science must be omitted, while, if elementary science were taken, history and geography were excluded. He did not deny that English grammar was an important subject; on the other hand, many of those who had obtained the greatest mastery over our language never studied it, and it was certainly a subject by no means popular with children. He would not, however, exclude it from the list of class subjects, and all that he objected to with regard to it was its being made obligatory. It seemed to him, for several reasons, undesirable to lay down stringent regulations; and as between the six class subjects they might surely leave the selection to the schoolmaster and the School Board. In the first place, schoolmasters were not all alike; and one man would make a subject interesting and instructive which in the hands of another would be dull and unprofitable. He was far from saying that history, geography, and elementary science should be obligatory; but, at the same time, he did say that their aim should be that children who had passed through school should learn something of the laws of nature, something of the history of their country, and something of the geography of the world in which they lived. That question had been pressed on the Education Department by the National Society; and so strongly was it felt by many, that some of the geography text books, including those used by the Liverpool board, contained as much elementary science as geography, strictly so called, and they were thus enabled practically to teach the two subjects, to a certain extent, simultaneously. The lessons in elementary science were so delightful to the children, did so much to quicken their intelligence, and in that way to help, rather than to hinder, the other subjects, that he had no doubt this subject would slowly force its way into the schools whatever the Department might do; but the action of the Department tended greatly to obstruct this desirable result; and although he did not ask Her Majesty's Government to force it on the managers of schools, he did ask them to allow it to have a fair chance. In the interesting debate, so ably initiated last Friday by his hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool (Mr. Samuel Smith), several hon. Members expressed the opinion—which, indeed, seemed to command general assent—that their system of education was too bookish. It was that drawback which lessons in elementary science would tend to obviate. Elementary science cultivated the powers of observation, while the other subjects strained, and he might say even overstrained, the memory. Moreover, if they were to maintain their rapidly increasing population in anything approaching to comfort, it could only be by carefully utilizing the gifts and resources of science. They had heard many eloquent speeches in favour of local self-government, and were promised a wide and generous measure of that character in the next Parliament. But side by side with those vague professions they found in practice more and more centralization, an ever-increasing army of Inspectors, the control of local affairs, the management of prisons, the very conduct of business more and more absorbed by Government Departments and Government officials. The very Government which brought in a Bill to give London increased powers of self-government dictated to the London School Board, and would not allow them to say whether a given school should teach geography or English grammar. He did not ask the Committee to pronounce an opinion as between the subjects; but let them not proclaim themselves in favour of a large and generous measure of local self-government on the one hand, and then lay down stringent rules of this character on the other. It might be said that a class subject might possibly be taken as a special subject; but that was surrounded by so many difficulties that it was really no answer to his contention. He was grateful for the concession made in allowing the school boards to determine for themselves whether the Fourth Standard should be placed in the first or second category; and he would earnestly beg that school boards and committees should be allowed to determine for themselves in which and how many of the five class subjects they would present their children for examination. If this question were to be determined by the children themselves there would be an overwhelming vote in favour of elementary science, and they would do well to consider the wishes and instincts of the children themselves. Education was better than instruction; it did not so much matter what they knew when they left school as what they wished to know. The love of knowledge was even more important than knowledge itself. However much children might have learnt they would soon forget what they did not care for, and however little they might know they would soon teach themselves if they had the wish to learn.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, that the Committee were asked to agree in voting a considerable sum of money for educational purposes; but it was to be remembered that this sum did not include the whole of the cost of education in the country. Independently of the large sum voted by that House, a sum of no less than £1,800,000 was collected by rates for the support mainly of board schools. But there was another class of schools; the State was not the sole educator of the country. It was true that there were about 1,000,000 children in average attendance in the board schools; but there were more than 2,000,000 children in the voluntary schools of the country. He was obliged at the beginning of his remarks to refer to the analysis of the position of the voluntary schools made by his hon. Friend the Member for Peterborough (Mr. Sydney Buxton). His hon. Friend had said they had prospered under the circumstances of which they complained. He (Mr. Hubbard) would not argue this question on the part of the Church of England alone; he treated it as a religious question, affecting equally Church of England Schools, Roman Catholic Schools, Wesleyan or Jewish Schools, and in that light he claimed Her Majesty's Government's attention to the subject. The State said—"We require every child to be educated, and we require that education be tested as to efficiency." The voluntary schools complied with those stipulations, and they received a certain capitation grant for the education of the children; that grant, on the part of the State, amounted to about 16*s*. per head. What was the cost to the country of the children in the board schools? It was £2 14*s*. per head; and, therefore, his conclusion was that the hon. Member for Peterborough need not be afraid of destroying the voluntary character of voluntary schools by slightly enlarging the grant. It was true that a religious feeling supported voluntary schools. Those who supported them believed that religion ought to be the basis of all education; and they believed that religious teaching, unless it was given by teachers who were thoroughly in earnest, would be ineffective. They asked that there should be liberty of teaching in religious matters, and that the managers of religious schools should not be placed at a disadvantage. As he had pointed out, the voluntary schools cost the country, in the Government grant, 16*s*. per head; whereas the country had to pay £2 14*s*. for every school board pupil. He was not going to ask assistance for those schools which did not want it; where voluntary schools could keep up their establishments with their present means he was quite satisfied that they should be left alone. Seeing the large number of schools where the fees must be low, and where the contributors must be few and poor also, he said it was cruel to deprive them of any portion of any portion of the grant earned upon examination and proof of excellence, because they could not comply with the condition of raising 17*s*. 6*d*. by fees and voluntary contributions, defining voluntary contributions as annual money subscriptions. Schools that were excellent in every respect had been shorn of their right by that rule. Bearing in mind that the 17*s*. 6*d*. limit operated most unfairly, though unintentionally, as so construed, he suggested that, where needful to protect a school against the curtailment of the grant it had earned, the managers might count rent to the extent of 4*s*. per child as a portion of the stipulated voluntary contributions of their school. That was a definite proposal, which he was sure would not interfere with the economical rule of the late Vice President of the Education Board.

Mr. PICTON said, it should be borne in mind that the schools referred to by the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken were far more voluntary in their management then they were with respect to their maintenance. The theory generally adopted was, he believed, that if people wished to have the management within their own hands, and were not in a representative position, they ought to pay for it. So long, therefore, as the managers raised a reasonable proportion of the expense of the schools, it had been held that they had a right to exercise their powers with regard to them. That had been the general opinion, although he did not entirely subscribe to it himself. But it was not held that managers had a right to unburden themselves of all expense whatever in the management of schools, and still have the right to manage public funds, for that was, in fact, what their arguments came to. He did not think that that argument would be generally entertained by the country; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) would not take the advice that had been given him, notwithstanding the respect which he was sure the right hon. Gentleman and all in that House had for the source from which it came. He ventured to assure him that if he did go in that direction at all he would encounter a very considerable amount of opposition. But it was not his intention to allude to any disputable topics on that occasion. He wished to ask the attention of the Vice President of the Council to a particular point in the Code; the instructions to Inspectors on a subject that he had not alluded to in his comprehensive and interesting speech—that was to say, the application of the Kindergarten system of instruction in infant schools. It had been repeated over and over again by many Members of that House that in all educational systems physical development ought to form part of the curriculum of mental training. That principle had been urged to-day by the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock), who had inveighed against making education too bookish. But if that was a fair argument with regard to the education of the elder children, much more so was it applicable to the education of little children, who, in a fair sense, might be regarded as having more body than mind, and the greater part of whose education must be conveyed through the medium of their senses rather than through their mind. A great German educational reformer, Friederich Froebel, had laid it down that children should be educated by means of play—that play was intended by the Almighty Creator as an instrument of education. But he did not think that the time devoted to play should be lost; he thought that it might be so managed as to prepare the faculties for higher instruction. The Kindergarten had been adopted in many private schools in the country. It was sufficient to say, without entering into minute description, that by means of variously coloured balls, boxes of objects of various forms, and other similar things, the children were exercised in useful ways, such as moulding in clay, while, at the same time, they were taught to calculate. It would be seen that in this way the youngest children might be interested, and even delighted, while their bodily strength and mental faculties were exercised. Now, his point was that the Code did not give the full scope which might be given for the exercise and application of these sound principles. He admitted that the right hon. Gentleman the late Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education (Mr. Mundella) during his term of Office had done very much to facilitate the system which he (Mr. Picton) was desirous of pressing on the right hon. Gentleman his Successor (Mr. E. Stanhope). Of course they all knew that the present Vice President had no part in framing the Code; and, much as his Predecessor had done when in Office, he had left much still to be done by his Successor, who he hoped would give his serious attention to this subject. He wished especially to call attention to the instructions given to Inspectors in regard to the Code of 1885, paragraph 6, which had reference to infant schools. There was a good deal of intelligent advice given to Her Majesty's Inspectors; but, still, what was laid down tended to prevent the application of the Kindergarten system to those schools. For instance—

> "Your attention is specially directed to the results of instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic."

It should be remembered that these were not supposed to be subjects of individual examination, and that the adherents of the Kindergarten system followed a different plan in teaching children to read, write, and calculate, to that which had been adopted by the Government in previous years. Inspectors would ask children of three and four years of age to read very short syllables, and even to write a few letters of the alphabet; but the children in the Kindergarten were not taught in that way. They were taught the sounds and powers of letters, but not the names; and they would often read syllables without knowing the names of the letters at all. It was found that in this way they could associate sound and sense better than when, for instance, they were told, under the old system, that C, A, and T, as usually pronounced, made the sound "cat." If Her Majesty's Inspectors would allow the fullest liberty to the managers of schools who used this system, he prophesied that it would be found, when the children had reached the age of seven years, to have worked a very great improvement. He must again make his acknowledgments to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) for the facilities he had offered, and for what he had done in this direction; but until the paragraphs in the Code to which he had referred were somewhat altered, he did not think that the desired result would be obtained. For instance, the Kindergarten system in paragraph 10 was only mentioned by way of limitation. He therefore hoped that the proper facilities would be given to the managers of schools who desired to take up the Kindergarten system in its entirety.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, there was one subject referred to in the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down on which he entirely concurred with him. He was not sure that the hon. Gentleman was in the House on the occasion of his calling attention to the evils resulting from the system of payment by results; but he thought he might call upon him to support the doctrine which he had then endeavoured to advance. When the hon. Gentleman asked the House and the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President to give as much liberty as possible to managers to conduct their schools in the way that seemed best to them, although the hon. Gentleman referred to infant schools in particular, he (Mr. Talbot) went a little higher, and said that this was a principle on which he thought they ought to act with regard to education in general. If his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education (Mr. E. Stanhope) would go into this question in the same spirit as he had gone into the other matters relating to education, he believed he would find that the system of payment by results was one which, at no distant date, must engage the attention of Her Majesty's Government. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that there was to be a Commission appointed to inquire into the condition, from an educational point of view, of the blind; and they were also told that special instructions were to be given to Inspectors to look into the condition of the deaf and dumb. But he (Mr. Talbot) thought that, at the present time, a little more courage was necessary. He wanted to see the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Education Acts generally, because he was certain that a great deal of information was required on that subject. They were constantly hearing complaints from hon. Members on both sides of the House—certainly on that side—with regard to the unfairness with which the voluntary schools were treated. Then, again, they heard complaints about over-pressure in elementary schools; and on that point his right hon. Friend had made an important admission in saying that there was some ground for believing in the existence of over-pressure, not only of children, but of teachers, which he thought was the greater evil of the two. Now, these were amongst the matters which he thought well deserved the attention of a Royal Commission; but he thought he might go on broader ground than that, and say that when a system of this kind had operated for 15 years it was not going too far to ask that inquiry should be made as to how it was working. He did not ask that any special modification should be introduced because his own political Friends were now in power; he asked for the appointment of a Royal Commission to go into all these subjects, so that they might have solid ground to go upon for what had so often been urged—that was to say, if the evidence given before the Commission showed that reform was necessary. The right hon. Gentleman had said that if managers would look into the conduct of their schools there would not be so much over-pressure as was stated to exist. But it must be borne in mind that managers were, to a great extent, under compulsion. They were under the pressure of Her Majesty's Inspectors, and they were, of course, under the pressure of the Education Office. It might be the duty of managers to see, as far as they could, that neither the children nor the teachers were over-pressed; but they knew that the very existence of their schools depended on the result of the Inspector's visit. If, then, the whole pecuniary fortune of the school depended on the result of one single visit by the Inspector in the course of a year, it was not to be wondered at that a certain amount of over-pressure should take place which would not otherwise exist. Therefore, he said that Her Majesty's Inspectors ought to be instructed not to press the managers to over-press, but to discourage the practice as much as possible; and then the Department of the Government which had to deal with the subject of education should impress on the Inspectors themselves the desirability of refraining from anything of the kind. He was glad to hear from the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir John Lubbock) the admission—which coming from him was very valuable—that education in their schools ought not to be too bookish. Had he (Mr. Talbot) said that he might have been regarded as an Obstructionist to education; but as coming from the hon. Baronet he trusted the remark would be received in a different light. No one, he thought, could doubt that it was quite as honourable for a man or woman to learn at the outset of life the manual work which they would have to do in their after career as it was for those intended for the position of clerk or lawyer to learn something of the work they would afterwards be called upon to perform. There was only one other subject to which he desired to call attention, and that was to the enormous burdens which were now being laid, not merely on those who contributed to the support of the voluntary schools, a subject on which something had been said by previous speakers, but also on the municipal bodies. He believed he was correct in quoting his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council as having stated that the School Board loans had amounted to £16,000,000. If hon. Members knew anything, as he had had occasion to know, of the expenditure incurred by the municipal bodies throughout the country in other directions, they would be somewhat startled at the enormous total of the figures that might be given. It should be remembered that these School Board loans were only one part of the municipal burdens borne by the people of this country; and he could not but think that something ought to be done to put some kind of check on their municipal expenditure. He did not say that he considered his right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Mundella) chargeable with extravagance in connection with School Board expenditure; but still, in regard to municipal expenditure generally, they were all aware of the great temptation there was to expend freely the money of other people, and he regarded it as one of the functions of Parliament to put a check on the extravagant expenditure of municipal bodies. Until Parliament had grappled with this question, which had now become a national one, of the enormous local expenditure incurred by municipal bodies, it never would be able to impose that restriction on the extravagance of those bodies, without which the evil would never be stopped. One point that ought to be borne in mind was that, however extravagant municipal bodies were, the expenditure they incurred never seemed to make the slightest difference to their constituents. The members who sanctioned the expenditure were re-elected all the same; and although hon. Gentlemen opposite might say—"If the ratepayers do not object, you ought not to do so," he felt bound to urge that it was the duty of Parliament to object, and that if it were the case that Parliament had a little more wisdom than other people—and he supposed it was generally conceded that it had, otherwise they would not be there at all—it must either check these enormous local expenditures, or be prepared to see the day when it would be found that the burden they created had become almost unknowingly so great an incubus on the population that a strong reaction would set in and produce results which, whatever they might be, would be due to the simple fact that Parliament had not opened its eyes to the extravagance of the municipal bodies, and had, consequently, failed to impose any wholesome restraint. He congratulated his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council on the very able and, on the whole, satisfactory Budget he had put before the Committee that night. He was sure they could all rely on his right hon. Friend's holding the balance fairly between the board schools and the voluntary schools, which had already accomplished, and were still doing, a vast work for the education of the whole community; and he would conclude by repeating that with which he had begun—namely, that he thought he had made out a strong case for the issue of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts.

MR. MUNDELLA: Although I did not rise at an earlier period of the debate, I think the Committee is now desirous of getting through the discussion as rapidly as possible; and as I am anxious to correct what I deem to be one or two mistakes into which the hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Talbot) has fallen, I take the present opportunity of offering what remarks I have to make to the Committee. I trust I may be allowed, in the first instance, to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman my Successor in the Office of Vice President of the Council on the clear and interesting statement he has this evening placed before the Committee. I feel with the last speaker the utmost confidence that the right hon. Gentleman will do as all his Predecessors have done, hold the balance fairly between all Parties, and administer the Education Acts in the spirit in which they were enacted by this House. The year that has just passed has undoubtedly been a year of the greatest progress we have ever had in regard to the Education Acts. It is really marvellous to note the strides education has made in this country, As the right hon. Gentleman himself has pointed out, the supply of school accommodation—that is to say, the seats provided for the children of this country—if properly distributed would meet all the wants of the country at the present moment. But, unhappily, this accommodation is not properly distributed. An excess of seats in the City of London, for example, will not meet the demand at Greenwich; and the same remark applies to Scotland and the rural districts, for it will be found that while there is an excess which tells up very largely in the tale of the whole supply of places, yet when you want to meet the demands of the increasing populations of the large towns throughout the country that excess is of no service whatever. There is, I believe, still the greatest deficiency to be found within the Metropolitan area—I allude especially to the growing suburbs of London; and on this point I may state that Mr. Hughes, a member of the London School Board, when he accompanied a deputation last year, stated that in the Metropolitan suburbs we can hardly build too many schools. In the great and increasing district of Lambeth, for instance, the population is extending so rapidly that something like four or five new board schools a-year are required to supply the demands of the increased growth of that part of the Metropolis alone. If, therefore, we are to keep pace with the actual wants of London we must erect a new board school for the accommodation of 1,000 children every month. This sounds like a prodigious demand as being merely what is necessary to meet the wants of a single population. My right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council has made a very interesting statement as to the cost of the scholars in the board schools and voluntary schools. I should be the last man to deny that there may be extravagance in the management both of the voluntary and of the board schools; but, at the same time, I think it must be admitted that there has been an interested and a very unfair outcry against the expenditure of the school boards, not only in London, but throughout the country. I believe that the School Board of the Metropolis has done a work the importance of which the public hardly appreciate, and that the influence which that work is having and will continue to have in the solution of those social problems to which the right hon. Gentleman made reference at the close of his speech is likely to be greater almost than it is possible for the Committee to conceive. I have watched this work for the last five years—I might almost say for the last 25 years—and it is impossible for me to convey to the Committee my conviction of the excellence of the work that is now being done in raising up a population that will strengthen the national character and tend to check the evils of intemperance, pauperism, and vice, and in bringing the influence of education to bear in the solution of the most difficult problems of the day. And in saying this I am not speaking without actual knowledge. I hear a great deal said against board schools and the way in which they fulfil their purpose; but it is far from my intention to say anything against voluntary schools. I trust, therefore, that if I say anything in favour of board schools, it is not to be supposed that I am thereby depreciating the voluntary schools. It is a common error to suppose that when we speak well of the one we necessarily speak ill of the other. On the contrary, as has been well said by the hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. Sydney Buxton), there is ample work for both of them to do—aye, and even more than they can do; and I can bear testimony, from what I have seen during the five years I have been in Office, to the excellent influence which the managers of the voluntary schools exert upon the condition of the schools, and the teachers and the children who come under their care. There is nothing more valuable to the cause of education than the influence of good managers, while there can be nothing more pernicious than the influence of voluntary managers who neglect the duties of management in connection with the schools over which they have control.

Before I turn to the figures which the right hon. Gentleman has laid before the Committee, and in which there is a great deal that must have been of much interest to us all, I should like to tell the Committee something of the work that has been done, not only during the last five years, but during the period that has elapsed since the Education Acts were passed. There were two or three subjects touched upon by the right hon. Gentleman, and by other speakers who have followed him, to which, in the first instance, I wish to allude. The right hon. Gentleman has spoken of the educational progress made last year in England and Wales as having been greater than that attained by Scotland. I am quite sure the right hon. Gentleman did not intend it to be supposed that education in England had overtaken Scotch education. The progress made in England and Wales has been great because the scope for it has been great. The deficiency has been so large, and we have been and are so much in arrear of Scotland, that there has been more ground to make up here. We have not yet, as has truly been said, overtaken Scotland either, in the matter of average attendance at school or in the attainments of the scholars; and I am afraid it will be some time before we do so, especially as Scotland is continually making splendid progress, and may be expected in the future to make even greater advances than she has achieved during the past few years. Look at what was the case last year. I believe the progress then made by that country was greater than it had been for several previous years, and that the 18*s*. 1*d*. per head to which the grant has risen from 17*s*. 11½*d*., and for which the right hon. Gentleman has provided in his Estimate for next year, will be found too small, and that the right hon. Gentleman will find himself at the end of the financial year out of his calculation, owing to the progress Scotland is making being greater than he anticipates. This was the case last year; and we had to come down to this House and ask for a large Supplementary Estimate both for England and Scotland. And here I must say, with regard to all these Educational Estimates, it is impossible to forecast precisely what will be the expenditure for a particular year, because it depends very much, not only on the zeal of the Local Bodies, on the action of the school boards, managers, and magistrates, but very much even on what may be the state of the weather. In a wet season the attendance is lower than it is in a dry season; and it is found that when there is a fine open winter in Scotland there is a considerable increase in the average attendance, and consequently in the amount of the grant for that country. The right hon. Gentleman has stated, as we all admit, that there have probably been some cases of over-pressure. I have never denied that there might be some cases; but my belief is that the physical advantages of attending school are all on the side of the good of the population; that the school attendance improves the health of the poor children, although not, perhaps, in the same degree as it improves their morals. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Algernon Percy), who knows something of the London board schools, can testify how splendidly the children go through their exercises; how those exercises strengthens them and smartens them up, giving them habits of accuracy and discipline which are of the greatest possible advantage to them. I hope we shall do all we can to encourage the school boards in the development of this physical training. But it must be remembered that all these things cost money. I say, however, that we ought to have drilling places and drill masters, and we ought also to introduce, as I hope we shall do, gymnasiums and gymnastic exercises, providing the necessary apparatus, which, of course, will be the source of further outlay, for which, also, we must be prepared. I join with those who deprecate extravagance; but, at the same time, I think that parsimony in education is the worst economy in the world. It is an old story, but it was said by one of the Presidents of the American Republic—I believe by President Garfield—that all to be saved which depreciates the character of the education is lost twice over if it be saved at the sacrifice of advantage to the children. I say, therefore, that we ought to encourage these physical exercises; and I say further that not only are they beneficial to the children generally, but if we take the case of the poor children who are sent from the one room in which the whole family reside—and in some of the London board schools from 60 to 80 per cent of the children are those of families living in a single room—we find that those children are brought from the wretched streets and alleys, and the miserable staircases on which they are in the habit of playing, and placed in large rooms and good play grounds, where they can breathe a pure atmosphere, and where their lives are brightened, as indeed the children show themselves; for those poor little things, after all, love the school a great deal more than the children of the well-to-do working class. But the right hon. Gentleman has said that there are two things which we ought to beware of—home lessons and overtime. I admit that excessive home lessons must be a great disadvantage; but I should be very sorry to see the Education Department prohibit home lessons. If you attempt this, either in England or Scotland, but especially in Scotland, you will have an outcry on the part of the parents such as would very soon have the effect of reversing any decision you may come to in that direction. With respect to the question of overtime I am entirely in agreement with the right hon. Gentleman. I think the teachers have no right to keep the children for a month, or even two or three months, before the examination in order to give them a long training for the purpose of covering the results of past neglect. I shall be very glad to support the Inspectors in preventing this, for I know that they are all instructed to take care that overtime is not excessively resorted to; and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will support them in the endeavour to put an end to it. There is one point in connection with the subject to which I wish to allude. I refer to the over-pressure imposed on the teachers, and especially on the female teachers. If there is one thing more than another of which I have been thoroughly convinced for years past, it is that the whole method of training and working female teachers is unreasonable almost to the point of being absolutely cruel. Take the life of a female teacher. She begins, perhaps, as a monitor at the age of 13 and becomes a pupil teacher at 14, when she is made not only to teach all day long, but to do a great deal of drudgery both before and after school hours. She has to be up early in the morning, and late in the evening; she has to get up her lessons, so that she may be able to pass her annual examination, all this being in addition to her school work. At the age of 18 or 19, if she does not succeed at the Training College, she has again to go into school and work the whole of her time as an assistant, while she has also to work hard at her own education, in order that she may pass the examination at the end of the year and obtain a certificate, after which she ultimately becomes a schoolmistress. I cannot conceive anything more laborious than the life of such a teacher, who has to work hard in the school five days a-week, not only in the school itself, but before the school opens in the morning and after it is closed in the evening, cramming up to obtain her own education. This comes from the bad side of our pupil teacher system, which is the real outcome of the parsimony of the English people in regard to education. It came, in the first instance, from a desire to conduct education very cheaply. Still, it has its advantages; for the English pupil teacher who spends part of her day in school and the other part of the day in acquiring the education necessary for her future career becomes a better teacher and better able to manage a school than does the young woman who, after a training such as can be got in France or Germany, does not enter an English school until she is 20 or 21 years of age. There is, however, another thing I should like to point out to hon. Members. I have recently been visiting some rural schools, and I have been quite shocked to see the amount of work imposed upon the female teachers. In one case I saw a female teacher with 68 children under her.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS: Was that a board school?

Mr. MUNDELLA: No; it was a voluntary school. That teacher had to go through the whole of the six Standards, and had also to look after a pupil teacher with her infant class. Her work, as she told me, was not done when she closed the school doors at the end of the week. She had to train her pupil teacher, of course; but she had to do more than that. She had been engaged on the condition that she was to teach in the Sunday school twice a-day, take the children to church, and play the harmonium. The result of all this was that, week in and week out, that poor girl never had a day's rest. Now, there is no one in this House who has a higher opinion of the value of Sunday school work than I have; but, at the same time, I do wish school managers would arrange that this Sunday school work should be done rather by non-professional teachers, so that the ordinary teacher should have a day of leisure on the Sunday, in order that she might obtain a little needed rest. To keep the teacher at work every day in the week, Sunday included, is really cruel and unjust; and if any hon. Member will only take up the educational newspapers and look through them—say, *The Schoolmaster* or *The Guardian*—he will find advertisements for teachers who, in addition to the ordinary work of teaching in school and training the pupil teacher, are also required to do a great deal of *quasi*-parochial work. I think the time has now arrived when a considerable demand will be made by these persons for, at any rate, the Sunday's rest. With respect to this over-pressure on the teachers, there is no doubt that very much of it arises from the insufficiency of the staff; and wherever there is insufficiency of staff the teachers are overworked, the children are worried, and the school is not conducted with that system and order and regularity which ought to exist. The result is that there must be a push given first to one class and then to another, in order to bring the children up to a condition in which they may be able to pass the examination. What is really wanted is more staff; and when hon. Gentlemen opposite and those on this side of the House also contrast, as they frequently do, the cheapness of the voluntary schools with the cost of the board schools, I would beg them to bear in mind that by far too many of the voluntary schools have been and are being conducted with an altogether insufficient staff, and that that is one of the chief reasons why they are carried on at a cheaper rate than the board schools. When we come to look at the cost of many of the voluntary schools of London, we find that they expend as much, if not more, than the board schools in the country by 1*s.* or 2*s.* per head, and I know some of these that are spending even more than the board schools in London, and are at the same time conducting their education with great success. There are several of these voluntary schools which I could name that are doing their work quite as well, or even better, than any other schools in the country; but then they are doing it with an adequate staff. The hon. Member for York (Sir Frederick Milner) has spoken about the education of the blind and the deaf and dumb. I have listened with great sympathy to his remarks, and I am glad to be able to say that the late Government decided on asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition and education of the blind; and I may add that I urged upon my Colleagues that they should add to that investigation an inquiry into the condition of the deaf and dumb, because I considered that both these classes have been greatly neglected, and that a great deal of misery and pauperism are the result of their slighted education. I believe that the result would well repay a fair outlay on the part of the Government, if they would take care to have the blind and deaf and dumb properly trained. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard) has put forward a plea for an increased grant of 4*s.* per head all round. That demand, if assented to, would really mean an increase in the annual grant to the extent of £1,000,000, because it could not be supposed that the grant should be increased to the extent of 4*s.* per head in England without a similar addition being made to the grant for Scotland. If it is given in the one case, we cannot withhold it in the other. It must be remembered that there are at the present moment more than 5,000,000 children on the rolls of the English and Scotch schools, and that, consequently, if 4*s.* per head be added to the present grant, there is another £1,000,000 gone at once. Having regard to the fact that the voluntary schools are costing less and less for their management every year, and that there is a steady decline in the cost of education in those voluntary schools, while at the same time the grant is increasing, the fees are increasing, and the voluntary subscriptions are diminishing, I think it is unreasonable to make such a demand, and I do not suppose the right hon. Gentleman who made it is likely to find the Treasury giving encouragement to any such claim. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Talbot) has urged the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the general question of what has been done under the Education Acts. What I have to say upon that proposal is, that a great deal must depend, in the first place, on what are the objects of that Royal Commission, and, in the next place, on how the Commission is to be constituted. All I can say is, that if we are to have a Royal Commission to inquire into the character and quality of English education, and into our existing methods, and if the Educationalists are to be as fairly represented upon it as was the case in the Duke of Newcastle's Commission, I should be very glad to see it appointed. I am quite sure that the result will be an increased demand for a better class of education. An inquiry will certainly not result in cheapening the education of the country, or in lowering the quality of its tone. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Talbot) complained also of the system of inspection. It has become rather the fashion of late to complain of the Inspectors. I am sure that, so far as I was concerned, I did my utmost to re-organize the staff of Inspectors, and put all the machinery in such a condition that with proper supervision it would work smoothly. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Talbot) complains of the Inspector going but once a-year. I should have liked to ask him, if he had been in his place, how it is that the National Society, of which he is a member, adopt the very system of inspection for religious education which is adopted for secular education? Diocesan inspection is urged upon every school in the country, and the Diocesan Inspector goes round to every school once a-year. The results are found, I was going to say as important, but I think they are found more important, to the teachers of the schools than the results in the case of secular instruction. The National Society adopted just the same means of inspection; they classed the schools as fair, good, and excellent; and the teachers tell me that if they do not succeed in attaining a high standard in religious instruction they are more severely reproved by the Diocesan Inspectors than they are under similar circumstances by the Secular Inspectors. So if you are to abolish inspection for secular subjects you must do very much the same thing in the case of religious subjects. Well, now, the hon. Gentleman also spoke of the enormous burdens placed on the ratepayers, and said the time had come to check the extravagances of the school boards. We are constantly hearing of the extravagances of the school boards. I should like to bring under the notice of the Committee a few figures, which will illustrate what is the cost of education in this country as compared with other countries. Let us take our own Colonies. I have here a Return which has just been issued relating to the year 1883. It contains a Report from the Government Statist of Victoria, and a most interesting Report it is. Now, what is the cost of education in our Australian Colonies? The population was 3,000,000 and some thousands. The total expenditure of the Australian Colonies in 1883 for education was £2,104,599; in round figures there was £2,000,000 of expenditure for 3,000,000 of population. If you were to apply that rule to the English population the cost of education in this country would be £20,000,000 a-year. Now, the whole cost of education in this country, including the Science and Art instruction, is under £12,000,000 a-year—I put it roughly at £12,000,000. £2,000,000 must be taken off that sum as the amount paid by children in fees, so the cost of education—Science and Art, Board Schools, Voluntary Schools, &c. — is £10,000,000. There are 35,000,000 of population, so that gives you about 6*s*. per head per annum for the whole population. Now, what is the cost per head per annum in Australia? It is 14*s*. And the cost in Massachusetts is 19*s*. per head per annum; and in the City of Paris it is 12*s*. 6*d*. per head per annum. We spend on education about one-third what is spent in Massachusetts; we spend considerably less than one-half what is spent by our Australian Colonies; and we spend less than one-half of what is spent in the City of Paris. Now, there are two or three figures with respect to the remarkable progress of the last few years which I think will interest the Committee. I have taken the results for 1869, 1879, and 1884 as to the number on the school registers and as to the average attendance. Well, in 1869 the number of children on the school registers in England and Wales was 1,569,000, in 1879 3,711,000, and in 1884 4,337,000. The average attendance in 1869 was 1,063,000, in 1879 2,595,000, and in 1884 3,273,000; or, to put it another way, the average percentage of attendance was 67·78 in 1869, 69·93 in 1879, and 75·46 in 1884. If we take into consideration the number of half-timers, the average attendance in England and Wales was last year brought up for the first time to something over 80 per cent. Now, the most remarkable of all statements was the one that affects the educational progress. In 1869 the number of children in Standards V. to VII. was 91,400, in 1879 it had risen to 163,300, and in 1884—a lapse of five years—it had risen to 325,200. It will thus be seen that the numbers in the upper Standards have nearly doubled in the last five years. These results I am quite sure are satisfactory. I am also quite sure of another thing, and that is that the outlay on education is the best outlay the Government has ever made or is likely to make. There is in existence a very remarkable Paper which I hope will shortly be published. It has not yet come to the notice of the House; but I am enabled by the favour of the right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt) to make a quotation from it. The Paper relates to the administration of the Criminal Law, and contains a correspondence between the late Home Secretary and the late Lord Chancellor (Earl Selborne) upon the subject. Now, the facts set forth are most remarkable. They show that the decline in the criminal population is exceedingly rapid—that, indeed, it becomes more and more rapid every year.

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. STANHOPE): Has the Paper been laid before Parliament?

MR. MUNDELLA: It is a confidential document I am quoting from; but I have no doubt my right hon. Friend (Sir William Harcourt) will lay it on the Table if he were asked to do so. I can give some quotations, at any rate, from official Correspondence. The Prison Commissioners in their Report for 1883 say that the decrease in the number of persons in the prisons in 1881-2 and in 1883 occurred chiefly amongst the younger criminals, the decrease amongst those under 30 years of age forming 55·1 per cent of the whole, and amongst those over 30 forming 44·9 per cent. The number in prison under 16 years of age in March, 1880, was 429; it fell in 1883 to 268, and since then it has fallen much lower. The total number of prisoners under sentence of penal servitude fell from 11,660 in 1869 to under 9,500 in 1884. But the great reduction is in the number of prisoners under 30 years of age, it having fallen nearly one-half. The Paper I have here attributes the decrease mainly to two things—the Education Act, and the working of our Reformatory and Industrial Schools. I hope that if the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. E. Stanhope) is in Office next year, he will see his way to extend the industrial school system. There is nothing more important than that we should have a thoroughly good system of day industrial and truant schools. There is no Royal road for solving the great social question which affects our large towns; but I believe that, by patiently persevering in this line, we shall do much to get rid of the misery and the depravity which is too common amongst our population. In conclusion, I must again congratulate my right hon. Friend upon his statement, which he made with so much ability and clearness.

LORD ALGERNON PERCY said, he did not wish to detain the Committee many minutes; but as allusion had been made to the expenditure of the London School Board, he desired to say that, in his opinion, the question did require the closest attention on the part of the Education Department. He was rather surprised at one figure that was quoted by his right hon. Friend (Mr. E. Stanhope). If he was not mistaken, the right hon. Gentleman said that the expenditure or maintenance per head in the London School Board had somewhat decreased. That certainly did not appear to agree with the figures in the Estimate of Expenditure issued by the School Board, for the year 1885-6, commencing the 25th of March, 1885. There he saw that, for the current year, the maintenance of day schools provided by the Board amounted to 32*s.* 8*d.* per child; for the year ending the 25th of March, 1886, it was estimated that the net cost of maintenance would be 35*s.* 11*d.* per child, or an increase of 3*s.* 3*d.* per child.

Again, if they took the total expenditure of the London School Board, they found it had gone up in the year from £950,804 to £1,045,365. He did not wish to use the word extravagance in reference to the London School Board, as the hon Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Talbot) did, because he thought it was a great mistake to prejudge the case. If the present expenditure was absolutely necessary, nothing more was to be said; but there was a very general feeling amongst the inhabitants of the Metropolis that the expenditure was not necessary, and that feeling was likely to increase unless some good explanation was given. He therefore thought it was most desirable, in the interest of education, that an inquiry into the matter should be instituted, and a clear explanation of all the facts of the case given. The more one examined the accounts and compared the expenditure of the London School Board with the expenditure on education in the large towns of the country, the more it appeared necessary that some further light should be thrown upon the subject. The total expenditure of the London School Board for the next year was estimated at £1,090,000, and of that sum no less than 75 per cent was defrayed by the rates, 15 per cent was defrayed by the Government grant, and the remaining 10 per cent was defrayed by the school pence. The Committee would see, therefore, that the expenditure of the School Board was a matter which did affect very vitally the interests of the inhabitants of the Metropolis. Were hon. Gentlemen acquainted with the amount of income derived from the rates by the school boards in London and in the following large towns:—Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, Bradford, Hull, Leeds, and Liverpool? In the Provinces, the highest income ever reached, from 1880 to 1883-4, was in Bradford in 1881, and that was a little over 18*s.* per child; whereas, in London, the income had never been lower than in 1883-4, when it was £1 10*s.* 7½*d.*, while in the Estimate just issued it would amount to £1 15*s.* 11*d.* Again, the average total expenditure per scholar had always been much lower in the Provinces than in London. The highest was in Bradford in 1883-4, when it was £2 7*s.* 7*d.*, whereas it had always been over £2 15*s.* in London, and it was now, he believed, a little over £2 17*s.* Therefore, it could not be said that the expenditure had decreased. He was far from saying that the work of the London School Board had not been exceedingly valuable; but that was not quite the point. The question was whether the work done could have been done as well with a less expenditure. It was also a question whether the work done was really of an elementary description, for which the London School Board was originally instituted. Now, if it could be proved that large towns in the country, having school boards, did good work and better work than the London School Board at less expenditure, then he thought the question arose, what were the different conditions which caused such an enormous discrepancy? It was all very well for the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) to talk about building a school every month to accommodate 1,000 scholars, gymnasiums, and the like. These were all very excellent institutions; but the question was, where were they going to stop? Was all this to be defrayed from the rates? The rates had gone up steadily every year, and now for school board purposes they were 9*d.* in the pound. It must be remembered, too, that this increase had taken place at a time when the average attendance had increased, and the amount gained by Government grant had very largely increased, which would have led one to expect a decrease rather than an increase on the rates. The chief item of increase was under the head of "Salaries." The salaries for the year ending 29th September, 1873, amounted to £1 4*s.* 3*d.* per scholar; but in the School Board Estimates for 1885 they amounted to no less than £2 6*s.* 1*d.* per scholar. The number provided for was 312,671, so that the increase of the rate under this head alone amounted to £342,332, or to more than 2¾*d.* in the pound. In the Report of the Committee of Council on Education, the board schools in England and Wales, who did their work exceedingly well, obtained their salaried teachers at the rate of £1 12*s.* 0½*d.* per scholar. Some explanation was certainly required why such extraordinary high salaries should be necessary in London. It appeared also that the London School

Board found it necessary to give a salary of about £100 a-year more than was given by voluntary schools in London for masters and mistresses respectively. It might be said that the voluntary schools were, to a certain extent, starved; but he did not think that could be said truly of voluntary schools as a rule. The Return which had been granted on the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Somerset (Mr. R. H. Paget) showed how many voluntary schools suffered under Article 114. At any rate, if it could be said of certain voluntary schools, it could not be said of the board schools of Manchester, because in 1883-4 the grants earned by the board schools of Manchester amounted to 11¼*d.* per head more than those earned by the board schools of London, whereas the salaries paid in the board schools of London were 12*s.* 11*d.* per head higher than those paid in the board schools in Manchester. It therefore appeared that in the Manchester board schools better work could be done for 13*s.* per head less cost than could be done by the London board schools. He had hitherto carefully avoided saying anything about the cost of building or of sites; but he could not help thinking that a certain amount of extravagance, or, he should say, undue expenditure, took place under these heads because of the undue competition which was created between board schools and voluntary schools. This competition took place in two ways. In the first place, by the board schools lowering the fees to such an extent that the voluntary schools suffered in consequence; and, in the second place, by putting up board schools in immediate proximity to voluntary schools, where they were not required, and where the result was to destroy the voluntary schools. A remarkable instance of this occurred in St. James', Westminter. The Pulteney Street Board School was built to accommodate 1,000 scholars at a cost of £33 per head. The result was that two national schools instantly lost 611 scholars.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY: Can the noble Lord give the names of the schools?

LORD ALGERNON PERCY said, he did not wish to detain the Committee on this point; but he could give the names of the schools if the hon. Gentleman really desired them.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY: I may want to say something about them.

LORD ALGERNON PERCY said, the two schools were the National School, in Marshall Street, and St. Peter's National School, in Great Windmill Street. There were also three schools under Government grant and one school under Trustees, which were closed. The total number of places now vacant amounted to 1,711. All of those places could have been occupied by children receiving education free of any expense to the rates. But the most curious fact was, that in the parish at the present moment there were fewer children receiving elementary education than there were at the time the Pulteney Street School was built. He thought he had adduced figures to justify the very strong suspicion entertained by many that the expenditure of the London School Board was scarcely warranted. He considered that on all grounds it was most important that some inquiry should be made, with the view of securing some check, if there really was need for it, upon the present expenditure of the Board.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he did not think it was right he should detain the Committee long by going into the allegations against the London School Board, because they were now engaged in considering the general Education Estimates for the country. He would like, however, to refer to the observations of the noble Lord the Member for Westminster (Lord Algernon Percy). It appeared to him that the noble Lord had been misled by a document circulated by the St. James' Vestry, and from which he had quoted some of his figures. The noble Lord, who, he was sure, would not intentionally make a mistake, said that when the Pulteney Street School was built the schools in Great Windmill Street and Marshall Street were emptied.

LORD ALGERNON PERCY said, he never used the word emptied. What he did say was, that those schools lost 611 scholars.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he had not the figures with him; but his impression was that both the school in Marshall Street and that in Great Windmill Street had substantially as many children now, or until six months ago, as they had before the Pulteney Street

School was built. The noble Lord must know that for some time past Westminster had been greatly disturbed by street improvements, and that might possibly have recently diminished the number of scholars in those two schools. The noble Lord had been misled very much, because he gave the Committee to understand that three schools had been closed in consequence of the erection of the Pulteney Street School. That statement was made in the document from which the noble Lord had quoted. It was a curious fact, that the schools mentioned were schools transferred to the London School Board. The premises were quite unsuitable for schools, and it was to replace them that the Pulteney Street School was built. One of them was the Craven School, very near to Marshall Street; one was attached to St. Luke's, and was transferred to the Board because the manager was unable to carry it on, as the lease was expiring; and the third was a school under a chapel in an adjoining street, and was hired by the Board while the Pulteney Street School was being built, and while the old school, on the site, was pulled down. He was satisfied the noble Lord would not again allude to Pulteney Street School as a school built so as to close three voluntary schools and to partially destroy two others. There were one or two matters mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. E. Stanhope) in regard to which he wished to make a few observations. He admitted that the cost in London was very high, as the right hon. Gentleman had stated, and he did not think he could hold out any great hope to hon. Members that, so far as London was concerned, it would be diminished. It had been mentioned that the cost of education in the schools was 12*s.* 4*d.* per head higher than in the voluntary schools. No doubt that was substantially correct; but he thought that one or two items would show that that was not very surprising. In the first place, the Vestries were not very friendly to the London School Board, and they had always taken the opportunity of putting the rating of the London board schools at as high a figure as possible; and the result was that the London School Board payments for rates amounted to about 3*s.* for each child. Again, whenever a voluntary school was transferred to the Board, the Vestries always took the opportunity of raising the rating. Voluntary schools, as a rule, were rated at a very low and nominal value; but they had had cases of schools which, although rated at £50 a-year as voluntary schools, were, on transfer to the School Board, rated at £500 a-year. That, he said, was very unjust, and, as he had pointed out, it had contributed to bringing up the rate to about 3*s.* per scholar. It should be remembered also that the teachers in the voluntary schools were largely paid by items which did not appear in the accounts of the cost of those schools. It was no uncommon thing for the head teachers to have residences given to them as part of their pay, and that could not be put at less than £25 a-year; but it was an item which did not appear in the balance sheet, and a larger salary must, of course, be given where the teacher did not have a house given to him. He found that in one school the master was allowed to sell books to the children at the ordinary retail price, which gave him a profit of £10 or £15 a-year. That was regarded as a private transaction between the master and the child. It might, as an hon. Gentleman opposite said, be an exceptional case; but he (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) was stating the fact as it came within his knowledge, and he said that such a practice was clearly mischievous, because it was the interest of the master to force more books on the children than they required in order that he might make a profit. He admitted that the rate was very high, and it had been properly pointed out that the chief item of expense was that of salaries. It was there that heavy expenses were incurred. He did not wish to trouble the Committee more than he could help with regard to the London School Board; but he thought he had a right to ask the Committee whether they did not think that the salaries of teachers ought to be such as to attract the educated men and women in the profession of teachers? As they could get a jerry builder to run up a house at almost any figure, so, in the matter of education, they could get some wretched starveling to teach children somehow or other, and if they liked to pay the bottom price instead of the top price in the market, no doubt it was possible to cut down the expenses of the Board by many thousands of pounds in the year. But he asked, whether it would have been a wise policy to try to grapple with the mass of ignorance in the country with the cheapest teachers that could be got? He said that, under no circumstances, would it be a wise economy to try to cheapen their teachers, even if teachers were to be had at low salaries. If they had to go into the highways and byeways for the children they had to instruct, he held that teachers of the highest morals, character, and ability, were not too good for their purpose. Those children were not to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic only; they had to be civilized and humanized as well, and for that purpose the high moral qualities' of patience, forbearance, and kindness were necessary. He said, considering the work that had to be done in London and in the great towns of the country, the best policy was to pay the best price in order to get teachers who could properly perform the difficult work that had to be done. He admitted that the cost of tuition was high; but it was the duty of the Education Department and of every liberal man and woman in the country to see that this work was done well. With regard to over-pressure, he believed that the over-pressure which did exist had been greatly over-estimated. There was a certain amount of over-pressure, and he was certain there would be more of it, if stupid teachers were employed. But he agreed that there was great danger of over-pressure in respect of teachers, especially woman teachers and pupil teachers, and a great part of the responsibility for that rested with the Education Department, which had allowed for years a miserably inadequate staff to supply the requirements of the Department. The Education Department year after year had said that a certificated teacher should reckon on the staff for 80 children in average attendance. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) laid that down as a minimum, did he not know that he was holding up a standard which many poor managers both of voluntary and of school boards would treat as a maximum? He said that the result of that was a scandal and a reproach to their system; and that when it was known that managers were working on that minimum, which the Regulations of the Department allowed, it was for those on the Front Bench so to alter the Code that over-pressure as the result of an insufficient staff could not possibly arise. They must make up their minds, that if they were to have education worthy of the country, it would cost a great deal more than it had cost up to the present time. He would like to draw the attention of the Vice President (Mr. E. Stanhope) to the danger of over-centralization. He remembered having mentioned before in that House a remarkable speech of the late Earl of Beaconsfield, which he made in the memorable debate of 1839, when the first proposal was made for forming the Committee of Council. The Earl of Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, even at the beginning of the creation of the Education Department, raised the voice of warning against creating a Central Department which should interfere with the individual character of self-government in localities. He (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) acknowledged that where a Government grant was made there must be supervision, and that when efficiency was the basis of payment there must be a test of efficiency; but he objected to obstacles being placed in the way of people who wanted to teach something sensible and intelligible that did not happen to appear in the Code. He wished at this point to say a few words with regard to the growing interference with the managers of elementary schools. It was true that the Code itself lay on the Table of the House, but the Instructions to Inspectors were more in the nature of a Departmental document. It was, of course, very proper that Instructions should be issued to Inspectors; but his contention was that those Instructions contained many things which were practically additions to the Code, and that some of them were very material additions. There was one innovation with regard to the registers. It was necessary that registers should be kept, and the Department must make reasonable regulations as to the mode of keeping them; but he said it was a usurpation for the Department to proceed to extend by their authority to an enormous extent the time for which names should be kept on the registers. Those were matters which ought to be very much in the discretion of managers and teachers. He did not complain that names were kept on the register a clear fortnight; but the Department had ordered that names should be kept on it for six weeks; and this year they had gone further, and said that names were not to be removed from the register unless it could be proved that the children had left the neighbourhood, or something of that kind. He always regretted very much to hear the Code discussed in the House of Commons, because the House was not competent to discuss these technical details; but the more they were obliged to refrain from discussing it, the more they must appeal to the forbearance of the Department not to make year by year fresh encroachments on the independence of schools. He was sorry there had been so little said in the course of that discussion of the efficiency, and so much about the cost of education — so little about the progress of education, and so much about the poor ratepayers, who, however, he believed, were quite satisfied with the results which their money was producing.

Mr. ACKERS said, he did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) would be astonished when he spoke on behalf of the dumb of this country, and said that he could not be satisfied with the answer given by the right hon. Gentleman that night. A Royal Commission had been promised for the blind, but not for the deaf. It was, he regretted to say, another instance of the indifference to the subject of the education of the deaf, that during the remarks of his hon. Friend (Sir Frederick Milner) there was a general buzz of conversation in the House. The Act of 1870 declared that the whole of the children of the country should be educated. But hitherto the Education Department had neglected to undertake the education of the deaf and blind. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) was Vice President of the Council he had the honour of waiting on him on two separate occasions—one in the year 1877, and the other in March last—with deputations on the subject, who were told that the State took no cognizance of the deaf and blind in this matter; that there was no desire on the part of the Department to deny that they were included within the Act of 1870, but the Department were not going to enforce that compulsory power of education with regard to the deaf and blind which applied to other children.

Mr. MUNDELLA: I was not Vice President of the Council in 1877. The hon. Member only came to me this year.

Mr. ACKERS said, he found that, although wrong in his dates, he was correct in his facts, and that he was with the deputation which waited on the right hon. Gentleman in 1882—not 1877—when he was Vice President, and which was introduced by General Cotton. He believed they had had the sympathy of the right hon. Gentleman in this matter all along; but, notwithstanding that, and in spite of the fact that the State required that every child should be educated, nothing whatever had been done. He rejoiced that universal education was now the law of the land; but that law was not really carried out, and he maintained that it should apply to all children, and not be confined merely to those who could see and hear. The blind and deaf should have the same advantages in respect of education as their more fortunate fellow-creatures. He said that they ought to be made as capable citizens as education could make them; and that was a proposition which he believed could in no way be controverted. Still there was this general want of interest in the subject. He reminded the Committee that he had asked on a former occasion for a Royal Commission to inquire into the subject, and he had urged that, not because he had any doubt as to what ought to be done in the matter, but because he desired to bring before the House and the country sufficient evidence by means of that Commission. But the Commission was not granted, and the reply was that the Department had under consideration an inquiry with reference to the blind and deaf and dumb. Now, it had been very well said by his hon. Friend (Sir Frederick Milner) that the circumstances of the blind and the deaf and dumb were very different. Those who understood one of these did not necessarily understand the other; and at a conference of teachers and others connected with the education of the deaf in the United Kingdom, held in this City a few days ago, a Resolution had been unanimously passed that it would not suffice to have a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the blind, deaf, and dumb, but that a separate Commission should be granted to inquire into the education and condition of the deaf and dumb. But he was afraid that the never failing recurrence of the argument about the ratepayer and the rates, would prevent the subject from receiving the attention which it deserved. He, for one, hoped that the present Government would grapple with this wretched system of rates. He hoped the Government would give effect to this, and that they would make a public announcement in this House, that one of the first things that should engage their attention, if returned to power, would be a fair re-arrangement of local burdens, so that every class of property might bear its fair share, and then he ventured to say there would not be found a single Member to come forward and say that this or that useful measure could not be carried into effect, and that this or that class of property did not bear a fair share of taxation. There was no one thing, supported partly by rates, in this country to which so large an amount of Imperial assistance was given as education, and if hon. Members would take the figures given by the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education that evening, they would see that the amount given in aid of rates was larger in proportion than was the case in any other matter partly supported by local rates. In his opinion, hon. Members made a great mistake in not taking the trouble to see how much was given from Imperial sources towards the relief of elementary education. There was no civilized country that did not take care of its deaf by giving them State aid and elementary education. The position in India with regard to the deaf and dumb was this. There was only one school for them, in which there were 10 children, and that was started last year by a foreign ecclesiastic. There were in their Indian Empire more deaf and dumb, all wholly uneducated, than the educated deaf of all ages in the whole world beside, and if it were not for the female infanticide practised there the number would be very much larger still. He would not detain the Committee longer on a subject that, as a rule, was not of much interest. He regretted that the debate had come on at so late an hour, when the attendance of hon. Members interested in educational matters was very small, and he apologized for having taken up so much time in advocating the claims of a class who, unfortunately, did not receive the attention which they deserved.

MR. MOLLOY said, it had been suggested by Members on the Government side of the House that a considerable amount of dissatisfaction existed in this country on the subject of the education of the people. The hon. Member for Oxford University (Mr. J. G. Talbot) had suggested that a Royal Commission should be appointed for the purpose of examining into the whole question of elementary education in the country. And the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), when he rose to speak on his own Estimate which had been introduced by the right hon. Gentleman's Successor, remarked that so far as he was concerned he would be willing to support the nomination of such Royal Commission. Now, a very large amount of dissatisfaction did undoubtedly exist at the present time on the subject of elementary education. The Committee has listened that evening to the speeches of three or four hon. Members, all of whom represented one single idea which ruled in the country with regard to education. They were a body of Gentlemen joined together in that House, having the same sympathies and the same ideas with regard to education; but outside them there was a very large proportion of the people of the country, who were thoroughly dissatisfied with the present system. In regard to the number of children attending the elementary schools, he pointed out that the voluntary schools educated two-thirds of the whole number, and that the board schools educated only one-third. As between the voluntary schools and the board schools the whole question was one of religious teaching. He and his hon. Friends maintained that there was no system of religious education in the board schools, and also that all education should be based on religious instruction. Their plan was a simple one. There were two sources from which money flowed for the purpose of education in this country—one was the Consolidated Fund, and the other the rates. Both the voluntary schools and the board schools had their share out of the Consolidated Fund; but the proportion of the grant which the voluntary schools received was not sufficient for the purpose of education; it did not pay more than one-third of their maintenance. On the other hand, the board schools had not only their share of the grant, but they had also the rate which they collected under the powers vested in them by Act of Parliament; so that they had the managers of voluntary schools handicapped to this extent—that, with the exception of the small portion which they got from the Consolidated Fund, they were bound to find two-thirds of the whole amount necessary for the purpose of maintaining them. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Sir William Hart Dyke) had said in his remarks—"Whatever you do, use this Act in accordance with the intentions of the promoters of the Act." The promoters of the Act never intended it to be used in the way in which it had been used, and was now being used. It was intended as a supplement to the voluntary system, and it was intended that a proportion of the money collected under the powers of the Act of 1870 should go to the support of the voluntary schools; but they knew that the money had not gone in that direction, and that practically it had been absorbed for the purposes of the board schools. The point he was putting to the Committee was, in his opinion, sufficient to show that the complaint made by the supporters of the voluntary schools of the country was legitimate, and at least deserved consideration. It was for that reason that he was pleased to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) say that he was willing to support the appointment of a Royal Commission for the purpose of examining into the whole question of elementary education. There were other reasons which he could name why such a Commission would be of advantage, both from the point of view of the board schools and that of the voluntary system. He might refer to a Motion introduced and almost carried, in reference to the board schools, by Mr. Taylor, under which it was proposed that the board schools should be opened free to all children—that was to say, that the school fees now paid should be remitted, and that the children should attend the schools without any payment on their part at all. He looked upon that as nothing more or less than the pauperizing of education with regard to the class who would avail themselves of the advantages of the schools, and who were well able to pay for education under the old system. He thought there was more in this point than might appear at first sight. A large number of those who attended the schools would be children of tradesmen, and if they were to offer them education without any effort being made on the part of their parents, he repeated that it would be pauperizing them and a class of persons who could pay. He was not, however, going to discuss the point on that occasion; he simply put it forward as a subject which might properly engage the attention of the Royal Commission which had been suggested. Then there was the question of the rate, which went on increasing year by year, and the gross amount of which, according to those competent to form a judgment, was 2*s*. 6*d*. in the pound. That was certainly a subject worthy of examination at the hands of the Royal Commission. The fact was, that the whole of their system of elementary education had been built up piecemeal, and not on any consistent plan—it had not been a single consolidated idea brought forward at once. The Education Act of 1870 was introduced by its authors avowedly as a supplement to the voluntary schools; and the Prime Minister of the day, when the Bill was introduced, had stated in the clearest terms that it was not intended in any sense to interfere with or lessen the power, or lessen the revenues of the voluntary schools, and he said also that the rates raised under the powers vested in the schools should also be devoted to purposes necessary to the voluntary schools. But that had not been done. He had intended to make a strong complaint as to the treatment of voluntary schools, to show how great was the injustice under which they suffered, and how great the difficulties they had to contend against. Notwithstanding that injustice, and notwithstanding those difficulties, the voluntary schools had held their own with the board schools; and except as regarded decimal points—the difference being as between 88·10 and 88·17—there was no difference between the efficiency of the board schools and the voluntary schools. To be frank about it, he thought there was a slight increase in favour of the board schools; but, practically, the voluntary schools had held their own ground, and that under conditions that were somewhat startling, for if they took the cost per head in the voluntary schools and in the board schools last year for education—which it could not be denied, in fact, which it was admitted, was equal in efficiency in the one as in the other—they found the difference was as follows:—In the Church of England schools the cost per head was £1 15*s.* 2*d.*; in the Catholic schools, £1 12*s.* 6*d.*; and in the board schools, £2 14*s.* 6*d.* Well, on the face of it, there was something wrong. There must be some extravagance and unnecessary expense somewhere to make the difference between the board schools and the voluntary schools so great as that. With regard to efficiency, he had said that this year it was rather in favour of the board schools; but that could be easily accounted for by the fact that the board schools were lighter, healthier, pleasanter, and altogether more comfortable schools than the voluntary schools. Their maps and books were much better; the teachers were much better paid, the difference being £100 a-year, he believed—£250 in the board schools, and £150 in the voluntary schools. There was a growing discontent in the country with regard to the elementary schools. Hon. Gentlemen around him who belonged to the Radical Party would maintain that that discontent was all in one direction; whilst he and his Friends were prepared, on behalf of the parents of two-thirds of the children educated in the country at the present time, to maintain that it was in exactly the opposite direction. What was the dispute and difference between them—between the two schools? Why, it was this—the difference between Christianity and no Christianity. This point was a very important one, and one that would command greater attention before long. Whatever the opinion of this country was, he and his Friends maintained—and in these matters it was always best to state what they meant—that the board schools were really being used for the extinction of Christianity. He did not allege that that was done purposely, but such was certainly the fact. [“No, no!”] That was the statement he and his Friends made in all seriousness. Their allegation was this—there was no religious education in the board schools.

MR. MUNDELLA: Quite a mistake.

MR. MOLLOY: Allow me to finish my sentence. I say you have no religious education in the board schools, as we understand it.

MR. MUNDELLA: Hear, hear!

MR. MOLLOY said, he should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman would allow him to finish. What he maintained was that in the board schools they had no religious education such as they—if the right hon. Gentleman liked to call them so—Religionists—believed religious education ought to be. The school boards had no formulas; they had no catechisms; no explanation was given even of the Bible. There was no explanation of the Scriptures except such as the teacher chose to give; and who were the teachers in the board schools? They might be anything. A man was not excluded on account of any particular creed. The School Board Authorities could not exclude even Mr. Bradlaugh if he obtained a school. Take the two extremes—take himself, for instance, and Mr. Bradlaugh, holding views as diametrically opposite as it was possible to conceive. If they were both appointed teachers in board schools they would both be expounders of the Bible, and that was called “religious education.” Could any man in his senses call it “religious education?” A teacher might be a believer in the Bible; he might, on the other hand, be no believer in it, and a denier of its truth—a man might be a strong Religionist or an Atheist, and yet it was called “religious education” when a teacher, whatever his qualification, was made an expounder of the Bible. He was only stating the fact. Children of from five to 13 were instructed in religion in this way by teachers appointed for their experience and knowledge in teaching, and without reference to creed—by teachers appointed no matter what religion they belonged to, and no matter whether or not they had any religion at all. They who did profess creeds—and he was not speaking of his own co-religionists, the Roman Catholics, in particular, but of all creeds, Catholic, Church of England, Wesleyan, Presbyterian—did not believe that this expounding of the Bible by secular teachers was religious education. It certainly was not Christian education. Well, on the other hand, in their own voluntary schools they had Christian education, a fact which nobody would deny. If the schools were Church of England they had Church of England teaching; if Catholic, Catholic teaching. There was, then, an enormous difference between the two systems. [*A laugh.*] His hon. Friend might laugh—he might laugh because they differed, but he could not deny the facts. No one could deny these facts. They were true and were not to be denied, although, of course, a different interpretation might be put upon them. Hon. Members might hold a different opinion to him, but he had put the two different opinions before the Committee, one of which would have to prevail either now or before long. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) and those who thought with him were in favour of the present school board system, whereas he (Mr. Molloy) and his Friends were opposed to it. He was no opponent of the board schools, nor, that he was aware of, were any of his Friends who took the same view as himself on this question. They demanded the fulfilment of the Act as it was brought into the House and passed into law. They also demanded justice for the voluntary schools, which, up to the year 1870, were all that existed for the education of the people. He would impress that fact upon those who were now so keen about education and the extension of the board system. He did not, however, wish to enter upon a lengthened discussion on these points with hon. Gentlemen. All he desired to do was to place before the Committee the reasons why he advocated the concession which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) said he had no objection to, and which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Peterborough (Mr. Sydney Buxton) was also in favour of. Another thing he wished to press upon the consideration of the Committee was this—that they had chaos now existing in their different systems of education in the country. He and his Friends were not satisfied; others were not satisfied. It was a piecemeal system—a system which had been pieced. It was a disjointed system altogether. Whatever the result of such a Royal Commission as that asked for might be, it would have this satisfaction—that it would be the decision of the country; and he maintained that the decision of the country had never been taken on this grave question of voluntary education in the country. In 1870 the Act was not understood by the people outside, and from that time to the present it had been changing from its original intention to its present form in such a manner that he held that the people of the country did not now understand it. The Act had never had the sanction of the great body of the people of the country. It might be that the result of such an inquiry might be entirely against the voluntary schools. If inquiry were held, and proper examination were made into the subject, he admitted that they would have to abide by the result; but there was one thing they were not prepared to abide by—they were not prepared to abide by the present system without some examination of it being made to see what changes were necessary. It would be all the better for those who were so strongly in favour of the present system under the school boards—which he (Mr. Molloy), whether rightly or wrongly, called the non-examination system—that such an examination should take place, as it would strengthen their hands in the future. The Religionists were willing to abide by the examination. All sides, he believed, were willing that this Royal Commission should be appointed, and he made this appeal to the Government strengthened by high authority, for even the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) had assented to the proposal.

Mr. MUNDELLA begged the hon. Member's pardon. He had certainly not assented to the proposal; but, on the contrary, had looked upon the proposal with disfavour, and had expressed his objection.

Mr. MOLLOY said, that he had understood the right hon. Gentleman to assent to the proposal in his opening observations, and he must confess it had astonished him very much. Of course, the right hon. Gentleman would oppose such inquiry; he was afraid of it.

Mr. MUNDELLA: No, no.

Mr. MOLLOY: Yes; the right hon. Gentleman was afraid of the subject being examined by a Royal Commission, because he knew that two-thirds of the people of the country were against the gradual extinction of the Voluntary system—they were not opposed to the

School Board system, but were opposed to the extinction of their own system, which, at great cost and under great difficulty, they were still keeping up in the country. Notwithstanding anything the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) might say, he (Mr. Molloy) would earnestly urge on the Government to adopt the course he proposed. What was the system the right hon. Gentleman was in favour of? Did the Committee wish to understand it? The mere statement of it would be sufficient to give the Committee to understand the surprise he had felt when he had thought the right hon. Gentleman had been willing to assent to the appointment of a Royal Commission. Let hon. Members read the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), delivered at Birmingham on the 15th of January, 1883—at a meeting at which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield was present. They would find in that speech a clear indication of the tone of mind of the right hon. Gentleman the late Vice President of the Council and of the late President of the Board of Trade—their tone of mind with regard to the system of education which had grown up under their thumbs in the country. The system was a copy of that which existed in France — he would quote two or three words from the speech to which he referred as an illustration. The right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade had said—

> "It is interesting to observe what direction public opinion is taking. Mr. Mundella has spoken of the gigantic efforts which are being made in France in order to further national education in that country. The present position of this question owes much to that great Republican who is just dead, the premature termination of whose illustrious career is a loss, not to France only, but to the Liberal cause throughout the world. But, in France, M. Gambetta made it a chief point in his policy to draw a sharp line of distinction between the Church and all matters of education, and it is in that direction, I do not hesitate to say, that the thoughts of men and the acts of legislators are constantly tending."

Here they had, then, a tendency on the question of copying what had happened in France. Let them consider for a moment what this system was which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) and his Colleague so much admired and so much desired to introduce into this country. Well, it might be summed up in the words of one thoroughly well acquainted with the matter, and which they could all indorse, for they were equally well acquainted with it. This was the policy of the French statesmen, whose policy some of our own leading politicians were so anxious to copy—

> "The abolition of chaplains in the Army; the abolition of the judicial oath"—

and they had heard something about the Oath here in the House of Commons only the other day—

> "the abolition of the annals of religion from schools; attacks on grants for public worship;"

and so on. That was the French system under M. Gambetta, and which, as he (Mr. Molloy) had said, was to be introduced under the direction of those who, like the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella), said they would not consent to any examination into this matter by a Royal Commission. M. Jules Simon, speaking on this very system he (Mr. Molloy) had described, and which was to be copied in this country, had said—

> "The Atheists make the law; this is pushing the respect for minorities a little too far."

Well, he did not want to go into a discussion of those matters, although they were of vast importance, and were well worth consideration. All he had wished to do had been to give just the headings of their objections. He admitted that people who took an opposite view to them—that was to say, to himself and his Friends—had as much right to their opinions as he had to his; but he desired to show the divergence of opinion between them. He spoke of the divergence of opinion amongst the public, for they each spoke for their own section of the public. He had pointed out that the whole elementary system of education in the country had been made piecemeal—that it was disjointed from beginning to end. He had pointed out the increase in the rates, an increase which many said was undue, unfair, and extravagant to the last degree; and he had pointed out that the calls were going on increasing, and that no one would say whether this time two years the rate would not be 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound. That, if it occurred, might be the best thing that could happen to the country, or it might be the worst—he would not pretend to say which; but great dissatisfaction was growing up, on the ground of the increase of this rate, amongst the people who had to pay it—not amongst those who had the management of it, but amongst those out of whose pockets it was taken. He had pointed out, also, that this new question of the opening free of the board schools, under the Motion of Miss Helen Taylor, which was so nearly carried by the London School Board the other day, and which was to come before hon. Members in the form of a Petition to the House, was opening up a new channel, not only of discontent, but also of danger of the pauperization of education amongst a class that were quite able to pay for it—he meant the small tradesmen. He had pointed out, also, the great injustice which this gratuitous education would inflict upon the voluntary schools. In point of fact, he might take every point of the educational system of the country, and show how much discontent existed on the one side or the other; and he contended that in order to put an end to this discontent, and to obtain a settlement of the question—which it was admitted was the most important question which could occupy the attention of the House, not only from his point of view, as he had already stated, but from the point of view in which many would agree with him, that in the board schools, as at present conducted, religious teaching was a sham, and meant nothing more nor less than the extinction of Christianity in England—in order to obtain a settlement of the question, an inquiry should be instituted. The phrase he used in regard to the result of the Board system of education was a strong one, no doubt, and he would not adopt it unless he felt bound in duty and conscience to do so. If they took the children who had been educated in the board schools, he freely admitted that their proficiency in secular subjects was very high; but in regard to religious instruction, if hon. Gentlemen followed them, as they had been followed by those whose duty it was to examine into this question, they would find that the state of mind of nine-tenths of them was a state of mind represented by an absence of religious feeling. He did not mean that their state of mind was an absence of morality or an absence of honesty, but an utter absence of religious feeling and liberality of thought on questions of morality that would astound the House if it were to go into the subject and study it as it ought to study it. That was a broad statement, but it was one he was prepared to stand by. Given 10 years longer of the present board system in this country, and the voluntary schools would loose every chance of continuance. It would mean the extinction of the voluntary schools by the board schools of the country. But the country would not have that. The late Government might say—"You have power over the rates; we will have no examination." But, whether they wanted an examination or not, that examination should take place. The discontent was so great, and was increasing so much from day to day, that those in authority would not be able to withstand it. He saw the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. E. Stanhope) back in his place, so he would discontinue. He had made his remarks in good faith; but he did beseech the Government to use the power they now had in their hands to have a thorough examination made into the whole system of elementary education in the country—not for the purpose of carrying out the views of himself, or any other individual or section, but in order that they might understand what the state of things was, which was a thing they did not clearly know at present. He asked the Government to do that in all sincerity; and he declared that if they did not now use the power which had been placed in their hands somewhat unexpectedly, and use it in the direction he had pointed out, honestly and fairly, they would, he thought, be guilty of a great dereliction of duty, and of something far worse—that was to say, of an act of cowardice in connection with a matter of the greatest and most vital importance.

Mr. MUNDELLA asked the permission of the Committee to make a short explanation. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had imputed to him that he was in favour of the French system under M. Gambetta. Now, he begged to say that he had never expressed the least sympathy with such a system, and that he had always expressed himself thoroughly hostile to it—that was, so far as it affected the exclusion of all religious teaching from the country. He had always been opposed to that system, and he hoped he always should be.

MR. RANKIN said, he did not rise to continue the discussion on the relative merits of board and voluntary schools, although he might be allowed to give his opinion, in passing, that as far as rural districts were concerned, the more board schools were kept out, and voluntary schools encouraged, the better it was for all classes. But he merely rose to throw out two suggestions—one, with regard to industrial or technical education. His suggestion was that a great many more subjects might be introduced into the category of extra subjects, and that it should be within the power of managers of schools to take any of those subjects which they thought fit as extra subjects. For instance, gardening, basket-making, and shoemaking might be very advantageously included in the list of extra subjects as suitable for boys. Amongst the subjects suitable for girls, cooking might with advantage be included. If those subjects were taken as extra subjects in lieu very often of grammar and geometry—not that he undervalued grammar or geometry—he thought the alteration would prove very valuable to the ordinary children of their rural elementary schools. He hoped his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) would consider whether that might not be done, to some little extent, at all events. No new agency need be brought into play; it would be left to the managers themselves to devise means for the introduction of the extra subjects; and all the Government would have to do would be to cause an inspection to ascertain whether the school was, in respect of the subject, worthy of a grant. Cooking, he looked upon as one of the most important subjects which could be taught the rural poor, who, for the most part, were lamentably deficient in that useful art. He thought that a better knowledge of gardening combined with a better knowledge on the wife's part of how to cook the products of a garden, would go a long way towards the amelioration of the condition of their people. The other point he wished to urge on the attention of the right hon. Gentleman was the method of stimulating what was sometimes called higher education. He had been an Examiner under the Diocesan Board for a great many years, and his experience had convinced him that, upon the whole, the education of their rural poor was about as high as was necessary for their ordinary walk in life. Occasionally, however, one came across clever children who were able to attain a much higher standard of efficiency than their brethren, and if for those children a system of Scholarships for some of the higher schools could be established, the difficulties of the case might be met. He did not think it was possible to screw up the education of the masses of the people to a higher point than it had at present attained, nor did he think it would be altogether wise to have the people educated in a higher degree, having regard to their walk of life. When a clever boy or girl came to the front, it would be a matter of great kindness to them if they could obtain some Scholarship which would enable them to go to a school of higher education, and, if clever enough, to pass on to the highest rank of Scholarship in the country. What he had stated had been carried out to a large extent in Liverpool by voluntary agency, and he thought it might with advantage be drafted on to their system of elementary training. He agreed with a good deal that had fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oldham (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) with regard to the autocratic powers which Inspectors very often took upon themselves. More should be left to the genius of their school managers. He would not detain the Committee further than to express the hope that the right hon. Gentleman would turn his attention to the two suggestions he had made.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £311,573, to complete the sum for the Science and Art Department.

(3.) £280,174, to complete the sum for Public Education (Scotland).

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he might, perhaps, be permitted to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) on the very clear and able statement he had made to the Committee with regard to the progress of education in Scotland, and he might also congratulate the Committee and Scotland on the very satisfactory statement it had been in the power of the right hon. Gentleman to make. They had been told that the progress made in Scotland for many years had not ceased. This year, in spite of very great depression in agriculture, in trade, in commerce, and in manufactures, they were able to record a very sensible increase both in numbers and in the quality of the education imparted to the children of Scotland. There were, however, one or two points which he would like to deal with very briefly. In the first place, they had again in Scotland to contend with an evil which had existed almost from the very first—an evil which paralyzed, to a great extent, all the the best-intentioned efforts of the school boards in that country—he meant the evil of irregular attendance. He understood that of late there had been an improvement in the attendance; but the improvement was very slight, and the necessity for dealing with the evil still continued to be as urgent as it was before. He impressed on the Department very strongly the necessity of urging school boards to use every effort in their power to deal with the matter. He was not one of those who thought it would be possible to do away altogether with irregular attendance. There were always causes—illness, epidemics, and the like—which would make a sort of normal irregular attendance; but, apart from those causes, there was in Scotland an amount of irregular attendance which might and ought to be prevented. There was another point to which he wished to ask the attention of the right hon. Gentleman, though he was aware that, in regard to it, he held opinions adverse to those of the Department—it was the question of the attendance of infants at the board schools. He was quite prepared to admit that in large towns, where the schools were situated at no great distance from the homes of the parents, and where those homes were on sanitary grounds very imperfect, it might be of the greatest possible advantage to the children, both physically, morally, and intellectually, to be put to school at a very early period; but when they had to deal, as they had to deal in Scotland, with very many rural parishes in which children resided considerable distances from school, it would be a great pity if too strict a line of compulsory attendance, or of attendance at all, were to be drawn in the case of mere infants. He was inclined to believe that one of the chief reasons why in Scotland they had been free from the evils of over-pressure was that hitherto they had not insisted upon very young children being brought under the operation of the Education Acts. He would not do much more than mention the question of over-pressure, because it had been so often before the Committee. He had been Chairman of several school boards in Scotland, and he had looked into the question with care both from a theoretical and a practical point of view. He was satisfied from the evidence before him that while in England cases of over-pressure did exist, in Scotland they existed only to the number that would be found in every country where they had to deal with 500,000 children of various stages of intellectual capacity. He thought one other reason of the absence of over-pressure in Scotland besides that he had already alleged—namely, that they had not insisted so much upon infants being unduly pressed at a very early age—was that they taught a much greater variety of subjects than was taught in the board schools in England. But he entirely agreed with what had been said by several hon. Members who had addressed the Committee as to the necessity for guarding very carefully against over-pressure in the case of the teachers in the board schools. He was aware of cases of that kind. He believed that the real remedy for over-pressure in the teaching staff was for the School Boards to see that they had a sufficiently large staff, and that they had teachers who were thoroughly trained to their work. He could not help alluding to one matter which had attracted and was attracting very growing attention in Scotland in connection with education. There was a feeling, and he thought there were good grounds for it, that it was absolutely necessary to separate the two Departments in London. He was sure it was not beyond the scope of the knowledge of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. E. Stanhope) that some such demand had been made, and the ground on which the demand had been made was that in Scotland the conditions of education differed not only in degree, but in kind from the conditions which prevailed in England, and that it was difficult to manage satisfactorily the education of two countries, the conditions of which differed in essential particulars. Now, in the first place, they had in Scotland a system of education which was not purely elementary—the State-aided system was not purely elementary as it was in England; and, in the second place, they had not to contend with what in England was called the voluntary system. They had no parish or educational unit in Scotland in which there was not a school board, and in consequence of that some of the adverse conditions which affected education in England were fortunately absent in Scotland. And, in the third place, they had in Scotland in educational matters a freedom from sectarian questions which he ventured to think was greatly to the advantage of education, and it was very necessary that in whatever changes might take place in the Department this important feature should not be lost sight of. He would not dwell on the point, because he understood from what had occurred in "another place" the House would before long have an opportunity of discussing it; he only mentioned it here for the purpose of directing attention to its importance. Now, he thought one result of the mingling of the two educational systems in one Department was practical inconvenience, and that practical inconvenience had been shown in a very marked manner of late. The Education Department issued a Minute in June last dealing with the important subjects of drawing and cookery. With the teaching of those subjects he was entirely in sympathy, and he believed it was intended that the provision made in the Minute should apply to Scotland. In consequence of the mingling of the two Departments he understood it was quite impossible that the Minute could apply to Scotland. If that was so—he hoped it was not—it would show more than anything else the necessity he had been urging upon the Committee of having the Departments separated. Now, there was one other suggestion he wished to make to the Department in consequence of what took place principally at the last triennial election of school boards in Scotland. It would be within the knowledge of the Committee that Questions had been asked in reference to the proceedings at those elections. Without going into the details of any particular cases, he thought it would be very desirable if Parliament could see its way to extend to school board elections in Scotland all or at least some of the provisions of the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act. There was only one other matter to which he should like to draw attention. He heard with the greatest satisfaction what was said by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) with regard to the inspection of higher class schools in Scotland. Last month the Scotch Education Department issued a very important Circular on the subject. What the Department expected to obtain was a trustworthy estimate of the position and resources of higher education in Scotland, in order to enable them to form an opinion as to how far the functions of each educational institution, whether elementary schools, higher schools, or Universities, could be dealt with. The Minute was a most important one, one from which he expected the most satisfactory results. He was not going to give any opinion on the method proposed by the right hon. Gentleman for the promotion of higher education, because he had not had the time to consider fully how it would work. He might say, however, that the aid proposed to be given appeared to him to be very inadequate. He hoped that, before the scheme was brought into operation, the Department would take an opportunity of fully considering what its results were likely to be. He was sure the object the right hon. Gentleman had in view was one in the highest degree laudable. What the right hon. Gentleman intended to do would have an important bearing on the education of the people of Scotland; but he (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) was not altogether satisfied with the method by which it was proposed to attain the end in view. He did not wish to take up the time of the Committee by referring at any length to the question of education in the Highlands, because there were other Members more intimately acquainted with the Highlands than he, who were better able to deal with the subject. As far as he had been able to learn from the Report to which the right hon. Gentleman had alluded, the proposals there made, or something akin to them, were absolutely necessary if the people of the Highlands were to derive the advantages from education which were derived in other parts of the country.

Dr. CAMERON called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) to the puzzling nature of some of the questions put in examinations to young children. He understood that, in the examination of Scotch schools, questions of compound proportion were put to the children, while such questions were omitted in the examination of English schools. He had had occasion to ask in the House Questions regarding the difficult nature of a sum of compound proportion which had been set children of 12 years of age. He was answered by the right hon. Gentleman's Predecessor (Mr. Mundella) that the sum had actually been put to children of the 6th Standard; and he was subsequently informed that it was put to the students in the Training College, and that only five out of 40 succeeded in solving it. Frequent complaints had been made that Inspectors indulged in very extraordinary and puzzling questions; and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) stated that Instructions had been issued to the effect that that style of questions was to be avoided. In his reply, however, the right hon. Gentleman admitted that the very question to which he (Dr. Cameron) referred had been put to children months after the Instructions on the subject were issued. There was another point to which he should like to call attention, although it did not exclusively relate to Scotland—he meant the system of physical training. In every country in the world except this a certain amount of physical training was recommended and encouraged by the State in the case of children educated in public schools. To find exactly what he referred to, they had only to go out of the Department presided over by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. E. Stanhope). One would hardly expect that the most perfect example of schools in which physical training was encouraged was to be found under the Local Government Board and Poor Law Guardians; but such was the case. The other day he visited the Surrey District School, near Sydenham. The school was presided over by a very able gentleman, a Mr. Marston, who had adopted the system of physical education, and who had succeeded in imbuing with his views the Guardians who constituted the District Board. In that school some of the most wretched children of the Metropolis were received. There were some 800 of the pauper children of a population of 500,000, and they were placed in the school from the age of three. In the ordinary population of that age the mortality would be, he supposed, about 10 per 1,000 per annum; but in this school the mortality was only four per 1,000 per annum. The children were kept occupied; their tendency to vice was kept in check by the constancy with which they were exercised. Boys and girls alike were trained in physical exercises. The boys devoted a certain time each day to the gymnasium; they were trained to swim, and the result was that out of these wretched materials fine stalwart youngsters were turned out. They were trained industrially, and when between 14 and 15 they were sent forth into the world able to earn from 10*s.* to 15*s.* a-week. He thought that was a very satisfactory result. Of course, industrial training was altogether outside the scope of the right hon. Gentleman's functions. But in connection with the primary schools, in many countries—in France, in many parts of Germany, and notably in Sweden—a system of physical training, by means of what were known as free extension exercises, was given with the most beneficial result. The system of physical training was applied not only to muscular development, but to the improvement of the eye-sight. In Germany a very great deal of damage had been done to the eye-sight to the children by their being obliged to study under improper conditions; and he was afraid that in this country a similar result was being brought about in the spread of popular education. He was perfectly certain that if the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) would pay a visit to a few of the schools under the Local Government Board, he would see that even from their pauper system were to be derived lessons which he might with great advantage apply to the public schools of the country.

Mr. WEBSTER said, that when the Estimates for Scotch Education were before the House last year the present system of providing for the training of teachers by denominational schools or colleges was considered, and he then urged that the present system should be abandoned. Since then this subject had come up more seriously, and had attracted the attention of influential bodies in Scotland. The Educational Institute, in several of its branches, had shown dislike of the present system, and there was a general opinion that denominational institutions were ineffective, as well as otherwise objectionable. The Educational Institute memorialized the Universities, which were really national institutions, that they should undertake the duty of educating the teachers, and prevent education being denationalized by sectarian schools, which were under the influence of one or other of the Churches of Scotland. He did not know what view the other Universities had taken; but the University of Aberdeen looked upon the proposal favourably. In Edinburgh and St. Andrew's there were already Professors of Education, who, he had no doubt, were ready to discharge the duties of the Normal Colleges. With regard to Aberdeen and Glasgow the case was different. He had placed in the hands of the Minister of Education copies of Memorials which the University of Aberdeen, who had taken up the subject, had presented to the Scotch Committee of Privy Council on Education last year and this year. The University had expressed their wish that the charge of training teachers should be transferred from the present Training Colleges to the Universities. The University authorities would, upon the transfer to them of a proportion of the grant of £26,000 now paid to the Denominational Colleges, provide for the appointment of a Professor of Education, so as to be enabled to pass students through a special curriculum equal to that of the Normal Colleges, as well as maintain practical model schools and other appliances which might be necessary for that important purpose. He wished to bring this matter before the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. E. Stanhope). He wished to know whether this question had engaged the attention of the right hon. Gentleman, or whether it would do so now? It was a most important movement, and the feeling in Scotland was increasing in strength against the denominational system, and more especially against the training of teachers under denominational influences. He could answer for the feeling, both of laymen and Churchmen, being increasingly roused against it; and since a proposal had been made by one of the Universities that this duty should be performed by national institutions, free from sectarianism, he could hardly doubt that it ought to engage the consideration of the Government.

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. STANHOPE) said, that if the Committee would allow him he should like to express his thanks generally to hon. Gentlemen for their exceedingly kind references to himself, and for their various suggestions for the improvement of the Code, and in other respects for the improvement of education in England and Scotland. Hon. Gentlemen had coupled with their suggestions the very kind proposal that he should not answer the questions raised, but should take the opportunity which would be afforded him during the Recess of devoting attention to them. That proposal he should accept, and it was not, therefore, his intention to-day to answer the questions which had been addressed to him. There were only one or two points as to which he thought he ought to give an answer. First of all, there was the point raised by the hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick). The hon. Gentleman had mentioned some Minutes which had been recently issued. Well, those Minutes were issued before he (Mr. E. Stanhope) had anything to do with the Education Department. His attention had been drawn to them, however, and he had examined the matter. He had found that the Minutes were issued with the best possible intention —namely, with the intention of explaining that no difference would be made between the treatment of England and Scotland. Those Minutes were now on the Table, and would soon come into force; but he had come to the conclusion that for the future separate Minutes ought to be issued for the two countries. Then the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, the Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster), had asked him about the position of Aberdeen University, and had called his attention to certain Memorials that the Universities had presented to the Education Department in regard to the difficulty. That subject would engage his attention. He believed the difficulty had arisen from the fact that at Aberdeen there was no male Training College. There was a female Training College, but no College for males, though the University was especially connected with males. Certain suggestions had been brought before the Education Department; and he might say, speaking generally, that the Education Department was favourable to the proposal of the Aberdeen University. Communications were going on, and the Department was waiting at the present moment for financial proposals, which would have to be considered as to details. As soon as those details were obtained, the Department would be able to consider the suggestions of the Aberdeen University and the hon. Gentleman, and to come to a conclusion which, he hoped, would be satisfactory to the University of Aberdeen. He did not know that there was any point on which it was necessary for him to further detain the Committee.

Sir LYON PLAYFAIR said, the Committee was in a peculiar position in passing a Vote of £500,000 without knowing who the Minister would be who was to administer it. If they knew who was to be the responsible Minister to administer the £500,000 he should be exceedingly glad, and so would the people of Scotland. If the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope) were to be the responsible Minister he should be satisfied, and would have confidence that the Education Code would be administered wisely and well. He was not allowed to discuss debates which had taken place "elsewhere;" but he might observe that in "another place" it had been decided to cut the right hon. Gentleman in two—to cut Scotch education off from his official care—and that some Minister, they did not know who, was to replace him in regard to the charge of these Votes. It was a really unsatisfactory thing that they were asked to pass this Vote without knowing in the least degree who was to administer it—whether it was to be administered by a man of large experience in such matters, or whether it was to be relegated to a new Minister, a man of no experience in educational matters. He did not intend to propose the adjournment of this Vote, and should reserve any further observations he had to make either to the Report stage, or until the proposal was made to them to do away with the present Minister now responsible for Scotch Education in that House and have the Vote administered by someone else. That proposal was one which, when it came before them, must receive great attention. He only mentioned the matter now in order to protest against this large Vote being asked for without their knowing who was to administer it.

Vote *agreed to.*

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(4.) £9,530, to complete the sum for the Wreck Commission.

(5.) £366,087, to complete the sum for County Courts.

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £3,442, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Land Registry."

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that in various Sessions of Parliament he had troubled the House to go to a division on this Vote—as he intended to do that evening. The sense of the Committee in favour of economy was shown to be increasing year after year, because the majority against his Motion for the reduction of the Vote had been steadily decreasing, until last year he was only beaten by nine votes; and, inasmuch as last Session he had the pleasure of receiving the support of the hon. Baronet who was now Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), he felt confident that this evening he should accomplish the distinction of really saving £2,000 of public expenditure, because, though the hon. Baronet himself might be in a position that would not enable him to give his support to the Motion, yet he (Mr. Arnold) felt quite confident that every other Conservative Member present would remember that the hon. Baronet was no more responsible for the Estimate presented to the Committee than he was himself, and would be able to follow the good example of the hon. Baronet last year when he joined him

(Mr. Arnold) in protesting against the Vote. It was not necessary to go into the history of this unhappy Office. Hon. Gentlemen were aware that the Office of Land Registry was established to carry out the Land Transfer Act of Lord Westbury and the Act of Lord Cairns, so that it had the full sanction of both sides of the House, and hon. Gentlemen could look on the failure which had been experienced with impartial eyes. Many hon. Members were aware that the business of this Office had now dwindled down to a degree at which it had almost vanished. Within the past two half-years the number of new estates registered in this Office had been six—two in one half and four in the other; so that this fact came out—that the tax-payers of this country had to pay £1,000 for each new estate registered in this Office. Hon. Members would see at once what a scandalous, extravagant, and wasteful expenditure of money there was in this Department. What, then, should be done? Here was a Registrar receiving £2,500 a-year; an Assistant receiving £1,500; a Chief Clerk receiving £400; and other clerks getting £350, and so on; while it was a matter of notoriety that those gentlemen had nothing whatever to do. Then came the question why had not the Treasury—not this year, but years ago—dealt with this scandal? He (Mr. Arnold) did not think it passed the ability of the Government to find occupation for those gentlemen in some other quarter; but if that were not done he would say in the words of the hon. Baronet last year, when he was supporting the Motion so eloquently—"Deal with one or two of these gentlemen by superannuation at once." Let them do that, and terminate some of the expense against which he was complaining that night. He could not do better than make a further quotation from the words the hon. Baronet used last Session; and he trusted they would have an effect, not, perhaps, on the hon. Baronet's own mind, but, at all events, on the mind of every other Member of the Conservative Party now present. Last Session the hon. Baronet used these words—

> "He hoped that the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) was going to remain faithful to the opposition to this Vote,"

that was to say, last Session he hoped the hon. Member for Cambridge would give him (Mr. Arnold) his support, "because" he went on to explain—

> "When hon. Members crossed the floor of the House they often gave up the views they had maintained so stoutly in Opposition."

And then the hon. Baronet, after warning hon. Gentlemen not to forget their economic ideas when they crossed the floor of the House, concluded with these words—and he (Mr. Arnold) could not do better than conclude his observations with them that evening—

> "And now the Committee were asked again to vote in support of this Office, which had been proved to be practically useless. It could hardly be contended," said the hon. Baronet, "that, at all events, some considerable reduction might not be made in it, and he should support the proposed reduction" moved by the hon. Member for Salford "as a protest against this continued waste of money."—(3 *Hansard*, [291] 387-8.)

With those words he would conclude his observations, and he begged to move the reduction which stood in his name on the Paper.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum not exceeding £1,442, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Land Registry."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, it was not always satisfactory to have a former speech quoted, and words spoken on one side of the House, when one had crossed over to the other side; but he might frankly state at once to the Committee that he had in no way changed his view with respect to this Office. With regard to his (Sir Henry Holland's) action that night, the hon. Member had admitted that these were not the Estimates of the present Government, and that he could not expect to receive support from that Government for his Motion at this time. It was not quite the case, as the hon. Gentleman had stated, that no work at all was done by this Office, although he confessed he was of opinion, with the hon. Member, that not enough was done to justify the large expenditure upon the Office. He found, however, from a Table he had been furnished with, that six new estates had been placed on the Register for the year; 244 had been placed on it on transfer or will;

195 had been placed on it by way of mortgage or charge; there had been 155 dealings with estates on the Register, and there had been 15 removals of estates, or parts of estates, from the Register. Now, although that was not a large amount of work done in the year, still it showed that the statement of the hon. Gentleman that no work was done was hardly justified. There were three questions which could be put as to the course to be adopted with this Office—first, whether the work of it could be developed; secondly, whether the staff could be reduced; and, thirdly, whether it should be abolished. Opinions differed in regard to which course it would be best to follow; but there could be no doubt that legislation would be necessary whatever plan were adopted. It had been contended that the Office could be developed, and different modes of doing that had been suggested. It had been proposed that an Act should be passed based upon Sir Robert Torrens's Act, which had worked well in the Colonies, to make the registration compulsory. At present it was only permissive. He was not sure, however, whether that proposal would meet with the approval of the House. Last year the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) had been inclined to think that the House would be in favour of such a view, if proper safeguards were adopted so as to make it fair to all parties. He saw nothing in the working of the Act in the Colonies which should prevent it from being made compulsory. Then the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) had said that the Office should be made an Office for registering deeds, and not titles. Measures had been introduced more than once for the purpose of effecting that object, but they had failed; and it would, in any case, be impossible to propose legislation of that kind this Session. There had been an attempt made to develop the work of the Office by putting under it the Middlesex registration, and a Bill had been introduced for that purpose, but had also failed. He must admit that he was not sanguine about the development of the work of the Office. Turning, then, to the second point—namely, the reduction of the Office, he had said that legislation would be necessary to effect a reduction, and he was afraid little would be saved unless the Act was of a very sweeping character. Under any circumstances, some kind of office would have to be kept up, because there would be dealings with estates which had already come under the Office. He would cite a passage from a Memorandum he had received from the head of the Office on this subject. The writer said that—

> "Parliamentary provision would have to be made for titles already registered, now amounting to nearly 3,000, comprising land of very considerable value; and provision would also have to be made in such a case for properly compensating the officers."

The reduction which would be effected in the National Expenditure by the abolition of the Office of Registrar would be very small, as that gentleman was entitled to his Office for life, and, on the abolition of his Office or his retirement, was entitled to two-thirds of his salary. That would only leave £833 per annum to deal with, and, as he had said before, they must keep up the Office for some time at all events; and they could hardly put any gentleman at the head of the Office to deal with so large an amount of property as was there involved at a less salary than that. He was afraid that the reduction in the Office which it would be possible to effect would be very small indeed. Then, the third question was whether the Office could be abolished. No doubt the compensations which would have to be paid—and he had ventured to make some remarks on that head last year—would necessarily be very heavy. The gentleman at the head of the Office had been taken from the Legal Profession. He was a barrister who had to abandon good professional prospects on accepting the office; and if, therefore, his Office was abolished, he would have to receive large compensation. And the same observation, though to a less extent, applied to those working under the Registrar. He had ventured to state these points, because, fully believing that some change should be made in the Office, and admitting that the subject would receive full consideration, still, though he was able last year to vote with the hon. Member (Mr. Arnold) as a kind of protest against the continuance of the Office, it was necessary for him to point out to the Committee that it would be impossible for him to vote for the Motion that night, not because he had changed his views as he had changed side of the House, but because his position was necessarily affected by the fact of his having to bring forward the Estimate. Every Member must vote according to his view of this Office; but, for his own part, he was bound to say he felt a difficulty in dealing with the subject, and it should receive every consideration. He trusted that by those observations he had justified himself in the eyes of the Committee for what might be called a change of position.

MR. GREGORY said, the hon. Baronet was still of the same opinion with regard to this Vote, although he had been constrained by the change which had taken place in his position to alter his intention on the matter. In that he (Mr. Gregory) sympathized with the hon. Member. It was a matter of regret to him that they had any debate this Session on the subject; but he considered it very much due to the neglect of the late Government to deal with it. He had been struggling with this subject for years and years, and had watched the course of legislation upon it. They had had, amongst other measures, from the Conservative Party, three most important measures on the subject of the transfer of land—namely, the Limitation of Actions Act, the Conveyancing Act, and the Settled and Landed Estates Act, and he only wished the late Government had followed those up by some Act which would have regulated the registration of deeds. He had sat with his right hon. and learned Friend the late Judge Advocate (Mr. Osborne Morgan) on the Committee which had investigated the matter very fully, and which had suggested a scheme analogous to the Scotch system for the purpose of registering deeds. He believed that if that scheme had been carried out—and he still hoped it might be—in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, this Office could be utilized, and would be found of great value. He thought, therefore, with this object, that the Office should still be kept alive. He hoped that another Session of Parliament would not be allowed to pass without this matter being dealt with. It was well before the country, and people had now their minds set on the great question of simplifying the titles to land. He was advised that the best course to pursue would be to follow the precedent of last Session. He had had the pleasure of taking part in the consideration of the Yorkshire Registries Act, which had been dealt with with great care and consideration, he hoped that something very useful to the county of Yorkshire would come from it. They had adopted this legislation for the county of York, with a view of its forming a precedent for general legislation on the subject, and he had great hopes that it would work successfully. He trusted that with this legislation before them they might look forward to something in the same direction in the next Session of Parliament.

MR. CROPPER said, he should be glad to vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) for the abolition of this Office, but that he thought it would only lead to the multiplication of the number of officers, and that in the course of six months they would be called upon by the hon. Member, or someone else, to create a new Registry Office to carry out some fresh idea, and to give them a number of new officials who, in course of time, would require to be paid pensions. There was great difficulty in the matter of the registration of land, as the following incident would show. Ten years ago he remembered asking a solicitor whether it would not be a good thing to put an estate he was buying through the Office now under discussion, in order to obtain a more perfect title. The solicitor laughed at him, and asked him what was the use of doing that at great expenditure of money, when, in the course of 20 years or so, time and Parliament would have done it for him. What was wanted was a compulsory system much less expensive than the present, which would not frighten buyers and deter solicitors from carrying out what he believed to be the will of the nation. At the present time he considered it a matter of little concern how hon. Members voted, because they, of course, knew that there would be no change made in the Office. It would be better for the hon. Member (Mr. Arnold), instead of urging the abolition of the Office, to endeavour to make it useful.

MR. SALT said, there was another course which might be pursued, and it had the advantage of being a practical one. If his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) would assure the Committee that in case of any vacancies they should not be filled up unless it was absolutely necessary, that would be a practicable way of meeting the case. Probably the Department would allow these vacancies to lapse, and some arrangement made to limit the number of officials in that way until more could be done.

Mr. WARTON said, he had one short practical suggestion to make. Work might be found for the clerks in the Office for many years to come in connection with the alterations to be introduced into the Law of Copyhold.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) could only be used by transferring the clerks from Lincoln's Inn to St. James's Square. He (Mr. Arnold) had not referred to the question of the registration of land, because that was not connected with the proposition he now made to the Committee. The Motion was purely one of economy, and he was dealing with the saving of public money, and not with the registration of landed property. The Secretary to the Treasury knew as well as he did that the development of this Office by the officer now at the head of it was an impossibility and an absurdity. Everyone who knew that gentleman knew that that was out of the question altogether; and, therefore, the development of the Office in its present condition was not to be entertained. The Secretary to the Treasury had spoken of reduction. The reduction of the expenses of the Office was one of the simplest and most practicable things in the world. There was no reason why the Government should not superannuate the Head of the Office, and transfer some of the subordinate officials receiving high salaries to serve Her Majesty in some other capacity. He hoped hon. Members would vote, not as had been suggested by the hon. Member for Kendal (Mr. Cropper) for the abolition of the Office, for that was out of the question, but for the reduction of the Vote. That would show that they had some regard for the interests of the tax-payers.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was one of those who had always been opposed to this Vote from the very first, for, so far as he knew, all those gentlemen had had nothing to do. What he compained of was that the late Home Secretary, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, other hon. and right hon. Gentlemen, and his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), had always invariably opposed this Vote, and yet nothing was done. What he wanted to have was some distinct declaration from the Government. He wished to learn from the Treasury Bench that something would really be done with regard to this Office. It was an absurdity to say that it should go on from year to year with all these complaints against it, and that nothing should be attempted to be done. Surely those gentlemen might be employed in some other way to do work for the country. The Office ought to be abolished. What would be the *modus operandi* to pursue for its abolition he could not say; but it was absurd to have an Office of this kind, which was every year brought under notice and objected to. Yet neither side made any real attempt to remedy such a state of things. He should like to hear from the Home Secretary or from the Attorney General that something would be done, for it was a matter that wanted seeing to. It was not for him to say how it should be dealt with, but dealt with it ought to be in the interests of the general public.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury had admitted that he last year divided against this Vote as a protest against it altogether, and with a view to bring about its reduction. He (Mr. Fowler) would that night follow that admirable example, and would vote against it as a protest which he hoped would be of some avail. He would quote a precedent. It was in regard to the Office of Public Prosecutor. There was a feeling of dissatisfaction with that Office, and a Departmental Committee was appointed and a great reform effected, whereby the expense was materially reduced, and the public dissatisfaction was, as he hoped, being removed. As to the Office now under discussion, he did not hesitate to say that in all the Estimates, from the first page to the last, there was not a more perfect case of a sinecure than the case of the Office for Land Registration, which had £5,000 a-year spent upon it, while the fees received did not amount to more than £800 for work done. The suggestion made by the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) was a fair one; and the Government should give a pledge that in the event of a vacancy occurring they would not fill it up, but give Parliament an opportunity of pronouncing upon the merits of the whole question. He (Mr. Fowler) spoke with great respect of the present Registrar; but he was not going beyond the bounds of propriety when he said that that gentleman should retire upon the pension to which he was justly entitled, and which he had fairly earned in having devoted his time to the service of the country, even though the country had not seen fit to occupy that time. When a man was paid by the Government for his time, the Government should determine how it was to be occupied. When an Office was abolished, everybody who served in it was entitled to compensation, or to be supplied with equivalent work at the same salary. There were, no doubt, plenty of other Departments of work which could be greatly increased, and in which all the staff of this Office could be merged; but he believed that it was useless to hope that any scheme of the registration of titles or deeds would be carried out by this Office. He should divide against the Vote as a protest.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY, in reply to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) that the Government should give an undertaking that no vacancy should be filled up, said, he thought he was justified in undertaking that no vacancy should be filled up; and he could add that he was allowed by his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross) to say that there should be an inquiry, as in the case of the Public Prosecutor, into the Office. The matter would therefore receive careful consideration; and he hoped that by next year he should be able, if he then continued to hold Office, to show some more favourable aspect of the question. He trusted that, under these circumstances, the Committee would vote the sum now asked for.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS) said, he hoped the Committee would not think it necessary to divide, for it was quite clear that the officials in this Office were entitled to their salaries for the present year, at all events. He could not understand how the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) could divide against his own Estimates.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said that, considering that there was some contest across the Table as to who was and who was not responsible for the Vote, he felt that it was absolutely necessary to take a division.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*: — Ayes 32; Noes 75: Majority 43. — (Div. List, No. 226.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(7.) £25,200, Revising Barristers (England).

(8.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £10,320, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Police Courts of London and Sheerness."

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD reminded the Committee that the late Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt) last year informed hon. Members who raised objections that the Vote ought to be supported because there was a London Government Bill somewhere in or about the House. The Committee were aware that not only had that London Government Bill entirely disappeared, but the Government who proposed it had also disappeared from public view; and therefore the reason which led the late Home Secretary to urge the Committee not to disagree with the Vote no longer had an existence. The Committee were, of course, well aware that in all the large towns throughout England—Manchester, Liverpool, and the other great towns—the cost of the administration of justice in the Police Courts was borne by the local rates. There might be something to be said for charging the cost of the Royal Parks upon the taxpayers at large; but there was no hon. Member—certainly not a Member of the straightforward character of the Secretary to the Treasury—who would get up and justify the imposition upon the taxpayers of the country at large of the cost of the Police Courts at London and Sheerness. The visitors who came up to London from the country were not of the criminal population, and therefore there was no reason why the country at large should bear this purely local burden. When the late Home Secretary objected last year to the Motion of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), he said that if the reduction of the Vote were carried the consequence would be that there would be no Police Courts for London and Sheerness; but that was not quite accurate, because the salaries of the police magistrates were charged on the Consolidated Fund; and if the Committee were to reject this Vote, as he hoped they would, the result would not be that the magistrates would be left without their salaries. No hon. Member, therefore, could raise any objection on that ground. It was obvious that the Police Courts of London should be maintained by the rates of London, as was the case in all the other large towns; and he hoped he should have a large measure of support in voting for the rejection of this charge.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 91; Noes 24: Majority 67. — (Div. List, No. 227.)

(9.) £294,840, to complete the sum for the Metropolitan Police.

(10.) £28,000, to complete the sum for Special Police.

(11.) £988,343, to complete the sum for Police — Counties and Boroughs (Great Britain).

(12.) £271,374, to complete the sum for Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies.

Mr. HIBBERT said, he had to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) a question with regard to this Vote. Could the right hon. Gentleman give the Committee any information as to the number of prisoners in the convict prisons at the present time; whether the number of convicts was still decreasing; and whether it was intended to close any of the convict prisons? He understood that it was intended to close one convict prison in the Metropolis. He would also ask the right hon. Gentleman if he could give any information as to the amount of earnings paid to the convicts?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Sir R. Assheton Cross) said, he was happy to state that the decrease in the number of prisoners in the convict prisons continued. He held a strong opinion that in many cases the sentences were open to consideration, and he had been in communication with some of the Judges with respect to them. He hoped shortly to be able to give some further information on that point. It was true that it was in contemplation to close one of the convict prisons in the Metropolis. He was not in a position to give the exact figures; but he was told that when the Report was issued it would be found to be very satisfactory.

Vote *agreed to.*

(13.) £351,930, to complete the sum for Prisons, England.

(14.) £142,915, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

(15.) £20,417, to complete the sum for the Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £39,093, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Lord Advocate's Department, and others, connected with Criminal Proceedings in Scotland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(16.) £48,510, to complete the sum for the Courts of Law and Justice, Scotland.

(17.) £26,472, to complete the sum for the Register House Department, Edinburgh.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he had to make some observations on this Vote with respect to a grievance of some antiquity, which had been brought before the Committee year after year, but with respect to which no redress had been given. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) would, he believed, be acquainted with the case; because, if he was not mistaken, the right hon. Gentleman had instituted an inquiry into it under a former Government. There were three classes of clerks—first, second, and third. With respect to the first class, he had nothing to say; but the clerks of the third class contended that, although they did the same work as those in the second class, yet they did not receive the same amount of remuneration. He did not want to detain the Committee at length at that hour by entering into the details of the grievance of those public servants. But he repeated that the grievance complained of was one that had gone on for many years unredressed. All that those clerks contended for at present and all they had contended for during the last four years was that an inquiry should be instituted into their grievance in order that it might be seen whether they actually did the same class of work as the clerks above them, who were very much better rewarded. There was a Minute several times moved for on this subject, but it had never been obtained. His hon. Friend the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) called attention to the matter on the 7th of August, 1882; and in doing so he was supported, amongst others, by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), who said he was pleased to support the hon. Member for Kilmarnock in his Motion for a Committee of Inquiry into the grievances of those clerks; he said that he thought the Secretary to the Treasury could not be averse to the inquiry; that of course it was possible that if inquiry was made it might turn out that there were too many clerks in the Office. Therefore, he hoped that a change of Government having recently taken place the grievance of this deserving body of public servants might now receive some attention; and as the hon. Gentleman who was responsible for the Vote had advocated publicly in that House an inquiry into their grievance he trusted that during the Recess some steps might be taken to carry out the object in view.

THE LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. DALRYMPLE) said, he had no intention to depart from what he had said upon former occasions on this subject. He had always taken a warm interest in the case put forward by the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan); and the Office itself was one which claimed his attention on account of the enormous fees which passed through it, and from which it seemed to him they in Scotland derived very little benefit. It was, however, quite plain that nothing could be done in the matter so far as the present Estimate was concerned; but he thought that in the months following something might be done in the direction of obtaining the inquiry which the hon. Member for Edinburgh wanted, and to that end he could assure the hon. Member that no effort on his part should be wanting. That was all he was able to say on the present occasion.

Vote *agreed to.*

(18.) £77,501, to complete the sum for Prisons, Scotland.

CLASS VI. — NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(19.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £230,710, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury."

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he was sorry that the zig-zag manner in which the Government had taken the Votes that evening compelled him to take up the time of the Committee at that late hour by making some observations on this very important Vote. They had had a debate last night upon the question of superannuation and retired pay; and he had now to call the attention of the Committee to the fact that this Vote showed a net increase of £13,882 over the amount in the previous year. He intended to move a reduction of the Vote. He entreated hon. Members to consider that this was a Vote which, of all others, was increasing rapidly every year, and that it was one by which they could best bring about a reduction in the expenditure of the country. In dealing with this Vote there were three considerations to be borne in mind—first, the abolition of offices; secondly, the payment of pensions and superannuation allowances; and, thirdly, the question of age at which the members of the Civil Service were permitted to retire upon the whole or nearly the whole amount of their salaries. In the Public Service there were many sinecures and many offices which might be called semi-sinecures; there were abolished offices, in respect of which compensation was paid; and, lastly, there was a provision for retirement of officials from the Civil Service at the age of 60 with nearly the whole of their salaries. Now, he wished especially to call the attention of the Committee to the fact that, in 20 years, the charge for pensions and retired pay in the Civil Service had risen from £300,000 for the year to £500,000. If that rate of increase was continued the country would soon be paying for superannuation and retired pay in the Civil Service £1,000,000 a-year. That was a very serious matter. The increase was due to three causes—first, to abolition of offices without re-employment of their occupants; secondly, to the terms on which public servants were permitted or were forced to retire from their offices; and, thirdly, to the increased longevity, under the better sanitary conditions of the whole country, which prevailed in the Civil Service. He would take as an example the notorious case of the Bankruptcy Act of 1869. The annual amount of compensation paid in respect of abolished offices in bankruptcy reached in one year the sum of £39,685; and in 10 years—that was to say, from 1872 to 1882-3, the amount paid in respect of bankruptcy alone to retired Civil servants was £329,517. Let them take an individual case of this extravagance. There was one Commissioner of the age of 49, who retired from the Public Service on the full amount of his salary—namely, £2,000 a-year—on account of the abolition of his Office. Take a more humble case. There was a Lord Chancellor's messenger, who had retired on £200 a-year, and who had since 1832 been receiving that provision. This was a form of extravagance against which he desired to protest. It seemed to him that retirement only ought to be allowed conditionally—namely, on the retiring officer joining some other branch of the Public Service. The Earl of Selborne, then Sir Roundell Palmer, when the Bankruptcy Act was under discussion, had said—

> "He protested against the principle of discharging all these officers without exacting from them such services as they still could give."—(3 *Hansard*, [196] 1906.)

And Sir Roundell Palmer went on to say—

> "One way of avoiding a waste of public money in appointing large numbers of officers and then dismissing them with full compensation was by utilizing the officers we had and not discharging them when they were able to perform their duties."—(*Ibid.* 1908.)

Well, he (Mr. Arnold) contended for the establishment of this rule — that when officers were discharged from the Public Service on account of the abolition of their Office they should be as speedily as possible utilized in other Offices. In that way the country would not be burdened by having to pay them a large proportion of their salaries in the form of pensions. And then he thought the Treasury was much too easy in allowing officers to retire from the Public Service with their full salary. He had the case of a gentleman before him who, on grounds of ill-health, retired from the Public Service in 1867 with a pension of £1,261, which he was actually receiving at that moment. Another large cause of increase was what was known to the Treasury as "old age." He would not go back into the past, but would give the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) and the Committee some figures taken from the Estimates of the present year. There was an official in bankruptcy retired during the present year at the age of 61, and he was to receive a pension of £357. There was a Keeper of Prints in the British Museum —a light and easy occupation one would think—who was retired from the Public Service at the age of 64—an age at which it might be supposed a man was most competent to be a Keeper of Prints —with a pension of £500 a-year. Then there was a clerk in the High Court of Justice who had retired during the past 12 months, at the very moderate age of 63, on a pension of £800 a-year. There was the Governor of a prison retired at the age of 60—just the age at which, one would think, a man ought to be appointed Governor of a prison—at a pension of £400 a-year; and, lastly, there was a clerk in the Land Commission, who retired at the age of 60 with a pension of £366 a-year. He was quite aware he might be told that those retirements were due to length of service, and that they were arrangements carried out in accordance with law. He knew that very well. ["Hear, hear!"] The hon. Gentleman the Member for Oldham (Mr. Hibbert), who was more responsible for the Estimates than anyone else, said "Hear, hear!" but those statements were facts. What he (Mr. Arnold) was suggesting was that the time had arrived, owing to increased longevity and the superior health of the people, when the Government ought to consider this question of retirement at the age of 60. It appeared to him a fair matter for consideration. If the question were fairly considered, he believed it would be found that the age of 60 was not an age at which men ought to be retired on full pay from the Public Service. He thought Parliament might, with due regard to the public interest, raise the age at which men could retire from the Civil Service, at least, from 60 to 65. Sir George Lewis, a Predecessor of the Home Secretary, had declared that he had very faint belief indeed in the possibility of a man living to be 100 years old; but now centenarians existed, and there could be no doubt that the duration of life had become much extended. At the age of 60 men were now really in the prime of life for the performance of many important and useful duties. They were reminded by the presence in that House of its most illustrious and distinguished ornament (Mr. Gladstone) that 15 or 16 years older than 60 a man could perform most valuable services to the State. He did not press so much that night the question of age; but he did press on the Committee that this system of retirement was far too laxly administered by the Treasury. For the reasons he had given, and believing, as he did, that the Treasury was not sufficiently strict with regard to the retirement of persons from the Public Service, he thought that those hon. Gentlemen who were disposed to support him in moving a reduction of the Vote by the sum of £10,000 would be doing service to the general interest of the taxpayers and the country. He begged to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £10,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £220,710, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, the hon. Gentleman who had moved the reduction of the Vote had brought before the attention of the Committee three grounds of complaint against the system of pensions and retiring allowances practised, not by any particular Government, but generally by successive Treasuries and Governments. The hon. Gentleman went back to the bankruptcy cases of 1869, for which, certainly, neither the present nor the late Government were responsible. Those cases had excited a great deal of attention at the time, and, owing to the dissatisfaction then felt, a great and decided change had been made in the method of dealing with the question. He had not the slightest hesitation in cordially concurring with the observations of the hon. Gentleman that it was most desirable and most necessary, in the interests of the country, to utilize those officials whose offices were abolished, or who were withdrawn for any other cause. The compensation given was liberal in those cases where the services of the retiring officer were not utilized, and it should always be considered whether the services of such a person could not be availed of in some other branch of the Public Service. This had been done in one case with which he was familiar—namely, the case of Public Prosecutor, whose Office was, as the Committee knew, recently abolished. A County Court Judgeship was offered, he believed, to that gentleman; and if he had accepted it his pension would have ceased *pro tanto*, so long as he held the Judgeship. He (Sir Henry Holland) only mentioned that case to put it against the cases of 1869 referred to by the hon. Member. The hon. Member's second point was that Government officials were forced to retire at the age of 60. The hon. Gentleman had frankly admitted that the present Government were not to blame, and that the late Government were not to blame, so far as this matter of age was concerned, for it was fixed, and Government could not alter it without careful inquiry and, probably, legislation. However, it was decidedly deserving of consideration whether the age should not be raised; but he (Sir Henry Holland) was not prepared to offer an opinion on the subject now. It was rather a curious thing that the hon. Gentleman had gone back for cases upon this point also to the year 1867——

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: I gave the cases from this year's Estimates.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY: Yes; the hon. Member gave some cases of 1867, and then two cases of the present year.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: No; I gave five cases of this year.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY: One was the case of the Governor of a prison. My right hon. Friend the Home Secretary is not able to find that.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: Look in the Estimates.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY: It is not sufficient to state simply the age at which an official is retired without going into the circumstances of the case. Of course, I am not able to say what were the circumstances of the cases the hon. Member referred to. Was one of them the case of Mr. Hayward?

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: I mentioned no names.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY: It was probably to the advantage of the Public Service that the prison Governor the hon. Member refers to should have retired. The hon. Gentleman seems to assume that every man of the age of 60 is in a good state of health.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: The hon. Baronet will excuse me. I said there were two causes of retirement mentioned in the columns of the Return. One is age, and the other ill-health. Wherever ill-health occurs it is always put down in the Return.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY said, he was aware of that. What he was arguing was that it did not follow, because a man was only 60, that he was in a good state of health; and it might be necessary for an official who had reached that age to retire, though he might not be put down as in ill-health, because he might be so much out of sorts as not to be fully up to his work. In such case retirement might be desirable for the efficiency of the Service. He did not suppose that the hon. Member for Salford intended to find fault with the improved sanitary arrangements of the Public Offices, or to the increased longevity in the Public Service, but that he referred to those matters as bearing upon what was in truth the only question to be considered, whether the age of 60 was the proper age for retirement. The question was one, as he had before said, which deserved consideration.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he must say that he did not think the proposal to reduce this Vote could well be supported on the grounds adduced by the hon. Member for Salford; but the question which was raised was well deserving of consideration, and he wondered it had not been brought forward with a great deal of force any time during the past 15 years. It was hardly, he thought, to be met by the reply that the blame, if any, attaching to the administrators of the Public Service could not be imputed to the present Government or to their Predecessors. It was not a question of what particular Government or Ministry was responsible for the state of things. The question was whether some change could not be made in the system which at present obtained. He himself had been retired on the re-organization of a large Public Department, and he therefore had some acquaintance with the circumstances now brought before the Committee; and he must say that, although he participated in the re-organization with satisfaction to himself, he had felt that what was then done in the matter of re-organization in the War Office was little short of a public scandal. A large number of men in the prime of life were retired, not compulsorily, but at their own option—men who were qualified for a number of years to go on giving effective service. A large charge had been thrown on the Exchequer in consequence of that re-organization, just as there had been in connection with the re-organization of the Admiralty. And in the volumes of the Public Accounts which he had seen published since that time he had not found that the country had been the gainer by the large outlay which had been brought about. With regard to the present system, he was informed that a large number of men were to be compulsorily retired at the age of 60. He fancied the hon. Baronet was mistaken when he said that there was a provision under Statute Law for compulsory retirement from the Public Service at the age of 60. He believed a man would be entitled by the rule to retire on attaining that age; but there was no compulsory retirement under Statute, therefore there was no reason why the Treasury should deprive themselves of the services of efficient public servants simply because their certificates of birth showed that they had reached the age of 60. In the India Office, at the present moment, a considerable number of men were being turned out of the Service because they happened to be 60 years of age, though they were, for the most part, able to continue in the Service with advantage to the country. The men so forced out of the Service, when capable and willing to remain at their posts, felt it to be a great grievançe, and no wonder. A man at the age of 60 very often found his expenses as heavy as they had ever been. Many a man at that age had a family that he still had to provide for in part, and to cut down their salaries by one-third inflicted a very great hardship on them, and implanted in them a strong sense of injustice—a sense of injustice which spread throughout the Service, and the indirect effect of which it was difficult to judge, but which was palpable, and which did damage to the Service generally. Well, the real secret why the Government every now and then felt themselves compelled to enforce this retirement at the age of 60 was the want of promotion in the different Departments. Why was there a want of promotion? Why, it was simply because, under the present system, there was no interchangeability between the Departments. If, when it was necessary to re-organize the War Office or the Admiralty, the Treasury were able to transfer those clerks they wanted to get rid of to other Departments, there would have been a considerable saving effected in those Departments; and the Treasury would have obviated the necessity of introducing into other Departments of the Public Service a number of young clerks who, in their turn, became a block, agitated for an increase of pay, and necessitated compulsory retirement in their Departments also. Now, what he would suggest for the consideration of the Government was this—the desirability of introducing as soon as possible some system of interchangeability throughout the Service, so that the very large number of men in the different Departments who were competent to continue their work for years to come would not be thrown out in the flower of their age and deprived of berths they had held for years with satisfaction to all parties, with their incomes curtailed, and necessitating the filling of their places with a number of men who had to be taught their duties. The saving to the State by such an arrangement would be very considerable. What would be thought in the Army if, because there was a block of promotion in a certain regiment, a number of senior officers were pensioned against their will, instead of being transferred to other regiments? Why should not a man who was retired from the India Office or the Customs and Inland Revenue Department be transferred to the War Office, the Admiralty, the Colonial Office, or to any other Department where there might happen to be a vacancy? Why should they not so maintain Customs and Inland Revenue clerks in the Service, no matter how great a change might be made in the duties they had to perform? It was the greatest affectation to say that because a man had been in the Customs and Inland Revenue Department or in the Post Office for 10 or 12 years he was at all unfitted for the duties if transferred to any of the Secretary of State Offices. But the difficulty the Treasury had to deal with was the passive resistance of what were called the first-class Offices to the introduction of *personnel* from what were called inferior Departments. This was one of the changes that the Treasury ought to be firm about. They ought to insist on the superior Departments taking clerks in this way where they were wanted, however great might be the objection of the permanent officials. The Secretaries of State did not care about the matter; it was the high permanent officials who objected. If the course he recommended were adopted, he was confident the Government would soon find these lists of pensions melt away; and, besides that, they would find that they had produced contentment in the Public Service, and had avoided that irritation which they experienced whilst things were as they were now, through agitation, brought about now, in the hope that by causing retirements a considerable amount of promotion would be secured for men who otherwise would have to wait for it for a considerable number of years. There was another matter as to this Vote which he would like to ask a question about. Why was it that in some cases the Treasury refused to allow this Vote to be lightened by commutation of pensions? He had lately heard of a case in the Board of Works in Ireland where a man had been compulsorily retired at the age of 42—thrown on the world at that age with a diminished income. He had been anxious to start life anew in some other way; and in order to obtain the capital to enable him to do that he had applied, through the head of the Board of Works, for the consent of the Treasury to the commutation of his pension. That request was summarily, though courteously, refused. Why such an application as that was refused he (Mr. A. O'Connor) did not know. It was the Treasury who had refused the application, the letter in which the refusal was conveyed to him being from the Commutation Board, and stating that the Lords of the Treasury declined the application, and that no steps would, therefore, be taken in the matter. It appeared to him (Mr. A. O'Connor) that that was a most arbitrary and inconsistent manner of dealing with a public servant against whom there was absolutely no complaint, but who, on the contrary, had been recommended very highly by the Department with which he had been connected. Perhaps the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury could enlighten him on this subject.

Mr. SEXTON said, he wished to point out that the Vote contained several items relating to pensions of Irish officials, as would be seen on reference to page 454. Having regard to the pledge given by the Government that no Irish Votes would be taken until Monday next, he hoped the hon. Baronet would either withdraw the Vote, or exclude from it that portion relating to Irish officials.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY said, he should be very sorry to be supposed to have broken faith with the Irish Members; but the understanding had been that Class III. alone would be postponed until Monday. The Votes the hon. Member referred to in Class VI. were not strictly Irish Votes.

Mr. SEXTON said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and he (Mr. Sexton) had understood, by the arrangement entered into, that no Votes affecting Ireland would be taken before Monday next. If the hon. Member insisted on going on with the Irish Votes in this Class he would be obliged to move to report Progress, and prolonged resistance to the Votes in question would be offered by the Irish Members on Report.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY said, the Votes referred to were not mentioned.

Mr. SEXTON said, the only object which his Friends had had in view in eliciting from the Government that the Irish Votes would not be taken before Monday was to make sure that they would not be wanted this week. There was a very limited attendance of Irish Members at the present moment, the reason being that Irish Business was not expected to come on. He wished to know whether the hon. Baronet held himself at liberty to take Votes 5, 6, and 9 of the present Class, every penny of which would go to Ireland? He did not suppose that the hon. Baronet would maintain that in bringing on those Votes he was adhering to the engagement the Government had entered into on this matter.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY said, he did maintain it without the slightest doubt. The Votes which it was proposed to take on Monday had been specially mentioned, and these were not amongst them.

Mr. SEXTON: Then I beg, Sir, to move that you report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

[The Motion was not proposed from the Chair.]

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, the Civil servants were becoming a vast army in this country, and it was becoming a question of the very first importance as to whether there was due economy in connection with it. He did not wish to argue the point put before the Committee by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold); but he would mention another which was of great importance. The supply of young men fitted for all these offices was largely on the increase in this country, owing to the working of the Elementary Education Act and their endowed schools system. If that were so, there was great pressure on the part of young men growing up in life to obtain public employment, and he did not think it was necessary to give the same remuneration which was given some time ago when education was not so common, and when it was more difficult to fill up these appointments. He agreed that 60 years of age was an unnecessarily low limit to fix upon as the period of retirement. No great commercial establishment in the country could live and keep its head above water if, when one branch of its business became slack and it could not find employment for its servants, it offered them superannuation on such extravagant terms as were offered in the Public Service. Nothing was more common than for a branch of the Civil Service to re-arrange its Departments, and draw from one Department its surplus staff, superannuating them, in order that it might develop another. At this time, when economy of all kinds was absolutely necessary — when they had been indulging in such extravagant expenditure on their Military and Naval systems—there should not be such wanton—there should not be such extravagance in dealing with the Civil servants. Though the Secretary to the Treasury might say he did not feel any particular responsibility at that moment, the hon. Gentleman the late Financial Secretary was able to say much the same thing. That was the only opportunity hon. Members and the country had of reviewing and criticizing what was going on in connection with the employment of officials in the Public Offices. That was not the time, he thought, to maintain that the Rules of the Government Departments were like the laws of the Medes and Persians, which did not in any way change. He thought that attention should be called to the matter, not only by speeches, but also by divisions.

MR. TOMLINSON wished to make an observation as to one item in the Vote. The pensions in the Vote seemed to be limited to the age of 60; but he saw that one had been given in a case where that age had not been reached—where the recipient, in fact, was only 46. That gentleman seemed to have commenced at the age of 21 years, because he claimed 25 years' service. The only explanation in the margin of the Vote was that the payment took place under the 6 & 7 *Vict.* ss. 42 and 43. That, so far as he could gather, did not offer any real explanation. A further point he would refer to. He had heard that this gentleman was, some time ago, Secretary of Legation at Madrid, and that he was now employed in Brussels. He (Mr. Tomlinson) failed to understand how it was that, if that gentleman had received a further appointment, his name could appear on the list of pensions. He did not know whether any Member of the Government could give him any information on the subject?

MR. HIBBERT said, he was not able to answer the question of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Preston except that the pension alluded to was granted under a special Act. That was the reason why it was not in the same category as other pensions. With regard to the case mentioned by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor)—the case of a clerk employed in the Irish Board of Works having been refused a commutation of his pension—he believed the reason was this—that the clerk, being so far from the age at which he could retire with a pension, it was thought that it might be possible, if his health allowed, to utilize him in the Public Service.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that this gentleman was not pensioned on the ground of ill-health. It was in consequence of the re-organization of the Office that this gentleman of 42 years of age was sent out. He had desired to obtain money for the purpose of entering into some other employment, and that was the reason why he had endeavoured to commute his pension.

MR. HIBBERT said, he should have thought there were strong grounds in such a case why a pension should be commuted. As to the other remarks of the hon. Gentleman, he had submitted that there should be interchangeability of clerks between the different Departments, and declared that if that were done they would have a more contented Public Service. Well, he pitied the Treasury if interchangeability were ever carried out; and he very much doubted whether they would have as contented a Public Service as they had now, under that system. There might be a deal to be said in favour of interchangeability; he said there was a great deal to be said in favour of it. But there was also a great deal to be said against it. Suppose they changed clerks from the Customs to the War Office and the Colonial Office, they would prevent promotion in the War Office and the Colonial Office, and cause a much larger pension list to be made out in respect of those Departments than there was at present. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold), he should like to say a word or two in confirmation of what had fallen from the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury—namely, that the hon. Gentleman's remarks would have been rather more appropriate in connection with what took place 15 or 20 years ago than what was happening at this moment. He (Mr. Hibbert) did not think they were appropriate to the present time. The Treasury were much more careful in making re-organizations, and were much more determined to prevent everything like extravagance, than they were some years ago. He quite agreed that some years ago there were many extravagant schemes carried out, one of which was the re-organization of the War Office, which had been mentioned by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor). He believed that had been a very extravagant scheme, and had cost a great deal of money. But with regard to the present Vote, he thought that if they were to go closely into the figures they would not find that there had heen a very great increase during the past few years. Of course, if they had an increasing Civil Service, they must have increasing superannuation allowances; and he doubted whether, if the present system of pensions were done away with, the country would be able to retain anything like the splendid body of men it had now serving in the Departments of the Public Service. With regard to the age at which retirement should take place, if he had had to fix it he should have thought 65 much more appropriate than 60. He believed the time was coming fast when the people of this country would look closely into this question, and would require considerable alteration in the system. At the present time, he could not allow it to be said that the Treasury were at all lax in the mode of allowing pensions to be given. The four or five cases which had been mentioned by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Arnold) were cases where the persons had had a right to retire, having reached the age of 60.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he had thought it rather unworthy of the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), when he was making his reply, to refer to the question of sanitary conditions as though it were a joke—as though he (Mr. Arnold) had spoken of it jokingly. That was not the tone he had adopted. With regard to the remarks which had fallen from the hon. Gentleman, he might point out that he had received several letters from gentlemen who had been superannuated in the Civil Service, complaining that when they were retired they were not the least useful members of the Service. Then the hon. Gentleman, in defending the Vote, had said that the increase had not been so great of recent years. But during the past 20 years the amount had been steadily increasing at the rate of £10,000 a-year. It had increased £200,000 in 20 years. But a considerable increase —one of the very largest—had taken place during the present year, the extent of it being £13,000. It was maintained that there was no wrong-doing in this matter at the present time. He would take the liberty of saying to the Secretary to the Treasury that the ground on which he (Mr. Arnold) had asked for a reduction of the Vote was not in reference to age. The reason assigned for the reduction was that the Treasury were not sufficiently strict in regard to the matters involved. He should like to ask the late Government whether, when they dealt with the Bankruptcy Act, they had regard to the vast number of Civil servants retired in the case of the former Bankruptcy Act? There was a diplomatic pension in the Vote granted this year by Her Majesty's late Government—a pension of £1,700 a-year—which certainly need not have been granted. That was one of the reasons why he asked the Committee to assent to the reduction of the Vote. He wished only to say to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, who "could not find" the Governor to whom he (Mr. Arnold) had referred, that that official might be discovered if the right hon. Gentleman would turn to page 459. He was in the middle of the page— "Age 60, salary £752, retiring pension £400."

Mr. SEXTON said, he had explained to the Committee what was the understanding between the Irish Members and the Government with regard to the postponement of the Irish Votes—what was the only reasonable construction to put upon the agreement. The hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) had now sprung upon them the theory that the pledge the Government had given was only intended to have effect to Irish Votes in one Class. But Irish Votes were just as much Irish Votes in one Class as another. The object of the understanding had been to secure to the Irish Members a period during which they might be absent, and during which they might be assured no public money in which Ireland was specially interested would be voted in the House. The bulk of the Irish Members were absent that night in consequence of the pledge of the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the House (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and he (Mr. Sexton) should be very much surprised if the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury persisted in his intention to take Irish Votes that night. If he did—if he insisted on imposing his will upon them against their understanding of the pledge which had been given—he (Mr. Sexton) would move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY said, he regretted that there had been a misunderstanding; but he thought the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) must feel that it was impossible for him (Sir Henry Holland) to go back from what he had stated as his recollection of the arrangement arrived at. He would suggest to the hon. Member that he should allow the present Vote to pass, and then, should there be any case that the Irish Members desired to call attention to, it should be discussed on Report. Of course, after what had passed, he (Sir Henry Holland) would not propose to the Committee to take Vote 5, or 6, or 9, which were purely Irish Votes. If the hon. Gentleman would allow any point affecting Ireland arising on the present Vote to be considered on Report, he would promise, on the part of the Government, that any special case brought under their attention would be inquired into. He would postpone the other Votes.

Mr. SEXTON said, he would withdraw the Motion, at the same time intimating that the next time a pledge was given by the Government to the Irish Members across the floor of the House, he should be very careful about phrases.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the figures of this Vote showed how absolutely unreasonable it was to fix the age of 60 as the age for compulsory retirement. If the hon. Baronet would would look at page 457, he would see that there were a number of men who were retired at ages very much above the age of 60, and that one of them—an Examiner in the Bankruptcy Division of the High Court of Justice—retired at the age of 78 with only 17 years of service, so that he must actually have been over 60 years of age when he was first appointed. If it was reasonable to appoint men of 60 years of age for their first entry into the Service, surely it could not be reasonable to establish the rule that a man should have the option of a retiring allowance at the age of 60, and that the Treasury should have the power to compel the retirement of any number of men as soon as they reached that age. A large number of men in the Diplomatic Service retired at the ages of 68, 66, 67, 69, 71, 63, 68, 63, and so on through the whole list. It was perfectly clear that the age of 60 was exceeded in an enormous number of cases, without any loss or injury to the Service; and it did appear to him a great injustice to a large number of men to compel them to retire at the age of 60, when so obvious an expedient as transfer from one Department to other branches of the Service was open to the Treasury. The hon. Baronet had not yet answered the question put to him with regard to the refusal of the Treasury to commute the pension of one of the clerks lately connected with the Irish Board of Works. Seeing that the man had never been sent up to the Medical Authorities for examination, but that his application had been summarily refused, he (Mr. A. O'Connor) would ask the hon. Baronet whether he would not reconsider the matter?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY said, the case referred to by the hon. Member who had just resumed his seat had occurred in 1884, and he (Sir Henry Holland) had had no opportunity of making himself familiar with the circumstances. He would, however, inquire into the matter.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That a sum, not exceeding £220,710, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 21; Noes 92: Majority 71. — (Div. List, No. 228.)

Mr. SEXTON asked the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) to be good enough to look into the case of Matthew Anderson, which was to be found under the head of Law Charges. That gentleman had been a Crown Solicitor, but his office had been abolished, and in the Estimates there was a sum of £262 put down to him. Was that to be an annual allowance, or was it a single sum? Under what circumstances was it promised, and had the transaction resulted in an increased burden being put upon the Exchequer?

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS) BILL.—[Bill 99.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Reduction of amount required in uncontested election by Third Schedule of 38 and 39 Vic. c. 84).

Mr. HEALY said, this Bill proceeded on a wrong assumption. He thought it would be apparent to the mind of the Government that if a Sheriff had to deal with an election that was uncontested the amount to be paid to him should not depend upon the number of voters in the constituency. For his own part, he would prefer that the Bill should provide for a fixed sum, as had been proposed by his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). According to the 3rd Schedule of the Act passed in 1875—

"If at the end of the two hours appointed for the election, not more candidates stand nominated than there are vacancies to be filled up, the maximum amount which may be required is one-fifth of the maximum according to the scale."

This Bill, however, proposed to alter the proportion to one-tenth; and that appeared to him to be altogether too high. He had himself a proposal on the Paper to make the sum required as security one-twentieth of the maximum according to the scale; but he thought it better that they should give the Sheriff in the case of an uncontested election a lump sum of, say, £20 or £25. Why should he get security at the rate of £100 for every 1,000 electors, and £50 for every 500? There was no reason whatever for the difference, because the trouble would be precisely the same in both cases. If the Government were not disposed to accept the Amendment he was about to move, let them accept the proposal of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork—that, instead of receiving security according to a graduated scale, £20 should be given. Considering that the Sheriffs in Ireland had only to issue a notice at a cost of 10*s.*, and to pay railway fares to a similar amount, he thought that was quite enough security for them.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 22, to leave out the words "one-tenth," in order to insert the words "one-twentieth."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'one-tenth' stand part of the Clause."

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) said, on consideration, he thought it better to adopt the proposal of the hon. Member or the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell).

Mr. HEALY said, in that case, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment, and move to substitute £25 for one-fifth of the maximum, according to the scale in the Act of 1875.

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE said, it would, perhaps, be better if the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) were to continue his Motion to leave out the words "one-tenth."

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he should like to understand exactly what the Government proposed to do in this matter. He could understand the contention of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the contention of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) with reference to uncontested elections in Ireland; but the state of the case with regard to England was very different. Were they to understand that the only security required from a candidate, in the case of an uncontested election in England, was £20? Certainly, he considered that some explanation of this extraordinary proposal was necessary.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. GORST) said, that in England £25 would cover all the expenses of an uncontested election. The hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) proposed that where in England, Scotland or Ireland an election was uncontested, the amount of security to the Returning Officer should be £25.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he was aware of the nature of the proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan. His contention was that £25, or twice that sum, would not be sufficient in the case of an uncontested election in a large borough to meet the preliminary proceedings. No case had ever been submitted to the late Government with regard to England or Scotland. The Bill had been brought in entirely to meet the case of Ireland.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL: No.

MR. COURTNEY said, it frequently occurred that more candidates were nominated than could be elected, and that one or more of them were withdrawn.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL said, the argument of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) did not apply, because the Schedule provided that if at the end of the two hours appointed for the election not more candidates stood nominated than there were vacancies to be filled up, the security might be required.

MR. WHITLEY said, he agreed with the opinion expressed by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). He was quite satisfied of the impossibility of working an election in any large borough for the sum mentioned. It was certainly impossible for the Returning Officer to make the necessary arrangements in the case even of an uncontested election for £25.

COLONEL NOLAN: There are no large boroughs now.

MR. HEALY said, that his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) had remarked truly that large boroughs had been done away with. He would point out to the Committee, what seemed to have escaped the notice of some hon. Members, that this was not a question of the expenses of an election; it was merely a question of the amount of deposit which by way of security the Returning Officer might require in the case of an uncontested election. If the Sheriff could show that he had incurred a greater expense than the amount received, he could recover it from the candidate, who was always liable to him. But this Amendment simply applied to elections such as he had known, and where the payment of £18 or so to the Sheriff, where there were only a very few electors, would be a gross imposition. He repeated that the legal liability of the candidate would remain for any sum that was due over and above the deposit; it did not take away an atom of his responsibility, and the Sheriff could claim from the candidate any sum that he might consider himself entitled to. The Amendment proposed simply that if at the end of the two hours appointed for an election, not more candidates stood nominated than there were vacancies to be filled up, the amount which the Returning Officer might require as security should not exceed £25.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL said, if the Committee would consider the amount which the Parliamentary Elections Act allowed the Returning Officer to charge in the case of an uncontested election, they would see that the £25 proposed was an ample deposit. The Returning Officer could only charge three guineas, and the rest of the items related to the polling clerks and assistants. The charges would at the outside amount to £18, and it was proposed that the maximum amount of the Returning Officer's security should be £25 in the case of an uncontested election in any borough.

MR R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) remarked, that there would be 26,000 electors in the City of London, and he should like to hear how the Returning Officer would deal with a case of that sort?

MR. BIGGAR said, this Bill only applied to cases where there was no contest. It was of no use to speak of the cost of polling clerks and matters of that kind, because under the circumstances they would not be required. He was convinced that the Sheriff would always take care that out of the £25 proposed by the Amendment there should always be £24 clear profit for himself. In his own case he expected there would be no contest; but if he had to advance a larger sum than the actual expenses, there would be no chance of his getting anything back.

MR. WARTON said, he wished to point out what would be the result of the amount which the Government had adopted. In preparing the Act, the late Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) ignored Ireland altogether, and made a scheme as between England and Scotland, dealing with England in Part 1, and with Scotland in Part 2. The Committee were in this position in consequence—they were getting into a muddle with regard to the Bill before them. The Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) would be carried; then there would be an Amendment with regard to England, and another with regard to Scotland. He regretted the absence of the late Lord Advocate, who, he thought, ought to have been in his place to justify his arrangement of giving Part 1 to England and Part 2 to Soctland.

Question, "That the words 'one-tenth' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, "That '£25' be there inserted."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

New Clause:—

Page 1, after Clause 2, insert—

Part II.—Scotland.

(Payments to deputy Returning Officers.)

"3. Where a returning officer is empowered to appoint a deputy, he may pay such deputy according to the scale set forth in the Schedule to this Act, and such payments shall be allowed as expenses properly incurred by the returning officer within the meaning of 'The Parliamentary Returning Officers' Expenses (Scotland) Act, 1878,' and of 'The Ballot Act, 1872,'"—(*The Lord Advocate,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

Motion *agreed to.*

Clause *added* to the Bill.

New Clause:—

(Amendment of Part II. of Schedule I. of the 46 and 47 Vic. c. 51.)

"Part II. of Schedule I. of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, shall be read and construed as if the following words and figures were not contained therein, namely, 'not exceeding the amount authorised by the Act 38 and 39 Vic. c. 84,'"—(*Mr. Warton,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

MR. WARTON, in rising to move the second reading of the clause, said, as the Committee would be aware, there was a maximum fixed in the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act of 1883, which, when the measure was passing through Committee, was the subject of a great deal of discussion. He had no doubt that the Lord Advocate had the Act before him, and if he would look at the second part of the 1st Schedule he would find that the first payment there referred to was the charge of the Returning Officer. Now, that item was one of those which came within the maximum. Again, by the 8th section of the Act, no Member might spend more than the maximum, and, by the 11th section, if he did, he would lose his right to be a Member of Parliament for seven years, besides incurring other penalties. So that a candidate, if he should do wrong or even make a mistake, would be in a very serious position. He quoted from the second part of the Act words which now stood therein. Those words were added to the Bill in the dinner hour, in a thin House, on the Motion of the Solicitor General. He said that that Motion took the then Government by surprise; it was opposed very strongly by the late Government, but, as he had said, the words now stood part of the Act. On the division which took place there voted for the Motion 65 Members, of whom there were only seven Conservatives, 15 Home Rulers, and 43 Liberals, nearly all of whom were Members of what he might call the extreme Radical Party. Such was the composition of the majority. On the other side there voted 56 Members, 40 of whom were Liberals, and that number included 26 Liberal officials, or nearly the whole strength of the Government who were opposed to the Amendment of the Solicitor General at the time he moved it. The other 14 Liberals were what one might call regular Ministerialists. Most of the Conservatives present also voted against the Motion; the official Conservatives were not in their places, and were probably at dinner. He contended that the Motion had been carried by a mere accident, and that it was utterly opposed to the feeling of the late Ministry. The danger was that a candidate would be liable to the severe penalties provided in the Act, if the Returning Officer, by accident or design, charged him £1 more than he ought to pay.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL said, this matter was a very much more reasonable one than the Committee would have thought from the speech of his hon. and learned Friend, who was anxious, in the present condition of the House of Commons, to reverse the decision of the Committee of 1883. If that decision were reversed, as he was afraid they would not be able to get as many to vote as last year, it would be a small House reversing the decision of a larger one. The question was whether candidates' agents would charge candidates by a scale which was according to Act of Parliament, or by a scale of their own invention? The advantage of the scale in the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act was that the candidates knew what the charges were, and that they would have to pay the lawful scale of the Act, and nothing more. If a candidate paid more than the statutory charges he would be guilty, not of a corrupt practice, but of an illegal payment, and, no doubt, if elected, he would forfeit his seat thereby. If the amounts in the Schedule of the Bill were not sufficient, of course, they could be increased. The other Amendments of which the hon. and learned Gentleman had given Notice raised the question whether the sums in the Bill were sufficient or not, and on that question the Committee would be able to give an opinion. But he (the Solicitor General) contended that the principle as to the charges which the House had adopted was the principle which should guide the Returning Officers. He hoped the Committee would adhere to the decision arrived at so wisely in 1883, and would restrict the charges of the Returning Officers to the legal amount.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. WARTON said, he begged to move the other new Clause standing in his name, as follows:—

(Increase of Returning Officers' charges in certain cases.)

"Notwithstanding the scale of charges laid down in the First Schedule of the Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act, 1875, it shall be lawful in any county or borough constituency where the poll is kept open to an hour later than 4 p.m. for the Returning Officer to charge four guineas for each presiding officer and thirty shillings for each clerk at a polling station."

He thought that, as they had increased the hours of polling and thereby also increased the amount of duty to be performed, so far as the presiding officers and clerks were concerned, that those officials should have a higher scale of remuneration.

THE CHAIRMAN: I beg to point out to the hon. and learned Member that his clause does not come next in order.

MR. WARTON said, he thought he was at liberty to move the clause at this point.

THE CHAIRMAN: It will come on at the end.

MR. WARTON: I merely reversed the order of my clauses. Having taken the second first, I thought I could now take the other.

MR. HEALY said, he begged to move the following new Clause:—

(Borough scale to apply to counties in Ireland.)

"In Ireland the scale applicable to a borough in the Third Schedule of the above Act shall apply also to counties, and the scale applicable to a 'county or district of a contributory borough' shall not extend to Ireland."

The 3rd Schedule of the Act was put altogether out of date by the passing of the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Act, and which would make the borough scale apply equally to counties and boroughs. This question of scale had been overlooked in previous legislation, the fact being that when that legislation was passed a large number of boroughs which had now been constituted were not thought of. The scale commenced where the number of electors did not exceed 1,000; but in the future there would not be a single borough with such a small electorate. The smallest would be 3,000 or 4,000. It was entirely unnecessary, so far as Ireland was concerned, that there should be this distinction between them. The Committee would remember all along that these deposits were only guarantees of good faith. They would not prevent the Sheriff from coming on the candidate if he had over-spent the amount. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had this very good Amendment on the Paper—

"In Ireland the following scale, which shall apply both in counties and boroughs, shall be substituted from and after the end of this present Parliament for the scale allowed by the Third Schedule of the above Act:—

Where the Registered Electors do not exceed 4,000, £100;

Where the Registered Electors exceed 4,000, but do not exceed 7,000, £200;

Where the Registered Electors exceed 7,000, but do not exceed 10,000, £250;

Where the Registered Electors exceed 10,000, but do not exceed 15,000, £300;

Where the Registered Electors exceed 15,000, £400."

He should like to see that Amendment accepted; but if the Committee preferred it, he (Mr. Healy) would adhere to his own Amendment. It would meet with the support of the Irish Members. Something was necessary in order to put a stop to the system of plunder which had been adopted by the Sheriffs. During the last 10 years the Sheriffs, owing to a law which was intended to prevent men of straw from becoming candidates, had had a deal of plunder out of the candidates, and he thought it behoved them to do what they could to cut those gentlemen down in some way or other.

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, that it would be more satisfactory if the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Healy) would allow his Amendment and that of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) to stand over until the Report, the Government undertaking, meanwhile, to give the proposals their careful consideration. Hitherto the Government had scarcely had an opportunity of looking into the matter. If the course he proposed were adopted, an endeavour would be made to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion by the time the Report stage was reached.

MR. HEALY said, the proposal of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was a very reasonable one, and he should have no hesitation in accepting it. These clauses were really matters of arrangement between the Government and private Members. He would point out, however, that it was rather inconvenient to take a discussion on the Report stage, for the reason that hon. Members could not speak twice.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND: I would suggest that we should now report Progress.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ferguson.*)

[BILL 26.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. ELTON said, he desired to move the following new Clause on page 16, after Clause 31:—

(Payment of office fees on enfranchisement.)

"In the case of any enfranchisement by award after next admittance or enrolment (save and except as herein otherwise provided, and subject to any order by the Commissioners to the contrary) the office fees payable to the Commissioners on enfranchisement shall be paid one half by the lord, the other half by the tenant.

"Until payment of the moiety payable by the lord the same shall be a charge on the manor, including land within the manor settled to the same uses, rent-charges arising from enfranchisements within the manor and appurtenant thereto, and moneys received for enfrancisements within the manor. And until payment of the moiety payable by the tenant the same shall be a charge on the land enfranchised, and in each case the charge shall take priority of all other charges except charges under this Act or the Copyhold Acts, tithe commutation rent-charge, or any rent or other charges for the drainage or improvement of the land under any Statutes for those purposes. The certificate or certificates of the Commissioners under their seal shall be conclusive evidence of the amount of each such moiety, and of the liability of the lord or tenant to pay the same; and the same, together with the costs and expenses incurred in their recovery as between solicitor and client, shall be recoverable either as an ordinary debt, or under the provisions of 'The Conveyancing and Law of Property Act, 1881,' as if the Commissioners were mortgagees."

The clause had a rather formidable appearance; but he might inform the House that it was a provision drawn by the Land Commissioners to enable them to draw office fees and expenses for enfranchisement. The exception referred to Clause 33, where certain cases were specified in which the Commissioners might charge otherwise.

New Clause *brought up* and read the first and second time, and *added.*

MR. ELTON said, he proposed, in Clause 28, page 14, line 5, after "tenant," to add—

"And notwithstanding the provisions of the Copyhold Acts, including this Act, the lord and tenant may at any time, after notice of enfranchisement shall have been delivered, agree in writing that the Commissioners shall fix and determine the value of and compensation to be paid for the enfranchisement of the manorial and other rights and incidents, by way of rent charge, issuing out of the lands enfranchised and to be subject to the provisions of this Act. And the Commissioners shall, upon receipt of such agreement, take such proceedings and make such inquiries as they may deem necessary to ascertain, fix, and determine such value and compensation, taking into consideration all such matters and things as valuers appointed under the Copyhold Acts are bound to take into consideration in making a valuation under such Acts, and, having fixed and determined such value and compensation, the Commissioners shall communicate the result in writing to the lord and tenant, and shall fix a time within which any objection to such determination may be signified to them in writing by the lord or tenant, and forthwith after the period fixed for such objections to be signified shall have expired, if there be none or if there be any, then forthwith, after the Commissioners shall have considered and disposed of such objections and made such alterations, if any, in such valuation and determination as they shall see fit, the Commissioners shall make their award of enfranchisement in like manner as if the compensation had been ascertained by valuers under the Copyhold Acts."

The object of the Amendment was to allow the lord and the tenant, for the sake of cheapness and economy, to agree in writing that the Land Commissioners should do the business of fixing the value and amount of compensation for enfranchisement. There could be no objection to the Amendment, which he only proposed for the sake of economy.

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. ELTON said, he now proposed, in Clause 46, page 20, line 13, after "same," to add—

"In all cases where the Commissioners for the purpose of the Copyhold Acts, including this Act, are authorised to fix or determine the compensation for enfranchisement, it shall be lawful for the Commissioners to employ such valuers or land surveyors, and at such remuneration, as the Commissioners shall think fit, and the costs of and incidental to such employment shall form part of the costs and expenses of the enfranchisement."

He proposed the Amendment at the wish of the Land Commissioners. They already had power to raise the cost of the inquiry, and it was suggested that the costs should include the costs of such valuers as they thought it essential to send down to make the valuation. The Amendment was to explain that the cost of the employment of valuers might be included in the costs of the inquiry.

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. ELTON proposed, in Clause 50, page 20, line 35, to leave out from "apply" to end of clause, and insert—

"(a.) Any five or more of the tenants of any manor or lordship may, at any time after the time fixed for the commencement of this Act, give notice in writing to the lord or steward of their desire to have their respective lands held, or parcel of the said manor enfranchised, by an award of the Commissioners, for such consideration, and upon such terms, as the Commissioners shall, in manner herein appearing, ascertain to be fair and just, and may thereupon forward to the Commissioners an application in writing to that effect, together with a certified copy of such notice;

"(b.) Forthwith, after the receipt of such application and copy notice, the Commissioners shall take such proceedings, and make such inquiries, as they may deem necessary to ascertain, fix, and determine the value of, and the compensation to be paid by, the said several tenants for the enfranchisement of all the manorial and other rights and incidents attached to their respective lands, taking into consideration all such matters and things as valuers appointed under the Copyhold Acts are bound to take into consideration in ascertaining the compensation for enfranchisement under such Acts, and, after having fixed and determined such value and compensation, they shall communicate the result in writing to the lord and each such tenant, and shall fix a time within which any objection to such determination may be signified to them in writing by the lord or any such tenant;

"(c.) Forthwith after the period fixed for such objections to be signified shall have expired if there be none, or if there be any then forthwith after the Commissioners shall have considered and disposed of such objections, and made such alterations (if any) in such valuation and determination as they shall see fit, the Commissioners shall proceed to frame an award of enfranchisement, with particulars and schedules attached, applicable to all the said tenants, and in such form as the said Commissioners may deem expedient, and the award so made shall have the same force and validity as an award of enfranchisement under the Copyhold Act, 1858, and as if the same were a separate award of enfranchisement for each tenant;

"(d.) The compensation to the lord shall consist of annual rent-charges issuing out of the respective lands enfranchised, and shall be subject to the provisions of this Act;

"(e.) The said award of enfranchisement shall in other respects be subject to the provisions of the Copyhold Acts, including this Act;

"(f.) The award of enfranchisement shall be deposited and kept with and by the Land Commissioners, and any copy of or extract from the said award sealed by the Commissioners shall be received in evidence without any further proof thereof;

"(g.) All the expenses of and incident to enfranchisement under this section shall be paid by the tenants requiring the same in such proportions as the Commissioners shall direct, regard being had to the amount of compensation or rent-charge payable by each tenant, and any other circumstances affecting each tenant."

This Amendment was in the nature of a compromise clause to meet certain objections, and it was a compromise proposed by the Land Commissioners. He thought it was one of a very beneficial nature. The clause, as it stood in the Bill, was to the effect that on five tenants in a district sending for an Assistant Commissioner that Commissioner should not go away until every copyhold in that district had been enfranchised. It was considered hard on those individuals who did not want to be enfranchised to compel them to occupy a similar position to the five tenants who sent for the Assistant Commissioner. This clause was, therefore, proposed to enable as many as wished to be enfranchised to enter their names on the list when the Commissioner came down, and the Commissioner would reduce the cost of the proceeding to a few shillings. The remaining copyholders would not be enfranchised at that time, but would be enfranchised under the ordinary operations of the clauses of the Act.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Bill to be read the third time upon *Thursday.*

Mr. Elton

PUBLIC HEALTH (MEMBERS AND OFFICERS) BILL.—[Bill 114.]

(*Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Long, Mr. Cowen.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Amendment of Section 193 of the Public Health Act, 1875).

Mr. BIGGAR said, he wished to move, in page 1, line 13, to leave out "sale." He understood the object of the Bill to be to allow officers or *employés* of Corporations or Town Commissioners reasonable facilities, in small matters, for having business transactions with those Corporations. He objected to the power given in the Bill to officers of those Local Boards to make purchases of lands from the Boards; and he, therefore, moved the omission of the word "sale." A small hiring of those lands might take place from year to year; but that was very different to giving full power of sale. Those officers, as hon. Gentlemen were aware, were electioneering agents, and, as such, nothing would be easier than for members of those Boards to endeavour to enlist their support by giving them valuable property at a nominal value. He knew that that was done in Ireland. It was not desirable that public bodies in a more or less obscure position in the country should have those powers.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 13, to leave out the word "sale."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'sale' stand part of the Clause."

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY said, this Bill had nothing to do with Municipal Corporations, who possessed these powers at the present moment. It only referred to Local Boards, which had to do with these transactions on a much smaller scale. This was one of the difficulties experienced under the existing law—supposing there was a piece of a street which a Local Board wished to acquire, which belonged to a clerk or other officer of the Board, there were no means by which possession of it could be secured. But for fear there should be such collusion as the hon. Member (Mr.

Biggar) seemed to look upon as likely, there were special provisions and securities in the latter part of the clause to guard against it. For instance, full publicity would be required, and it would be necessary that transactions should not take place without due notice, and then only with the consent of two-thirds of the Board. As the absence of such a power as would be conferred by this clause had given rise to serious difficulty and inconvenience, he hoped the hon. Member would not press his Amendment.

MR. BIGGAR said, he was aware that the Bill only applied to small bodies; but the safeguards which the hon. Baronet alleged to exist in the Bill were no safeguards at all. In small places the members of these Boards all belonged to one particular party, and, under such circumstances, it would be no safeguard to the ratepayers to have publicity given to these transactions. The publicity would not be to the interest of the ratepayers, but to members of the Local Authority. In all probability, when one of these transactions came up for consideration, there would be very few members of the public body present, and the sanction of two-thirds of these would be sufficient. He held that that was not sufficient; and though he knew that Corporations in England had similar powers, it would be a dangerous power to give these small local bodies. There could be nothing more objectionable than to allow them to buy and sell amongst each other, and amongst their officers, and he should certainly take the opinion of the Committee upon his Amendment. He did not know whether the Government were in a position to oppose or defend the principle laid down in the clause; but he should be very much surprised if they did not support him in his attempt to strike this obnoxious theory out of the Bill.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, he hoped the hon Member would not press the Amendment. In the first place, the Bill did not apply to Ireland; therefore, the experience the hon. Member had given of the state of things in that country was really irrelevant. If the Amendment were carried the Bill would lose a great deal of its utility. Cases often arose where land was required for public purposes, such land belonging to officers of the Local Boards. In such a case, either the land could not be obtained, or the officer would have to relinquish his appointment, or render himself liable to a penalty of £50 and be deprived of the power of ever again serving the Board. The hardship of that was greatly enhanced and made much more manifest by the fact that no such restrictions existed with regard to the dealings of members of Boards with each other. He hoped the hon. Member would not think it worth while to press his Amendment.

MR. BIGGAR said, he failed to see any force in the argument that the Bill did not apply to Ireland. English Members were never chary of interfering with Irish matters, and Irish Members had an equal right to interest themselves in measures which only applied to England. But to say that because it was competent, according to law, for members of a Board to trade with each other as a Board—he did not say it was competent according to morals—that, therefore, Boards should have power to trade with their officers was to use an argument which could not carry weight. He still thought that the power contained in the Bill was very objectionable, and that it was his duty to go to a division. The right hon. Gentleman said that jobbery was not so likely to take place in England as in Ireland.

THE PRESIDENT: No, no!

MR. BIGGAR said, that he had stated that a great deal of plundering had taken place by reason of such transactions as were legalized in this Bill; and the right hon. Gentleman had said that this was an English Bill, and, therefore, what took place in Ireland could not be quoted in regard to it. It was not very long since the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) brought in a Bill to reform a whole lot of English Corporations. What was proposed by this Bill was to enable a lot of small Corporations in England to put themselves into such a position that some future President of the Local Government Board would be required to introduce a measure for reforming them again. He (Mr. Biggar) thought it desirable that the reform should take place now. They should not wait until the local bodies had misconducted themselves.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he must confess he looked on the Bill with a great deal of jealousy, and very much sympathized with the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). He was sure, however, there was no intention to institute an unfair comparison between England and Ireland in the matter. There seemed to him to be a method by which the objection of the hon. Member could be met—namely, by strengthening the Proviso at the end of the clause. As it existed at present it was scarcely sufficient. It stated this—that the contract entered into should be sent to each member of the Board, giving him notice. If, in addition to that, the intention of the Board to enter into the contract were advertised, so that the people of the neighbourhood might know what was being done, and be familiar with the terms of the arrangement as well as the members of the Board, that would secure that the matter would be properly handled in the interests of the locality.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he was not disposed to comply with the suggestion of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney).

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 38; Noes 9: Majority 29.—(Div. List, No. 229.)

Mr. BIGGAR said, he had several other Amendments on the Paper of a character similar to the one just disposed of; but after this decision of the Committee it would be useless to proceed with them. The principle involved in each was the same. The question was whether or not these bodies should have power to sell, purchase, or lease from their officers; and as the point of sale had been determined, and the difference between that and the others was very slight, he would not put the Committee to the trouble of a further division. He had, however, another Amendment to propose in page 1, line 18, after the word "authority," to insert the words—

"Provided the price agreed on be a fair market price; and, in case it is not so, the members of the board who voted for the contract shall be liable to make good to the ratepayers the amount of loss to the ratepayers, from the fact that the price was not a fair one. Amount to be ascertained by means of an action brought by any ratepayer, either in County Court or High Court of Justice."

He wished by this Amendment to give an opportunity to test the question as to whether or not transactions under the Bill were *bonâ fide* by enabling ratepayers to bring actions in respect of them in the County Court or the High Court of Justice. Evidence would in this way have to be given as to the genuineness of the bargain, and to show whether the gentlemen engaged in it had acted in the interests of the ratepayers, or in their own interests.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 18, after the word "authority," to insert the words—"Provided the price agreed on be a fair market price; and, in case it is not so, the members of the board who voted for the contract shall be liable to make good to the ratepayers the amount of loss to the ratepayers, from the fact that the price was not a fair one. Amount to be ascertained by means of an action brought by any ratepayer, either in County Court or High Court of Justice."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY said, he did not believe the hon. Member could be serious in moving this Amendment. It was difficult to get men of good standing to serve on these Local Boards as it was, and if this were passed it would be still more difficult. If these gentlemen did their best to make good bargains, they would still be at the mercy of every common informer who might choose to go against them and declare that the bargain was faulty. However good their intentions might be, they might be punished in a Court of Justice for what proved to be an unsatisfactory arrangement. He could not accept the proposal.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he did not think it was right to call "a ratepayer" a "common informer" if he desired to make sure that a transaction under the Bill was a *bonâ fide* transaction or not. They knew from observation and experience that nothing was more common than for underhand transactions to take place in connection with these public bodies, and he thought it would be extremely valuable to give the ratepayers the power of bringing these transactions to the test of a decision of a Court. It might be moved as an Amendment to his proposal that the ratepayer who brought an action against one of these public bodies must give security for costs. In this way a man who could not substantiate his case, instead of making the Local Board suffer through his prosecution, would suffer himself. He did not think the promoters of the Bill should object to his Amendment.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) said, it would be undesirable to countenance such litigation as was proposed by the hon. Member. These transactions would not be large matters; the question at issue in one case might be the hiring of a room which the Local Board might desire to have the use of for some public purpose. Due notice having been given, and a majority of two-thirds of the Board having assented to the transaction, there might be litigation at the suggestion or instance of anyone who might be dissatisfied with the vote of the Board—it might be at the instance of a member of the Board who did not agree with the vote of the majority of his colleagues against him. To allow parties to be brought into Court in this way from a bad motive or no motive at all would serve no useful purpose. The object the hon. Member had in view was to give a proper public safeguard, and he (the Attorney General) believed that if the clause in the Bill were passed in its present form that object would be attained.

MR. BIGGAR said, there would be no safeguard whatever. There was nothing deserving the name of public opinion in these small places managed by Local Boards, and no means of obtaining an expression of opinion from the ratepayers. Some small lots of shopkeepers in these country villages got themselves nominated and put on these Boards, and unless there were some means of investigating their conduct in a Court of Law, there would be nothing to prevent them from grossly abusing the powers contained in the Bill.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he hoped the hon. Member would not persist in the intention he had declared of carrying this Amendment to a division, for it was obvious he had no chance of gaining anything by it. At the same time, he (Mr. A. O'Connor) thought the Committee had failed to appreciate the importance of much that the hon. Gentleman had urged. It was a matter of notoriety that in certain parishes in Birmingham—and, no doubt, it was even worse in small Provincial places where there were a couple of Local Boards, the members of which were precluded from entering into these business transactions with the Boards—the contracts and little jobs which the one authority had to do were given to the members of the other. If, for instance, there was a Vestry in one place and a Board of Guardians in another, this plan might be, and in many cases was, adopted. The members of these Local Boards were, as a rule, a lot of small tradesmen who met in a public-house parlour once a-week and arranged the contracts for the parish. The work of the Vestry would be handed over to the members of the Board of Guardians, and the work of the Board of Guardians would be handed over to the members of the Vestry. In this way every little thing would be arranged for from time to time. There was nothing in this Bill, so far as he could see, to prevent an extension of this system; and he thought it would be only reasonable to allow some independent ratepayer in a parish an opportunity of having transactions of this kind, which he might consider fairly open to attack, made the subject of investigation before a legal tribunal. He remembered hearing of a case in London in which a certain amount of property had been transferred to a Board of Guardians by one of the members of the Board. Everyone knew that this gentleman had himself been instrumental in arranging the transfer; and it was matter of notoriety that he had been by no means a personal loser by the transaction. That sort of thing was reproduced by dozens and scores, and what was done in London was probably done in a great many other centres in the country. There was, he thought, a great deal to be said for giving an independent ratepayer an opportunity of challenging a proceeding of this kind. It was obvious, however, that if the Amendment were pressed to a division, those in a favour of it would only be half-a-dozen in one Lobby against five or six times as many in the other. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Biggar) would not effect anything useful by taking the opinion of the Committee on the question.

MR. BIGGAR said, that what he desired to do was to put on the Government the responsibility for this new law, which would give Local Boards the power of plundering the ratepayers in this unblushing manner. If the Government were content to accept the responsibility, well and good. He should, however, press his Amendment to a division.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 9; Noes 36: Majority 27.—(Div. List, No. 230.)

Mr. COURTNEY said, he did not propose to move the Amendments standing in his name; but he would propose another to carry out the suggestion he had made to the Committee a short time ago. He wished to provide, not that notice should be sent to the members of the Board, but that it should be publicly given. He would propose, after "notice," in line 27, to insert—

> "Shall have been published in some newspaper circulating in the neighbourhood, and."

The clause would run—

> "At a meeting held after seven days' clear notice shall have been published in some newspaper circulating in the neighbourhood, and shall have been sent in writing to every member," &c.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 1, line 27, after the word "notice," to insert the words "shall have been published in some newspaper circulating in the neighbourhood, and."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. BIGGAR said, the ratepayers, as a matter of fact, would get no notice at all, because the notice would appear in a newspaper that no one ever read. He did not see that there was much use in the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Restriction on recovery of penalties).

Mr. COURTNEY said, that under the Act it was competent to any person to bring an action for the recovery of the penalties; but this clause of the Bill proposed that no action should be brought except with the consent in writing of the Attorney General. He was aware that there were many cases in which the consent of the Attorney General was required; but he did not think that in this case the Attorney General should be charged with the delicate power of determining whether a person should be charged in cases which often involved political considerations. Among other cases, there might be actions with respect to newspaper rights, and the action of the Attorney General in consenting or not consenting might be criticized as being the result of political friendship or otherwise. He did not think the Attorney General should be made a party to the bringing of actions under the Act. He was prepared to accept the substitution of the words "Public Prosecutor" for "Attorney General." The former was a public officer, and he thought his judgment in matters of this kind might be trusted. He should therefore begin by moving the omission of the words "Attorney General," in order to make the substitution he proposed.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 2, line 3, to leave out the words "Attorney General," and insert the words "Public Prosecutor."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY said, that the consent of the Attorney General had already been imported into the Act of last year. There was, therefore, nothing new in the Bill, so far as that provision was concerned. He did not think it would be well to introduce into this measure the consent of the Public Prosecutor. There was a possibility of members and officers being liable to heavy penalties, even when they acted in good faith; and therefore, for obvious reasons, he said they ought to retain the words which made the Attorney General a consenting party to the bringing of an action for the recovery of such penalties.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that with regard to cases under this Bill, the mere certificate of counsel would be all that was necessary; but he thought that the substitution of the Public Prosecutor for the Attorney General would make the bringing of actions more difficult. The activity of the Public Prosecutor had certainly not been manifested in any degree, and sometimes his consent could not be got at all. In practice, therefore, he thought that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) would defeat the very object he had in view.

MR. COURTNEY said, he would not go into the merits of the two officers. He wished to point out that cases of this kind often gave rise to discussion on the character of the action of the Attorney General. The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) had argued on the position of the Office of Public Prosecutor as it was last year; but it should be remembered that it now stood in quite a different position. He thought it was an error to intrust the initiation of an action to the Attorney General in these cases, and so much so that he was desirous of taking the sense of the Committee on the clause, although he was quite ready to make the compromise he had suggested. The hon. Member opposite had said that a large sum might be recoverable in case of action in this matter; but he (Mr. Courtney) did not see why it should not be permissible to the Judge to rule that the damages should not exceed £50, so that, if necessary, that sum should be awarded in all cases. If the Government did not agree to the compromise he had suggested, he should feel it his duty to object to the clause altogether.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) said, he had had considerable experience of actions brought in cases of this kind, and he recollected that in two or three instances the Judges at the trial had stated that there had been no moral offence of any sort or kind, or any improper conduct on the part of the defendant, and that they regretted there was no authority whose consent was necessary before proceedings could be taken. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor), he did not think there was anything to warrant the belief that an amount of jobbery would go on as the hon. Member had suggested. He could not consent to the Public Prosecutor being substituted in this case for the Attorney General; he desired to call the attention of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) to the fact that Section 25 of the Act of last year provided that proceedings for recovery under the Act should not be taken without the consent of the Attorney General. As to the ruling of the Judge in these cases, the suggestion which the hon. Member had made was, he said, inapplicable. There must be something in the nature of a penalty to be suffered by the defendant who had been guilty of an offence. He thought it would be very desirable not to divide the authority responsible for proceedings being taken, and he did not believe there would be the slightest difficulty in obtaining a thoroughly impartial decision in cases of the kind from the Attorney General, whatever Government he might represent. Although it was possible that in some rare cases political feelings might come in, he should think the result, in such a case, would rather be in favour of giving permission than withholding it. He could not accede to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Liskeard, because he had the strongest feeling that the Attorney General in years gone by had always acted in the most impartial manner, and had always decided the cases submitted to him on their merits. Inasmuch as this was a small matter, and inasmuch as the general question was going to be raised hereafter on a larger Bill, he asked the Committee to confirm the view that the Attorney General was the proper person to authorize these proceedings.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining clause *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* as amended; to be *considered* upon *Monday* next.

MOTION.

MARRIAGES (SAINT JOHN, COWLEY) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Bill to render valid certain Marriages at Saint John, Cowley, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL and Mr. STUART-WORTLEY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 234.]

House adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 15*th July,* 1885.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — *Second Report* — Public Accounts [No. 267], Mr. Solicitor General *added;* Admiralty (Expenditure and Liabilities), *appointed.*

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS—Vote 4; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES; Votes 2 to 4, 7 & 8—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND ART; Votes 4 to 9
Resolutions [July 14] *reported.*
PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)—*Second Reading* — Cart Navigation*; Evesham, Redditch, and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction Railway*; Witham Drainage (Steeping River).*
PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—School Boards* [235].
Second Reading—Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Birmingham, &c.)* [228]; Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland)* [214]; Marriages (Saint John, Cowley)* [234]; Oaths [62], *debate adjourned.*
Committee—Trustees Relief* [83]—R.P.
Considered as amended—Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (No. 2)* [207].
Third Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 1)* [162]; Metropolis (Hughes Fields, Deptford) Provisional Order Confirmation* [205]; Metropolis (Tabard Street, Newington) Provisional Order Confirmation* [204], and *passed.*
Withdrawn—Burial Grounds* [164].

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET): Sir Arthur Otway, I think it will probably be for the convenience of the Committee, and I hope tend to shorten its labours, if I state, very briefly, the circumstances under which I am now about to ask for the sum of £10,000, which is named in this Estimate, for the restoration of Westminster Hall. This Vote has been purposely kept separate from the others, and put down as the first to be taken today, in order that, on a question of such importance as well as interest, there should be ample opportunity for free discussion, and that any hon. Member who may still object to the proposed restoration should have a full and fair opportunity, should he choose to avail himself of it, of developing his views in public debate, even though he may have already stated them before the Select Committee which has, within the last 12 months, sat and reported upon this subject. Hon. Members will recollect that, on the 8th of last August, the House was asked for a Vote for the restoration of Westminster Hall. On that occasion exception was taken to the Vote on various grounds; but I think the principal ground was that sufficient time or opportunity had not been afforded for the proposals which were then made to be considered by the Members of this House or by the public outside. Probably hon. Members will agree with me in the opinion that the public ought to be satisfied before we proceed to take steps which must lead, to a great extent, to permanent results. In deference to the objection which was made in August last, a Vote for £3,000 only was taken at that time for the purpose of repairing the buttresses to the exterior of the Hall, and the payment of the main sum then asked for was allowed to stand over until this year. But, in the meantime, a Committee was appointed on November 7, and nominated on November 10 last, with directions "to examine and report on the plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall;" and I will now, with the permission of the House, read the names of the 13 hon. Members who formed that Committee, because I believe their names will inspire confidence in the result of their labours. They were—Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Beresford Hope, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Richard Wallace, Sir Edward Reed, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Dick-Peddie, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Walter, Mr. Cheetham, Mr. J. H. M'Carthy, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre. The Committee appointed as their Chairman the right hon. Gentleman, who then filled, with so much ability and zeal, the Office which I have now the honour to hold as First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). I think it will be admitted on all hands that it would be very difficult to name any 13 Gentlemen in this House more entitled to represent, or who could represent more fully, not only every political Party in this House, but also the various Schools of Art criticism, learning, and research, which have lately devoted their attention to questions of architectural and antiquarian interest. That Committee began its labours on the 14th of November, and held its last sitting on the 27th of April in the present year. Any hon. Member who glances over the proceedings must, I think, admit that everyone who chose had a fair opportunity of expressing his opinion, and that the Committee did not arrive at its Report until after such opinions had been fully considered and tested by debate and division. I have now given, I hope, enough of the history of this Committee to satisfy hon. Members and the public—and it is most important that public opinion should be fully satisfied — that no amount of further inquiry is likely to throw much fresh light upon the subject, and that the question is now ripe for settlement, and that this urgent business of the restoration of Westminster Hall should be undertaken, and undertaken without any further delay. No doubt, differences of opinion will remain, and even strong objections may linger in the minds of a few, no matter what may be done; but I am afraid that whatever is done those differences must remain, I believe, under all the circumstances, to the end of time. Meanwhile the matter is urgent, for since the old, ugly Law Courts were pulled down, we have all seen the hideous, unfinished, and precarious condition in which the West side of the splendid Hall is exposed to view; and at this moment some of the best specimens of old Norman masonry which lie at the base, and form the base, of the wall are only protected from the destructive effects of the weather by a wooden shelter. I shall now state, in a very few words, the general conclusion at which the Committee appointed last year arrived. When they commenced their labours the only plans before them were those of Mr. Pearson, and the evidence received by them was mainly in opposition to, or in support of, those plans, although alternative plans were suggested during the discussion. It is not necessary for me to dwell upon the great authority of Mr. Pearson's name. Even those who differ from him will admit that he has devoted himself to this subject with the enthusiasm of a lover, as well as with the knowledge of a master, of his Art. An alternative scheme was the completion of Sir Charles Barry's plans, and I need hardly say that the name of Sir Charles Barry also must command respect and admiration for the noble work he has left behind him; but it is sufficient for me now to say that his ideas were fully gone into and canvassed before the Committee. His proposals were on a vast scale. The cost of executing them altogether was estimated at over £500,000, and they would have involved, besides, the removal of St. Margaret's Church from the position it now occupies on the West side of Parliament Square. Upon the whole, the Committee arrived at the following conclusion:—

> "That neither architectural considerations for the group of buildings as they now stand, nor utilitarian reasons connected with the wants of Parliament, or of the Public Service, require that Sir Charles Barry's wings, or either of them, should be erected."

I think I can best describe what this money is to be voted for by reading a few passages of the Report of the Select Committee. They say—

> "Your Committee are, however, satisfied upon three points which are of importance in considering the question of the restoration of this side of the Hall. First, that the Hall was intended by the original builders to be seen, although buildings of different heights soon sprang up beside it; second, that at some time, probably, as your Committee think, in the Reign of Richard II., a two-storied building was erected underneath the flying buttresses, along the whole length of the Hall, with the exception of the two northernmost bays, the flying buttresses being built at the same time to support the splendid wooden roof then erected; third, that at the North-Western end of the Hall, facing New Palace Yard, a building stood at right angles to it, erected in the time of Henry III., and subsequently modified in the Tudor times, in the upper part of which was the room long occupied by the Exchequer Court. Your Committee are further agreed that it is most desirable to preserve the ancient Norman work, erected in the time of William Rufus, on the lower part of the Western Hall. The stones are in perfect condition, and are covered with marks and signs of the Norman masons of that date; and as this stonework is one of the few specimens of that kind now existing, it should not be left open and exposed to the action of the London atmosphere, by which it would be speedily destroyed. . . . . The total estimate of the works by Mr. Pearson is £35,300: of this £5,000 is the cost of completing the corner of St. Stephen's porch, in harmony with Sir Charles Barry's work—this is indispensably necessary if it be determined not to construct the wing of the Palace in front of the Hall, as proposed by Sir Charles Barry; £8,000 is the cost of rebuilding and repairing the flying buttresses, and of effecting necessary repairs to the Western wall of the Hall—this also is absolutely necessary, whatever plan be adopted; £8,000 is the estimate for raising the two towers on the North front, as proposed by Mr. Pearson; but this estimate may, for the present, be left out of consideration if the work on these towers is postponed, as above recom-

mended. There remains £13,500 as the cost of the two-storied gallery under the cloisters, and the building at right angles to the Hall, for which, looking at the question from a merely utilitarian point of view, there will be obtained a number of excellent rooms available for the purposes already referred to. Your Committee consider it desirable that the date or some other distinctive mark should be placed on certain of the stones, so as to prevent any misapprehension arising hereafter as to the date of the work. Your Committee, in conclusion, desire to express their sense of the great care and knowledge exhibited in his treatment of this most difficult subject by Mr. Pearson, who is admitted to be a most competent authority for such works, and whose plans are supported by some of the most eminent architects of the day; and while, on the one hand, your Committee do not contend that his design is an exact reproduction or restoration of the West side of the Hall, on the other hand they feel assured that it has been prepared with careful regard to all historical evidence, and that the general scope of his design is in harmony with the simple grandeur of this national building."

I have thought that the best way in which I could introduce this Vote to the Committee, knowing the great interest which is felt on the subject, was by reading these extracts from the Report of the Select Committee. It is under these circumstances that I venture very confidently to commend the Vote to the Committee. I do not, in the least degree, desire to make any appeal with a view of checking debate, because, as I have already said, I am quite sure that the subject should be thoroughly discussed, and that an opportunity ought to be afforded to those who differ from the conclusion of the Select Committee for explaining their views. The design and the conception are those of Mr. Pearson, of whose qualifications for such difficult and important duties I have read the unanimous opinion of this strong Committee. The judgment is that of the Committee presided over by my right hon. Friend opposite, and arrived at after careful and well-informed consideration. As I have said, there have been rival plans and attractions which I do not wish to depreciate; and perhaps it would be worth while to try them all—that is, according to the old song—

"Could a man be secure that his life would endure
For a thousand long years;"

but for us—

"Who have a span-long life,"

we must really now make up our minds which of these plans we are disposed to adopt. The Committee, on whose Report I rely, have recommended that of Mr. Pearson by majorities, on all the most important points, of 7 or 8 to 2 or 3; and I would venture now very respectfully to press its final adoption upon the Committee, instead of further postponing the consideration of the question. The work may then be commenced, and some steps taken not only to preserve this magnificent specimen of ancient art and to perpetuate the ancient and illustrious history of this building, but also to get rid of the hideous sight now presented to the public. I beg to move a Vote of £10,000 for the restoration of Westminster Hall.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £35,488, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Buildings of the Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Plunket.*)

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had made a very ingenious and graceful speech in introducing his first Estimate to the Committee. But last year a similar Estimate was introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) in an equally argumentative speech, and probably with more fulness of detail than had been employed by his right hon. and learned Friend. However, the good sense of the House of Commons rejected the proposal made on that occasion; and he was not without hope that the good sense of the House of Commons would reject the present proposal. There was nothing in which the right hon. and learned Gentleman showed more ability than in the light manner in which he had glided over the question of what the nation was to receive for this expenditure of £35,000—that being the original proposal. He was quite aware that it had been cut down since, and he also knew that it would be impossible to spend the whole of the money during the present Session. The Vote now proposed was only a Vote of £10,000 to carry out the proposal of Mr. Pearson which had been referred to by the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and which was originally to cost £35,000.

He wished to state, at the outset, that no one in this country could help entertaining the highest admiration for the eminent man who had made those plans. He was a Royal Academician and a most eminent architect; but he thought it would possibly be found that Mr. Pearson's antiquarian zeal had eaten up his discretion. He wished to recall to the recollection of the Committee how this matter originated. When the new Law Courts were opened the late First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) was extremely anxious to pull down the old Courts which disfigured the West Front of Westminster Hall; and it was doing the right hon. Gentleman no injustice to say that he probably feared that these ugly old Courts might be rendered available for the use of Grand Committees, and for other purposes. He very greatly sympathized with the right hon. Gentleman's desire to clear away the excrescences which at that time existed; but it was a remarkable fact that no official seemed to know what was to be found below the Law Courts. He was confident that the Board of Works had no notion whatever of the history of the flying buttresses and the Norman walls which were discovered when the excavations were begun. What took place was this. When the excavations at the Law Courts were going on, and those buttresses and walls were disclosed, the right hon. Gentleman consulted Mr. Pearson, the eminent architect of Westminster Abbey. Mr. Pearson thoroughly entered into the archæological question put before him, and worked out plans in an ingenious way. He knew the proclivities of the right hon. Gentleman, his employer, and promptly whispered into his ear the word "restoration"—"let us restore." The simple intention, up to that time, was to pull down; but the right hon. Gentleman was fond of restoration. To some extent he had done a little in the work of restoration at the Tower of London, of which he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) did not complain; but of which eminent persons did complain. The word "restoration," therefore, had a charm for the right hon. Gentleman, and it induced him at once to give his sanction to the suggestions of Mr. Pearson.

The Committee would recollect that the right hon. Gentleman was somewhat pertinacious with his proposal. Last year a hoarding was put up outside the whole of the discoveries, and nobody was permitted to go inside to see what was being done. The public, to this day, had been rigidly excluded, and a set of plans were produced upon which the Committee of Supply last year were required to pronounce an immediate decision. They were asked to accept the plans at once, or they would do a serious injury not only to Westminster Hall, but to the House of Commons. There was a debate in the House upon the subject; and it was left to his hon. Friend the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie)—who, eminent as he was as a Member of Parliament, was equally eminent as an architect—to take up the question. It was to that hon. Member that the House was indebted for the appointment of a Committee; and the right hon. Baronet the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel) had stated in the House that the speech of the hon. Member for Kilmarnock was one of the few he had ever heard which succeeded in changing his opinion. After that speech the First Commissioner of Works said he would, if it was the desire of the House, appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the matter, but that, in the meantime, he would ask the House to vote the sum which he then asked for — namely, £10,000. The debate went on; the right hon. Gentleman was exceedingly pertinacious; and it was only at the last moment, when he saw that the sense of the Committee, in consequence of the speech of the hon. Member for Kilmarnock, was so much against him, that he at last agreed to appoint a Committee.

The Committee met in November, and took, as the Chief Commissioner stated at the time, a sum of £3,000 for the repair of the flying buttresses and the protection of the Norman masonry, which had become uncovered. His right hon. and learned Friend the present First Commissioner (Mr. Plunket) had told the Committee the danger which existed to the structure if it remained in its present condition. But would the Committee believe that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) never expended 1*d.* on the preservation of these buttresses and Norman walls? Down to that very moment they had been exposed to the elements without protection of any kind, and they had had to endure the storms of the winter—the sleet, snow, and frost, and everything else; and they remained now just as they were before. What sincerity was there, then, in the threat held out to the House of Commons, that if they did not grant this money the structure would disappear, owing to the destroying hand of time? As the House were warned then, they were warned now; but he had no fear that those structures would disappear if they had to wait for a few months longer.

A Committee was appointed—perhaps a stronger Committee could not have been selected—and he was ready to bear his humble testimony to the great pains which the Select Committee took in investigating the matter. But, at the same time, he was not at all satisfied that the Committee did give to everybody that encouragement to come forward and give evidence which would have enabled the country to ascertain the views of those most competent to deal with questions of this kind. The Committee consisted of 13 Members, and it would be found that about eight attended the Sittings of the Committee pretty regularly. One hon. Gentleman—an Irish Member—did not appear at all, notwithstanding the fact that he was put upon the Committee to the exclusion of others who did take an interest in the question. Another Member—the noble Lord the present Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill)—was appointed at a time when it was perfectly well known that he was about to proceed to India. The noble Lord attended twice, and then went away to India. If the right hon. Gentleman had wished to do what was right, he would have submitted other names as Members of the Committee; but he did not do so. He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had attended the Sittings of the Committee regularly. He had, of course, to sit behind the Members; but he told the right hon. Gentleman that he was anxious personally to give evidence. The right hon. Gentleman, however, took very good care that all the days should be filled up until the end of the Sitting of the Committee; and, not being a Member of the Committee, he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had no opportunity of calling any witnesses. He never saw a Committee which gave less encouragement to witnesses to come forward. A number of eminent men did give evidence before the Committee adverse to the plans of Mr. Pearson; but, really, the encouragement they met with was of such a nature that the whole Profession took fright, and refused to come forward. He was acquainted with a most eminent architect who was desirous of giving evidence, and who was so much alarmed at the tone of the Chairman of the Committee, who treated the scientific witnesses who came forward for the public good as if they were witnesses in the Old Bailey, and put the most disagreeable and impertinent questions to them, that this gentleman abandoned his intention of coming forward to give evidence. He, therefore, did not admit that the Committee could not have been improved, or that it was successful in obtaining all the evidence which they ought to have had before they endorsed the proposals of Mr. Pearson. He challenged the Members of the Committee to state in that House whether what he said was true or not, or whether they had ever seen a Committee conducted in the same manner, with professional men treated as the Chairman of the Committee deemed it right to treat the witnesses who were called to give evidence on that occasion? It was made a matter of complaint in the architectural journals and in the Profession generally; and he maintained that when witnesses came forward, under such circumstances, to give to a Committee the benefit of their knowledge and experience, they ought to be treated with common courtesy and respect. He was sure that if a similar mode of proceeding was to become common, the House of Commons would not succeed in getting evidence from persons outside.

He would now say a few words on the general question. He did not propose to enter into the general question or the archæological question at any length; but he would venture to say something as to what they were to get for this large expenditure of public money. Westminster Hall was, as everybody admitted, a structure hardly less sacred in its associations than Westminster Abbey. The great events of English history clustered around its walls. He had sometimes thought that all the Civil Service Commission had to do, if they desired to put historical questions on English history that would test the knowledge of the persons who went before them, was to ask for an account of Westminster Hall and the events which, from remote times, had taken place in connection with it. He thought it would be found that any candidate who could answer such a question would possess no mean knowledge of English history.

The Hall was built by William Rufus; 300 years afterwards Richard II. raised the walls and added the magnificent timber roof with which it was now adorned, and also made the windows with which it was imperfectly lighted. Anything that would destroy or injure the light of the windows in Westminster Hall would be a matter of very great regret, and the plans suggested by the Committee would have that effect, although not to so great an extent as the original plans. Fortunately, they were altered at the very last moment; and at the last Sitting of the Committee the architect consented to lower the huge battlements which he had proposed to erect in front of the windows. Then, when the excavations were made, this old wall was found; it was of Norman architecture of the time of William Rufus. He quite admitted that Norman architecture was not very frequent in London, and he also admitted that there were on the masonry marks of the tools of the masons, and he entirely agreed that these should be carefully preserved. Let him, then, pass over this for a moment with the concession that the Norman architecture ought to be preserved. He came next to the flying buttresses. Those flying buttresses were erected by Richard II. to support the outer thrust of this huge timber roof. Now those buttresses were probably the most graceful buttresses which existed in this country. If they were exposed and repaired at full length they would form, and even now formed, a most captivating object for public inspection. If hon. Members wished to see what those flying buttresses were, which they were going to cover up with a miserable roof, let them go as far as Poet's Corner, and stand at the red pillar box. Looking at them from that point they would see what magnificent objects they were, and how worthy of preservation. The architect proposed, however, with his double cloisters, actually to take in the greater part of those buttresses. That appeared to be most objectionable; and he should have much preferred if, as in the case of the Chapter House at Westminster, the flying buttresses were exposed in their whole course. They were now to be seen rising from the ground with a beautiful sweep, and doing the work for which they were originally constructed.

Having dealt with the flying buttresses and the Norman archways, he came, lastly, to the window of Richard II. A great deal had been said about the Norman wall. But if the Committee would understand what was the real importance of that wall in the mind of the architect and the late Chief Commissioner of Works, he must remember the uses to which it was proposed to put it. When it was determined to restore the building, and Mr. Pearson decided that a double cloister should be erected along the front of this wall, the question arose what were they to do with it? The ordinary mode of a sensible architect would be to determine what rooms it was intended to build. But here the first thing determined was what to do with the wall; and what was it decided to do with it? This Norman wall was to form part of the walls of a cab shelter, or horse shelter, proposed in the plan of last year. It was to be a semi-circular sweep running down a steep declivity, and the horses and carriages of Members were to be sheltered between the buttresses and the Norman wall. That was the value put upon this Norman wall. But it had grown in value since then, because it was a good subject to impress people with; and, therefore, an exaggerated value had been put upon it. They said that they had never for a moment contemplated the destruction of the wall; but what did they propose to do with it? It was proposed to erect a double cloister below, in which provision was to be made for a number of rooms, and there would be a series of cellars to be entered from that magnificent Hall — Westminster Hall—by eight or nine steps down into the cellar. Those stone steps were to lead from Westminster Hall into the rooms below; and in order that any curious person wishing at any time to have a look at those Norman walls, with the chisel marks of 700 or 800 years ago upon them, there was to be a sliding panel capable of being pulled aside, through which about three or four feet of the walls could be seen. There were plenty of Norman walls in England, and this Norman wall, if they would only let it alone, would stand the deteriorating atmosphere of London as it had stood it hitherto; and if they desired to preserve it they had only to apply to it some of the silicate and indurating solutions which had been used on the Obelisk erected on the Embankment. That would, he believed, accomplish every purpose provided the wall needed it; but he was satisfied that this Norman wall would have resisted the atmosphere of London, and would have remained in excellent condition, without having anything done to it at all.

So much for the Norman wall. Then there were to be ceilings to the rooms below; and here he would avail himself of the exhaustive and learned Report of the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) on the question of reconstruction. The hon. Member dealt with it as a practical architect, who knew the whole theory and practice of his Profession, and who knew what rooms ought to be. The hon. Member told them about those rooms, that the floor was to be four feet six inches below Westminster Hall, one foot below the level of the ground adjoining the Hall, and 10 feet 6 inches or 11 feet below the adjoining street. They would be reached by a flight of nine or 10 steps from the Hall. Almost every witness, except Mr. Pearson himself, had spoken in terms more or less unfavourable of those rooms. They had been described by two witnesses as like going down into a cellar; and Mr. Christian, the President of the Architectural Society, who was a witness in favour of the Government plan, could only say that he did not think the lower tier of rooms could be made available. And what were they to get above? The rooms were to be raised 10 feet 6 inches above the floor of Westminster Hall, and they were to have 10 feet of steps projected into that magnificent Hall, a great portion of whose magnificence rested on its grand vista of unbroken surface. They were to have two flights of steps going into Westminster Hall, with two doors broken open in the structure of the Hall itself. They would thus have to ascend nine or 10 feet, and then to break doors into the wall for the purpose of getting into the upper rooms; and when they got into the upper rooms what were the rooms themselves? They would be extremely ill-lighted—as would be seen from the plan—and gloomy, and disagreeable. He was sorry to trouble the Committee with all these details; but in a matter of this kind everything depended on matters of detail. The hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) told them what would be the amount of lighting in those rooms. Each room, as designed, would have two windows, which would give a lighting area of 44 square feet; therefore, as the room contained 1,600 cubic feet, they would leave 263 cubic feet to be lighted by one cubic foot of lighting space. In an ordinary London drawing room they expected to have one superficial foot of lighting in every seven feet, and yet these rooms were to have no more light than one foot in 263. None of the rooms were to have fires in them. It was impossible for them to have fires, although Mr. Pearson said he thought he would be able to supply fire-places. There were none, however, on the plan, and if Mr. Pearson did supply them he would have to carry the flues down below the level of the lower pillar to a shaft at the end of the building, the result being that they would be at a level of about six feet below the floor of Westminster Hall, and he believed considerably below the level of the Thames. What was it proposed that these series of rooms should be used for? As a matter of fact, the strongest objection to the scheme was this—that it had not been commenced with the idea of providing the accommodation which was required by the House of Commons. The prevailing idea seemed to have been to carry out an architectural or archæological "fad" of restoring something which certain gentlemen thought might probably have existed there before, and to carry out the work of restoration at an enormous expense. In the present state of their finances, he maintained that the £27,000 which these rooms were to cost was a very large sum. What was the only purpose the late Chief Commissioner suggested for the use of these rooms last year? In the first place, there was to be a place for the horses, where they would have an opportunity of looking at this Norman wall and the flying buttresses at a distance of 10 or 15 feet. Then, above that, there was to be a long room of considerable size, which was to accommodate the great bulk of the Reports of that House. The right hon. Gentleman said—"Let us fill these rooms with our Papers." [Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE dissented.] He had read the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and he had certainly said that—

> "The upper part of the building could be used for various purposes in connection with the requirements of the House. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) could find many uses for it. He had received a demand from the Stationery Department for the erection of a new story for their building at a cost of £5,000, in order to stow away Reports. He was glad to say that if they stowed their Reports in these long cellars the expenditure contemplated by the Stationery Office might be saved. There were, however, many other uses which could be found for it."

Those were the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman on the occasion to which he referred. No doubt, if they were to build rooms in St. Peter's Square they would be able to find uses for them; but the great difficulty was not to find occupants, but to disestablish those who came into possession of rooms. A former Chief Commissioner of Works—Mr. Ayrton—said that there were plenty of rooms about the House, but that they had been seized by all kinds of persons employed about the building, and had been appropriated. Of course, if they built rooms as the right hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) suggested, they would be able to find many uses for them; but let hon. Members think what might happen if this great mass of stationery there proposed to accumulate had taken fire. In that case, what would become of the magnificent timber roof of Westminster Hall? He regretted to say that successive Commissioners of Works had slumbered quietly in their beds, while the National Pictures and Portrait Gallery were almost wholly unprotected from fire. Commissioners of Works seemed to care very little about fire, and at that moment that horrible building used as a store house for the Admiralty behind the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square was a perfect disgrace to the nation, and if ever a fire took place in that building nothing could save the National Gallery from the flames. He did not think the Board of Works would accept any blame for proposing to put this inflammable material close to Westminster Hall, because it was the habit of the Board of Works to run every kind of risk of fire in public buildings; and he, therefore, could not complain if one Board of Works followed the example set by their Predecessors. What was the third proposal? It was that a building should be erected at right angles to Westminster Hall, which building would take the place of the present horse shelter stand. It was to be a low building, projecting from a point near to the outer door of Westminster Hall, and it was then to be run back for about 10 feet. It was to be 55 feet in length, 30 feet 6 inches broad, and 9 feet high, and was to consist of two stories, the lower storey to be used as a receptacle for horses, while the upper storey was to be used for anything they liked. But the general idea was that it was to be a Grand Committee Room. The room they would thus get would be 55 feet long, 30 feet 6 inches broad, and 9 feet high; and would the Committee believe that that room, which was to be adopted, perhaps, as a Grand Committee Room, was only to have one door in it? By that door Members of the House, witnesses, the public, and everybody were to enter from a flight of stone steps out of Westminster Hall.

Every Member who had sat upon a Committee in that House knew what would happen when it became necessary to sit upon a question in which the public took great interest if all the Members, witnesses, and the public, were to enter at one door at the further end of the room. Anything more inconvenient than such an arrangement could not possibly be conceived. The inconvenience was pointed out by the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), whose Report was worthy of the close attention of every Member of the House. It was admirably written, was most intelligent and intelligible, and he hoped that it would be read and studied by the new First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket). The hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) was a Member of the Committee, and he admitted that the presence of the hon. Baronet upon the Committee rendered his task somewhat difficult, because the judicial habit of mind and the sound good sense of the hon. Baronet were almost a guarantee that what he put his name to would be really effective. He would only say that if the hon. Baronet supported the conclusions of the Committee, and made himself responsible for their recommendations to the House, he hoped he would be able to say, when he rose to reply, that there was no intention of breaking the walls of Westminster Hall in order to make a flight of five or six steps leading down into a cellar, and another flight of five or six steps leading up into a gallery, and that he was not going to erect this miserable building, with one door to it, and 55 feet long, for a Grand Committee Room. Nor must they forget the horses. The horses were to be sheltered beneath this Grand Committee Room. Would it be believed that this pit—for it was nothing else—into which the horses were to be placed—this pit below the Grand Committee Room would have a fall of 1 foot in 12? Why, it would almost be a dangerous declivity. To quote from the Report of his hon. Friend, this horse stand was to be placed on a level about four feet below that of the present horse stand, and three feet below the floor of Westminster Hall. From the door of the Hall the distance to the side of the West Tower was 41 feet, and descending from the Hall to the horse stand there would be a gradient of 1 foot in 13—a gradient which must prove not only inconvenient, but dangerous. From the nearest carriage way from St. Margaret's to the stand was a distance of 130 feet, and the gradient would be 1 foot in 11. Hon Members' horses were to go down that gradient into a pit in which the gradient on one side was 1 foot in 12, and 1 foot in 13 on the other. Then, what was to become of the Grand Committee assembled upstairs when the horses were there? The effluvia from the horses could not be kept out of the rooms for the Grand Committees if the windows were ever to be opened for ventilation at all; and no doubt, if the Grand Committee had been sitting during the hot summer they had been having, they would have had the windows open, and if so the smell would have been as disagreeable as anything that could be conceived. When his hon. Friend asked how this question of ventilation was to be managed, what would the Committee suppose was the solution of the ventilation question? It was proposed to close the window of the Grand Committee Room in order that the smell from the horses below might not prove too strong; but there was to be a movable window on the other side. But how was it supposed they were going to ventilate the underground cellar full of horses below? It was proposed to have a shaft and fan driven by gas, steam, or water. This fan was to be employed to exhaust the air in this cellar into which hon. Members were to put their horses.

He thought he had said enough to show that the Committee ought to pause before it accepted this scheme. Let them recollect that next year there would be a new House of Commons; the number of Members of the House would be considerably increased; and he had no doubt that very anxious and active service would be required from each Member by his constituents. Everybody would agree that every constituency would be interested in the attendance of their Representative. They would have to arrange the House so as to give to Members facilities for conferences, and other conveniences which had been for a long time wanting, but which must be supplied before long. If they were to enter upon an expenditure of £25,000, and were to expend £10,000 at that moment, they would virtually conclude the question. He thought that would be a fatal mistake. There was one misapprehension, not on the part of the right hon. Gentleman, but on the part of those who were opposed to Sir Charles Barry, which he wished to correct. It was suggested that the late Sir Charles Barry wanted to remove St. Margaret's Church. Now, according to the original design of Sir Charles Barry, who built the present Houses of Parliament, the building was to have extended along Bridge Street and along Parliament Street; and in connection with extensive improvements in that part of London the removal of St. Margaret's Church was proposed. There were some gentlemen who stated that St. Margaret's was an excellent object, and that it ought to be maintained because it enabled a visitor to measure the size of Westminster Abbey. He thought that nothing could be more absurd. The looker-on would see the magnificent extent of Westminster Abbey, and then, as his eye wandered around, he would only say—"What a mean little object that church of St. Margaret's is!" In like manner it was said that it was desirable to erect this little building, because it would look very well in front of Westminster Hall, and enable the eye to measure the size of the Houses of Parliament; but anyone would be much more likely to say—"Why in the world should you spoil that magnificent block of buildings by building that insignificant structure in front of it?"

He came now to the question of what really ought to be done, and what was wanted. What was really wanted, more than anything else, was better accommodation for the Members of that House. The most ill-treated body of persons in London were the coachmen and cab drivers of the House of Commons. Their carriages had to stand in an open space at all hours of the night in about the coldest corner of all London, unable to find shelter for themselves or their horses, with the wind sweeping across the bridge from the north-east. He thought it was absolutely essential that both coachmen and horses should be provided with some protection; but let it be a structure which should show what it was for. What was really wanted was a modest structure of glass and iron as a shelter for Members' horses and for cabs. But they ought not to put up this wretched proposed building opposite Westminster Hall. Then, what ought they to do in regard to the extension of Westminster Hall? What had they done already? They had cleared away the Law Courts, exposed those magnificent flying buttresses, and obtained a great open space from which such a view could be had of Westminster Abbey as had never been seen before. At any rate, let them keep that view until they were obliged to block it up. Let them lay down the open space with turf; let them repair these flying buttresses, and let them stand out in all their magnificence, just as the flying buttresses now presented themselves at the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey; let them hide the top of Westminster Hall by a modest embattlement, and by so doing take off some of its present unsightly appearance; but do not let them go and put up this building with a double cloister, under the pretence that they were going to give increased accommodation to the House of Commons. The expense of erecting it would be very great indeed. He had almost forgotten to mention one circumstance which was extremely condemnatory of the present proposal. If hon. Members would look at the windows of Westminster Hall, which were built by Richard II., they would see that, elegant as they were, they might be greatly improved by lengthening them. But what did the architect do? If hon. Members would refer to the plan, they would find that the architect had copied these very windows in the next storey; and that in the third storey he proposed to put in a sort of *grille* which was to be converted into a window of another kind. In order to get this modern tier of copied windows it would be seen that he had obstructed one-third of the really ancient and historical windows of Richard II. These windows would be blocked up to a considerable extent, in order to show the leading features of the new scheme in all its ugliness. If hon. Members would refer to the last plan they would see what he meant. When he asked them to refer to the last plan, it must not be forgotten that that plan was put in at the very last moment, when these objections to the building had been pointed out by his hon. Friend the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), and when many letters had appeared in the public papers from eminent architects. There had been a great deal of correspondence on the matter. Architects whose names would carry conviction with them were opposed to the proposals which had been made; but they would not attend before the Committee and give evidence when they found that they were liable to be treated as if they were criminals—endeavouring to carry out plots against Parliament and the Board of Works. In order to have secured that evidence it would only have been necessary for the Chairman of the Committee to have treated the witnesses examined before him with greater courtesy and consideration. The embattlement which was intended to be put up had been removed. The Committee said to Mr. Pearson—"Cannot you do away with a battlement which obscures these ancient windows?" and it was not until the last moment that the plan the House now had before them showing the present elevation was made. It was not submitted, as a matter of fact, until the very last meeting of the Committee. Whatever the elevation might be, he felt bound to protest against the erection of a series of rooms going up to a loft in Westminster Hall, with a miserable building at the end of the Hall; with horses below, and one door above leading into a room 55 feet long. He asked whether, in the name of common sense, the House of Commons was prepared to sanction a proposal of that kind; and in order to bring the whole matter legitimately before the Committee he would move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £10,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £27,488, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Buildings of the Houses of Parliament." — (*Mr. Mitchell Henry.*)

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I should have been better content to defer my remarks till a somewhat later period of the debate; but after the severe comments which the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) has made on my conduct as Chairman of the Committee to which that subject was referred, and which sat during the present Session, I feel bound to offer a reply at once. And, first, I would say a few words on the composition of the Committee and on the attendance of the Members. The hon. Gentleman has stated that out of the 13 Members of the Committee only eight were constant in their attendance. That, however, is not the case. Of the 13 Members, certainly two seldom attended—namely, the hon. Member for Athlone (Mr. J. H. M'Carthy), and the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill); but when the noble Lord was placed on the Committee it was not known that he was going, as he subsequently did, to visit India, and after the Committee had been nominated I did not think it desirable to appoint anyone in his place. With the exception of those two Members the attendance was remarkably good. I do not recollect a Committee so well attended by the majority of the Members composing it.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: Does the right hon. Gentleman say that I made an inaccurate statement about the attendance?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I dare say that if the hon. Gentleman has counted up the attendance on every occasion he may find that the average was eight. But I will undertake to say that the attendance was extremely good, and that there was scarcely one of the Members of the Committee who was not constantly and actively engaged. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the present First Commissioner (Mr. Plunket) has read out the names of the Committee; and I venture to think that it would have been impossible for the House to have selected a Committee of better materials, or to have found Members to serve on the Committee who were more competent to perform the work they undertook. I think that they paid every attention to the subject, and there is every reason to be satisfied with the results of the Committee. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) has commented on my conduct as Chairman of that Committee; but it must be borne in mind that at that time I was not only Chairman of the Committee, but First Commissioner of Works, that I had instructed Mr. Pearson to prepare a Report, and that after careful consideration I had adopted that Report on the part of the Government. His plans were submitted to the Government, who gave their consent to their being carried out. It appeared to me, therefore, that I was bound to stand by Mr. Pearson, and give him the best support I could. It was not always easy to fill the two positions of Chairman of the Committee and supporter of Mr. Pearson's plans; but I did so to the best of my ability. Mr. Pearson's plan was bitterly opposed by a small school of archæologists, who were determined to destroy it by any means in their power, and possibly some of these gentlemen were not altogether pleased at being cross-examined as to their own professional attainments, and as to the work they had performed themselves, which warranted their criticism of Mr. Pearson's plans. I also thought it my duty to cross-examine these gentlemen, and also to ask them to state their alternative plans. Every possible objection to Mr. Pearson's plans was accorded a full opportunity of being heard, and every one of the points mentioned by the hon. Member to-day were brought before the Committee. The Members of the Committee came to the conclusion that the alternative plans suggested by these witnesses were ridiculous, foolish, and absolutely impracticable. I felt it my duty to bring out clearly the alternative proposed by these gentlemen, and their pretensions to criticize Mr. Pearson's plans in the manner they had. I gave to the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) every opportunity for laying before the Committee any evidence he desired, and to bring out every objection he had to the scheme. I think the hon. Member fully availed himself of those opportunities, for I do not recollect any case in which the evidence was brought out more fully, and in which every possible objection that could be raised was afforded an opportunity of being heard by the Committee in opposition to Mr. Pearson's plans. Everything was brought out before the Committee in full detail; and I really believe that it was impossible for any Committee to go more minutely into every matter of detail which has been alluded to by the hon. Member than the Committee to whom this subject was referred. It would be extremely difficult for me to attempt now to go through minutely all the points which have been referred to and answer every one of them. I will, therefore, ask the Committee to look at the scheme as a whole, without too minutely criticizing the smaller points. At the same time, as I go along, I will deal with some of the objections which have been raised by the hon. Member, and I think I shall be able to show that they are without foundation. The hon. Member for Galway seemed to be under the impression that I had been instrumental in inducing Mr. Pearson to undertake this restoration, and that I suggested it to him in the first instance. [Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: Quite the reverse.] I rather failed to understand what part he thought I had taken in the conception of these plans. Therefore, I will tell the Committee exactly what occurred. When the Law Courts were removed, and when, for the first time, the Western Front of Westminster Hall was disclosed, it at once became apparent that some work of restoration would become necessary. I took the best advice I could obtain as to who was the most competent architect in the country for such work, and almost the unanimous opinion of everybody I consulted was that there was no architect in this country so well qualified in the matter for work of this importance as Mr. Pearson. I consulted everybody I could on the matter, and the only suggestion I received was that Mr. Pearson was the ablest and most careful architect to advise me on such important work. I accordingly called in Mr. Pearson, and asked him to advise the Government as to what should be done in the matter. I gave him no instructions of any kind. I gave him no hints as to what should be done; but I simply asked him to advise the Government. Mr. Pearson, on being called in, at once conducted an investigation; and his investigation of the foundations immediately adjoining the Hall at once led him to the conclusion that there had existed underneath the flying buttresses a long two-storied building, probably erected by Richard II. at the same time that the flying buttresses were erected for the support of the Hall. Every detail of that building is now known, with the single exception of the nature of the windows. The traces which exist of the building show the exact height of it, the thickness of the walls and everything connected with it, except the number and nature of the windows. It was clear that it was a two-story building, containing rooms closely attached to the Hall itself. Mr. Pearson recommended that an attempt should be made to reconstruct, under the flying buttresses, a similar building to that which existed in the time of Richard II., and he hoped in this way to recover the aspect of Westminster Hall as it existed in olden times. He defended this proposal on grounds architectural, archæological, and utilitarian. With regard to the architectural reasons, it was Mr. Pearson's opinion, and the opinion of the most eminent architects who had considered the question, that to leave the flying buttresses as they now are, without any addition whatever, would not be sightly, and would be an anomaly from an architectural point of view. I think I am right in saying that, almost without exception in old buildings, where there are flying buttresses there is an intervening building or cloisters between them and the main building. In fact, that is the meaning of flying buttresses. They rise across or over an intervening building, and the cases in which flying buttresses stand alone without such intervening building are very rare indeed. No doubt, there are flying buttresses standing alone at the Westminster Chapter House. That is one of the few cases in which there are flying buttresses without an intervening building; but Henry III. erected this after he had returned from France, where he had seen some such flying buttresses, and he imitated what he had seen by adding buttresses to the Chapter House without an intervening building. But it is one of rare exception, and, as a general rule, almost without exception, where flying buttresses exist there is an intervening range of buildings—cloisters or chapels —between them and the main building. Therefore, in the opinion of competent authorities, it would not have been sightly to repair the buttresses and leave them in the condition proposed. Then, in the second place, the erection of a building such as is now proposed under the flying buttresses, and connecting the buttresses together, was originally necessary as a support to the main wall itself. Without that junction of the buttresses they would not be strong enough to support the main wall, which is not a strong one, and upon which a very heavy roof is resting. Undoubtedly, in olden times, when these flying buttresses were erected, it was necessary to connect them together by a strong wall, which formed the outer wall of the main building. That necessity still exists; and, in the opinion of Mr. Pearson and other eminent architects, it would not be safe to leave the flying buttresses as they are without any other support from a main wall. This addition, in point of fact, is absolutely necessary in order to give support to the outer wall and the roof of Westminster Hall. Thirdly, there is the question of the old Norman wall of the Hall itself; and, in the opinion of Mr. Pearson and other eminent architects, it is absolutely necessary, if this wall is to be preserved in the state in which it has existed from the time of William Rufus down to the present, with the interesting works of Norman masonry almost on every stone, that a building should again be erected in front of it. The hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) called a number of witnesses before the Committee; but there was not one of them who did not admit that it was necessary, for the purpose of preserving this old wall, that a structure of some kind should be erected in front of it. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) has expressed a contrary opinion. He says that if the wall were left in its present state, and if it were covered with some indurating substance, it would be preserved; but that is not the opinion of those who are most competent to form one. The wall is built of soft stone, which the action of the London atmosphere would undoubtedly destroy; and if nothing is done to protect it, it will inevitably perish away. It might be possible, in the opinion of the competent surveyor of the Office of Works, by covering the wall with oil every two or three years, to preserve it for a time; but he does not recommend this course, because a coating of oil would destroy the appearance of it and its colour. Therefore, the conclusion come to was that it was most desirable, if we wished to preserve this old wall, that we should reconstruct the building in front of it which existed in the time of Richard II. We now propose, as far we can, to restore the main architectural and archæological features of the building in the manner proposed by Mr. Pearson, and by erecting this range of buildings to recover the general aspect of the Hall as it was in early times. We do not pretend to say that the galleries will be an exact *fac simile* of what formerly existed, for this reason—because we do not know what the windows were; but Mr. Pearson proposes to insert windows conformable to the style of the period in which the building was originally erected; and, as far as we can make out, the restoration proposed by Mr. Pearson will, in the main, recover the general aspect of Westminster Hall as it was in early times. There is a further proposal of Mr. Pearson which has been alluded to by the hon. Member for Galway—namely, that at the Northern end of the Hall, and at the end of the cloister under the flying buttresses, there shall be erected a building at right angles with the Hall—a building on the site of the old Exchequer Chamber which once existed here. The reasons for that are these. Mr. Pearson says it is almost impossible to carry on the cloister in the Northern end of the Hall in a satisfactory manner without some such building. A building at right angles with the Hall undoubtedly existed in olden times, although its exact nature is not known. Mr. Pearson proposes to erect a building in the same style as the building under the cloisters, and in harmony with it. This building is to contain a standing for horses instead of the shed now erected in New Palace Yard. A standing is almost indispensable for the use of the House, and it is probable that the large room which will be erected over it may be used for the purposes of the House. The hon. Member for Galway has endeavoured to throw some discredit upon this upper room by saying that the only access to it will be by a single staircase. That is not so. There will be two. By Mr. Pearson's plan it will be approached partly by a staircase in the corner of Westminster Hall, and partly by a staircase in a small tower in a corner of the building. The hon. Member seems to assume, as a matter of certainty, that this large room will be used as a Grand Committee Room. There has been no definite proposition to that effect; and if it turns out that it would not be convenient for that purpose, there are many other purposes connected with the House for which it might be useful. The hon. Member has also objected to the rooms it is proposed to erect in the galleries under the cloisters. The matter was carefully considered by the Committee, and the Members of the Committee came to an opposite conclusion to that of the hon. Member. They formed a very strong opinion that these rooms would be useful for many purposes connected with the House. The range of buildings would give a number of very excellent rooms, which would be available for the use of the House. In the upper floor there will be three rooms, 40 feet by 20 feet, and with a height of from 14½ feet to 17 feet, while on the lower floor the rooms would be 38 feet by 20 feet and 13½ feet in height. They would be lighted by two windows. If it should turn out—which is very doubtful—that these windows would not give adequate light, it would be easy to supplement the lighting from above. The rooms themselves would be useful as rooms in which Members could receive deputations. There is also another use connected with the service of Parliament for which they would be adapted—namely, as rooms for Royal Commissions, for which I think they would be extremely well adapted. It has been objected by the hon. Member that the access to these rooms would partly be by stone staircases in the corners of Westminster Hall, 10 feet in height. That is undoubtedly how access was given to them in former times. It was my intention, if I had remained in charge of the Office of Works, to try by a model how these would look, and whether they would interfere with the appearance of Westminster Hall. In the opinion of Mr. Pearson, they would not detract from the appearance of the Hall. If, however, it should turn out that that was not so, and that the effect was bad, it would be quite possible to place the steps in the lower part of the gallery by sacrificing a part of the space there, and in this way, I think, the objections of the hon. Gentleman would be completely met. The rooms in the lower gallery would not be so good as those in the upper floor, as they would only be 13 feet 8 inches in height instead of 14 feet. It is scarcely fair to call them galleries. They will be very fair rooms, available for the purposes of the House, and will be approached by stone steps leading downwards from Westminster Hall, the fact being that Westminster Hall itself stands on a different level from the land immediately on its West side. On that account, the rooms would open at once into the space on the West side of the Hall; and they cannot, in any true or proper sense of the term, be called cellars. I have now described what are the proposals of Mr. Pearson, which, after careful inquiry, received the approval of the Committee to which I have referred. I have now to point out to the Committee what are the main grounds of opposition to the scheme, and the alternative proposed by those who object. Objection has been raised to these plans from very different points of view, and it comes from two quarters principally. In the first place, it comes from those who think that Sir Charles Barry's original plan for the completion of this great Palace should be carried out; and, secondly, it comes from a group of archæologists, to whom I have already referred, and of whom I shall speak again shortly. No doubt Sir Charles Barry made proposals to extend the Houses of Parliament by adding two other wings to it, one of which was to proceed from St. Stephen's Porch, in front of Westminster Hall, and another wing extending from the Clock Tower in the corner of New Palace Yard. These new buildings would have cost £500,000. The House considered that scheme many years ago, and I need hardly remind the Committee that, after the most careful consideration, all idea of completing this wing was definitely abandoned in 1865. Money was then voted by the House for covering with stone the side of the Clock Tower, which had been previously left in brick, and for surrounding New Palace Yard by an elaborate and costly *grille* in the form of railings. These works were wholly inconsistent with the carrying out of Sir Charles Barry's plans. The immense extension contemplated by Sir Charles Barry was not required for the purposes of this House; and as it would be very unsuitable and very inconvenient for other Public Offices the scheme was completely abandoned. Now that the West Front of Westminster Hall has been exposed to view it would be a very mistaken policy to cover it up again, and public opinion would not justify concealing it by this proposed extension. In the opinion of the ablest architects, Westminster Hall, with its severer aspect and great size, combines well with the elaborate and delicate work of Barry's building. Under no possible circumstances can it be anticipated that the House will be induced to sanction Sir Charles Barry's extension at the cost proposed. As far as I understand there is no great necessity in this House for accommodation such as would have been provided by a building of that magnitude; and, therefore, whether we look at it from an utilitarian or any other point of view, I do not think it will be deemed advisable to complete Sir Charles Barry's scheme. Looking at it from the opposite side of Parliament Square, I cannot but think that Westminster Hall in the centre of the Houses of Parliament, together with Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's Church, form one of the most picturesque and interesting group of buildings to be found in Europe. I think, therefore, the House would be most unwilling to conceal Westminster Hall by proceeding with the scheme of Sir Charles Barry; and if the House does not proceed with Mr. Pearson's scheme, I believe it will be absolutely impossible to obtain its assent to the completion of that of Sir Charles Barry. The other opposition to Mr. Pearson's plans came from a certain small school of archæologists, who carry their views against restorations of all kinds to a fanatical and absurd point. They are of opinion that if anything is to be done to an old building in the way of addition it should be done in a completely modern style, and that no attempt should be made to restore what existed previously. These gentlemen are not distinguished as architects; they have not erected any buildings of importance. They are archæologists rather than architects. They object, on principle, to any restoration or reconstruction of an old building on the ground that it is the mere imitation of old work and a falsification of history. These are the views of a distinct school of archæologists, who consider that if any addition to or restoration is to be made of an old building it would be better that it should be as incongruous as possible to the building, so as to mark distinctly that it is modern work. For this reason they object strongly to Mr. Pearson's plans. They regard those plans as the very embodiment of what they most object to; and they are determined, as they avow, to storm and take the citadel and destroy it. Fortunately, they did not content themselves with objections, but propounded an alternative plan, and the Committee will scarcely credit what their proposal was. It is difficult to conceive anything more absurd or more hideous. They all of them admit the necessity of erecting, against the West Front of Westminster Hall, some structure to preserve the old Norman wall. The structure they recommend, in lieu of that proposed by Mr. Pearson, is to be of wood and plaster, after the fashion of the old buildings to be found in Cheshire—the wood painted black, and the plaster white, with two rows of small windows in it, by means of which the old wall can be examined. No utilitarian use is to be made of the building, and the sole object of it is to preserve the walls behind it. They admitted that such a building would not be sightly. They contem.

plated that Sir Charles Barry's wing would hide it from view; and when I asked what they would do if Parliament should decide not to erect that wing, they suggested that the structure might be planted out. It is scarcely necessary further to criticize that foolish and impossible plan, yet it is the only alternative suggested by any of the witnesses called by the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie). On the other hand, five of the leading architects of the day were called by him, who joined in emphatic condemnation of this alternative proposal. They were Mr. Christian, the President of the Institution of Architects, Mr. Blomfield, Mr. Waterhouse, Mr. Oldrid Scott, and Mr. Brooks, and they gave a general approval of Mr. Pearson's plans. I believe it would be impossible to find five greater architects, or men of a more representative character. [Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: But they are all of one school.] That is true; but it is a very important school, and the school best acquainted with the style of the adjacent buildings. As I have said, they all united in condemning the plans of the archæologists I have referred to, and they all united in approving in the main Mr. Pearson's proposals. There was, indeed, a difference of opinion between them as to whether the proposed building under the buttresses should have two stories or one storey. Two of them were of opinion that a building of one storey under the buttresses would be preferable to two stories, and in deference to the views of the Committee Mr. Pearson proposed plans for a one-storied building; models were erected on the side of the Hall of both his plans. When these were completed the two architects who had originally favoured the one-storied building came before the Committee and stated that they wished to be re-examined on that question. They said that, having seen the models of the two-storied building, they had completely changed their mind; and they desired to state to the Committee that, in their opinion, Mr. Pearson had been perfectly right in proposing a two-storied building, and that they withdrew their objection to it. At the same time, the Members of the Committee who had also been in favour of a one-storied building changed their opinion in consequence of having seen the erection I have referred to; and the result was that the Committee were almost unanimously in favour of a two-storied building, and Mr. Pearson himself said that the models had convinced him more than ever that the higher or two-storied building was the best. In deference, however, to the opinions of some Members of the Committee, who thought that the building proposed by Mr. Pearson did not show enough of the windows of the Hall, and suggested that it concealed too much of the flying buttress, Mr. Pearson made a further alteration in his plan, which hon. Members will find in the last Report laid before the House. He consented to lower somewhat the height of the wall in the two-storied building, and he has substituted for the battlemented parapet a plain coping, the result of which will be that the upper windows of the Hall will be almost completely open—that is to say, the building will leave exposed a great deal more of the flying buttresses and upper tier of windows to be seen from a distance. The plan thus adopted will be found at the end of the Appendix; it met with the unanimous approval of the Committee, with the exception of the two Members already alluded to. I have now to submit that after this discussion has taken place, and after the long inquiry before the Select Committee, the Committee should come to a conclusion on this subject. I have not personally approached the matter in any dogmatic spirit, nor have I intruded my own views upon the subject; on the contrary, I have been most anxious to assist in arriving, if possible, at a unanimous opinion on the part of the Committee. In matters of this kind I think that we should be guided by the highest architectural authority of the day. I believe that the plan of Mr. Pearson has received the support and approval of the highest professional men in the country, and it is in that sense that I put it before the Committee. I will only express my belief that the treatment of Westminster Hall proposed by Mr. Pearson can be justified on archæological, historical, and architectural grounds, and that when his plan is completed the Hall will combine with the other buildings around it in a manner that will be worthy of its ancient associations and fame, and worthy of the most splendid and interesting architectural group in Europe.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said that when the Vote for Westminster Hall was before the Committee last year he opposed it on three grounds—first, because the proposed buildings were not a restoration of the West side of the Hall; secondly, because, on artistic grounds, they were objectionable; and, thirdly, because the accommodation to be provided by them was not needed, and was of a very unsatisfactory kind. After serving on the special Committee which had considered the plans—and he might say that he was not one of those Members of the Committee to whom his hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had referred as having been seldom present at the meetings of the Committee, for he had been constantly present from the beginning to the end of its Sittings—he had been forced to the conclusion that the objections he had ventured to submit to the Committee last year were only too well founded. The right hon. Gentleman who was Chairman of the Committee (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had said that day that the opposition to the plans for carrying out which a Vote was now asked proceeded from two classes of persons—first, those who desired to see Sir Charles Barry's designs carried out; and, secondly, those who belonged to a peculiar archæological school, of whom he spoke in a contemptuous way, and whom he described as persons who were opposed to all restoration. He (Mr. Dick-Peddie) did not belong to either of those classes. As his proposed Report showed, he did not advocate the carrying out of Sir Charles Barry's designs, no present need of the accommodation it proposed to provide having been shown; neither was he in sympathy with the school of archæologists referred to, as he had no objection to architectural restoration where there were *data* on which a true restoration might be based. His first objection to the plans was still, as it was last year, that they had no claim to be regarded as a restoration. Now, he wished to remind the Committee that it was chiefly on the ground that it was a restoration that the plans were originally put before the House of Commons and the country as worthy of acceptance. They were described as "Plans for the Restoration of Westminster Hall." The Committee was appointed to inquire into and report on the "Plans for the Restoration of the West side of Westminster Hall." The Vote was described in the Estimates as "for the Restoration of Westminster Hall. Mr. Pearson, in his Report (Appendix No. 1, page 156), said, his object

> "has been, consistently with present requirements, to recover the aspect which it"—that was, the West side of the Hall—"presented in Richard II.'s time."

He further said, (Appendix No. 1, page 156), after describing certain details of his design—

> "In fact, but very little of the restoration is conjectural;"

and he spoke of the projecting building at the North-West angle, which was to stand on the site of a building of Henry III.'s time that he did not propose to restore, in words which implied that for the rest of his design he did claim that it was truly a restoration. He said in his Report (Appendix 1, page 151) that he had designed the building on the site referred to

> "In character with Richard II.'s work, considering the *data* insufficient to warrant any attempted restoration of the work of Henry III."

He (Mr. Dick-Peddie) was satisfied that there were more data on which to found a restoration of this building of Henry III. than there were for restoring any part of Richard II.'s work. In the answer to the first question put to him, Mr. Pearson spoke of his plans as a "restoration," and throughout the whole of his examination by the Chairman this representation of his designs was kept up. But when he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) came to cross-examine Mr. Pearson, the claim that the plans were a restoration was entirely destroyed; it had been formally given up in the Report of the Select Committee, and there was no longer the pretence that the Hall was to be "restored" to its original state. He might remind the Committee that the chief feature in the designs was the erection of a two-storied building between the buttresses. In each bay, that was the portion of the building between the two buttresses, the lower storey had two wide low arches formed in it, and the upper storey was to have two windows almost exact reproductions of the windows of the Hall. Those windows were symmetrically placed; the wall head was to be surmounted with an embattled parapet and cope. Mr. Pearson's authority for the design of the lower storey was a plan by Capon to be found in the Appendix. But Mr. Pearson was compelled to admit that what Capon's plan showed was not two arches in each bay, but one wide low arch instead of two as shown in the designs. For the windows in the upper storey Mr. Pearson appealed to a plan by Sir Christopher Wren, which was also in the Appendix to the Report; but he had to admit in examination that Wren's plan showed not two windows in each bay, symmetrically arranged, but that it showed in some of the bays one window only in the centre, and in others two windows irregularly placed, and that of the size and form of the windows it gave no indication at all. Mr. Pearson had, indeed, in reply to the last question which he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) put to him, which was if he could state shortly what part of his design was restoration, to admit that nothing was restoration but the base of the wall, its height, and the fact that there were windows having each two lights in it. Well, even as to the height Mr. Pearson was wrong in the estimation of the Select Committee, for in their Report they recommended the

> "Lowering of the wall, and that a plain coping should be substituted for the battlemented coping. There is, they might observe, no direct evidence that the original wall had parapets."

But the whole architectural design in this wall lay in the parapet and the windows; and if there was not reliable evidence for the existence on the design of the former, nor for the size or number or shape and distribution of the latter, the claim for the design as a restoration he said was completely destroyed, and all that remained, even according to Mr. Pearson, was the fact that they were to have a new wall in the same position as an old one. That a wall did at one time exist in this position was unquestionable; but as to its height there was great doubt, and whatever that height might have been in comparatively recent times there were absolutely no *data* whatever for determining what it was in Richard II.'s time. But there was conclusive evidence given by Mr. Scott, a witness brought in support of the design, and of Mr. Brock, who had more attentively studied the indications of the building than any other witness, that the wall had not been at any time of uniform height. He was sorry that in a matter of this kind, of a highly technical character, the Members of the House could not be expected to read the long evidence that had been brought forward. He was satisfied that any Members who did read it could come to no other conclusion than that there was no evidence at all on which to found any restoration of the building "to the aspect which it presented in Richard II.'s time." But while Mr. Pearson professed to restore what there was no *data* for restoring, he did not restore features which the building undoubtedly did possess at whatever date it existed. There did undoubtedly exist, as Mr. Pearson himself had pointed out, cross walls, extending from the side of the Hall to the buttresses. These he did not restore. Again, Sir Christopher Wren's plan showed that a number of fire-places existed in the old building which must have had tall chimneys rising above the wall heads. Neither fire-places nor chimneys were shown in Mr. Pearson's designs. In fact, Mr. Pearson "restored" that of the existence of which there was no evidence, and he did not restore that of which there was clear evidence. A very important fact, bearing on the date of the building which at one time existed on the site, was that according to the evidence of Mr. Stevenson, the accuracy of which was in effect admitted by Mr. Pearson, the only portion of the cope which remained when he inspected the old walls was, as shown by its mouldings, of later date than Richard II.'s time. He had said that there were more *data* on which to found a restoration of the building of Henry III. at the North-West angle of the wall, than of the buildings of Richard II.'s time. In fact, that building was in existence till 1806, and a beautiful drawing made by Capon in that year, and copied in plate No. 24 of the Appendix to the Report, showed its character so distinctly that it might easily have been reproduced. He wished to put strongly before the Committee that even had it been possible to ascertain the exact nature of the buildings of Richard II. and to restore them, their restoration would not have been desirable when it had become impossible to show the buildings under conditions at all similar to those under which they had originally existed. The Select Committee gave, as one of their conclusions, that Richard II.'s building was intended to be seen. No one had ever questioned that. What was questioned was, whether they were intended to be seen in an extensive view. All mediæval work was built well and made sightly; but its designers had too much common sense to make the side of a building, which was to be seen from the kitchen court of a palace, of the same architectural character as a show front to be seen from a great space like Palace Yard. Accordingly, while the front facing Palace Yard was made dignified and noble with its lofty gable and flanking towers, the side was made suitable for a front to be viewed from a narrow court. It was no doubt substantial, well designed, and well built, but of a plain character. Much evidence had been brought before the Committee as to the extent to which buildings existed formerly on the West side of Westminster Hall. In the first sentence of Mr. Pearson's Report, he said that the Hall was originally erected in 1097 by William Rufus "as the nucleus of an extensive palace which he proposed building." But a nucleus was a point around which matter was to gather; and it was reasonable to suppose that if this nucleus was erected in 1097 a very large number of buildings must have gathered around it before Richard II.'s time, that was nearly 300 years later. Well, they had an inventory of Edward III.'s time, which showed that even then upwards of 300 buildings connected with the Palace had arisen round the Hall. Mr. Pearson's Report mentioned 14 of those; but Mr. Pearson thought that almost all of them were on the East side of the Hall, and he said there was no evidence of what existed on the West side of the Hall before Henry VIII.'s time. But the evidence of the eminent archæologists and architects who had studied not only Mr. Pearson's Report, but every ancient record of the indications of foundations revealed by the excavations recently made, showed that not only the greater number of the 14 buildings mentioned by Mr. Pearson, but many more of the 100 buildings in Edward III.'s inventory, were on the West side of the Hall, and that the Hall was so densely closed in on that side that not more than two of its bays could have been seen from any point so far removed from it as St. Margaret Street, and that that limited amount could have been seen from only one point—namely, the opening of the Fish Yard. The right hon. Gentleman who was Chairman of the Select Committee had spoken disparagingly of these archæologists; but they were gentlemen quite as eminent as architects as the witnesses brought in support of Mr. Pearson's designs, while they added to their acquirements as architects an archæological knowledge to which none of the witnesses in support of Mr. Pearson could pretend. He would point out that not one of Mr. Pearson's witnesses claimed to have any knowledge, except from Mr. Pearson's Report, of the state of the buildings around the Hall in olden times. Three of them admitted that they had not studied the question at all; the rest admitted that what knowledge they had was derived from Mr. Pearson's Report. He (Mr. Dick-Peddie) had pointed that out during the proceedings of the Select Committee, and Mr. Pearson was recalled and defended his witnesses by saying that they had studied the question because they had read his Report. But the correctness of his Report was the very matter in dispute; and statements confessedly based only on the study of the Report were absolutely useless for establishing its authority. If hon. Members would read the evidence they would find that, with the exception of Mr. Pearson's own evidence, the whole weight of archæological evidence was on one side, and that it conclusively established that the West side of the Hall could only be seen in small portions at a time and from narrow kitchen courts. To reproduce and present a front intended to be thus seen, even if it could be ascertained what it was as a feature in a wide view from an extended open space, would be a serious mistake and violation of the spirit which animated mediæval architects. Of the architectural merits of the design he would say little. Most hon. Members had seen the models recently put up, and could form their own judgment of their effect; but he would point out that the models failed to give a true impression of the complete design, because they did not show the building which was to project from the Hall at its North-West angle. Everyone who looked at the West side of Westminster Hall must be satisfied that the effect of erecting a two-storied building between the buttresses must be to shut out to a great extent from view the most important architectural features which the Hall possessed. Those were the row of windows and the flying buttresses. Of those features some of the witnesses had spoken in the strongest terms of admiration. Mr. Ewan Christian spoke of the "magnificent series of windows," and Mr. Scott spoke of the flying buttresses as being "the most striking part of the whole building," and of what was proposed in the designs as to shutting out to a large extent the windows from the view of anyone standing in St. Margaret Street, and even at more distant points. Nearly two-thirds, or at least one-half, of the windows would be hidden. With regard to the flying buttresses, his hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had already pointed out that, while a small portion would be visible from the street, a large portion would actually be buried in the proposed buildings, and would appear as an unsightly mass coming through the ceiling of the upper range of rooms. As to the projecting building at the North-West angle, the effect of it could not be better described than in the graphic words of Mr. Barry in his evidence before the Committee. Mr. Barry said—

> "It would look extremely insignificant at the end of a pile of buildings which began with the Clock Tower to the extreme East, comes down to lofty buildings on the site of New Palace Yard, continues as a lofty building to the North end of the Hall, and then all of a sudden is diminished to a most insignificant building at a very important point."

He would not dwell farther on the objections to the architectural effect of the proposed buildings; but before sitting down he wished to say a few words on what was, perhaps, the most important matter for consideration—namely, their practical utility. He ventured to say that, on the score of utility, nothing could be said in favour of the designs; and that, he thought, was the strongest argument against them. He might remind the Committee that in the speech which the late First Commissioner of Works made in support of the designs he did not venture to say that the accommodation to be provided was required, or that it would serve any important useful purpose. It could hardly be expected that it should if the course of procedure were kept in mind. The first thing that a Commissioner of Works, who proposed to make any addition to a great public building, should consider was, what were the requirements of the Public Service. He had put to several of the witnesses—to Mr. Pearson, to Mr. Barry, and to a former First Commissioner (Mr. Ayrton)—whether it was not usual, before instructing an architect to prepare designs, to inform him what were the purposes the building was intended to serve, and they had all answered in the affirmative. Mr. Ayrton said—

> "I made it a positive rule that the whole exigencies of the Public Service should be the thing to be settled before an architect is even consulted at all about a building."

The Committee would recognize that as consistent with common sense. In the present case, however, a very different course was followed. Mr. Pearson said—

> "His instructions gave him no indication whatever what might be the wish of the Government;"

because, as the Chairman put it in his question, the Government "had not, in fact, any wish at the time;" and the Chairman in his own evidence said—

> "There is a very serious demand which could not be met by re-arrangement of the rooms already existing under the roof of the House."

And he stated—

> "I gave Mr. Pearson the most general instructions. I had at that time no expectation that it would be necessary to erect any building on the West Front of the Hall."

He further said, after stating that Mr. Pearson recommended reconstruction or the restoration of buildings which he supposed had formerly existed between the buttresses—

> "We then, for the first time, discussed the uses to which the galleries and buildings could be put."

The Chairman had repeated that statement in his speech that day, and he seemed to take credit to himself for the way in which he had proceeded. He (Mr. Dick-Peddie) ventured to say that it was a great failure of duty on the part of the First Commissioner of Works when the right hon. Gentleman proposed to the House to defray the expenses for carrying out the erection of buildings, the necessity for which had never presented itself to his mind until the plans were before him. No wonder that, proceeding as the right hon. Gentleman had done, he had first submitted plans which showed, as the only accommodation to be provided, a carriage stand on the ground floor and a long gallery, whose uses were undefined, on the first floor, and then a second set of plans showing the space on both floors divided into rooms for Committees or Commissions. He hoped that the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Plunket) would take the matter into his serious consideration, and he could much wish that he had applied his own mind to the question before submitting this Vote to the House of Commons. Well, what had been the result of that uncertainty on the part of the right hon. and learned Gentleman? They had often heard the late Government accused of vacillation. He (Mr. Dick-Peddie) had no sympathy with those charges; but he thought that in this case the right hon. and learned Gentleman had shown very marked vacillation. Now, with regard to the amount of accommodation which the buildings would offer, he wished to say a few words upon that important point. What amount of accommodation was the country getting for its money? He would not dwell on this point at length, as his hon. Friend the Member for Galway had gone fully into it. His hon. Friend had spoken of the lower range of rooms as cellars. He (Mr. Dick-Peddie) would hardly be prepared to characterize them so strongly; but it was safe to say that, sunk, as they would be, below Westminster Hall, going to them from the Hall would be, as some of the witnesses described it, like going down into cellars. Westminster Hall was a low building, and the entrance to it actually sloped down from New Palace Yard; but these rooms were to be nine or 10 steps lower. That, he thought, was an utterly absurd arrangement. Of the witnesses brought in support of Mr. Pearson's plans, Mr. Ewan Christian admitted "that he did not think the lower rooms could be made available," and Mr. Scott said "they would not be suited for anything but storage." Well, those were rooms which he did not think the country ought to pay £1,500 for. The upper rooms, again, would be very badly lighted. They would each have a lighting area of 48 square feet; while their cubical space was about 11,600 feet. There would thus be 1 square foot of lighting area to 240 cubic feet of space. Now, in an ordinary London drawing room, the lighting area was 1 square foot to about 70 feet of cubic space. It was suggested that recourse might be had to roof lights. But everyone acquainted with lighting knew that the most disagreeable mode of lighting was a combination of side lights and roof lights; and hon. Members had not far to go to prove this, for that was the mode of lighting in the Grand Committee Room on the same floor as this House, and a very disagreeable room it was. That was not the way in which the mediæval architects, of whose work this professed to be a restoration, would have done. They would have considered what amount of light was needed, and would have made the number and size of their windows sufficient to provide it. This, like many restorations, professed to reproduce mediæval forms, while their authors utterly failed to grasp the spirit of the mediæval architects. With regard to the horse shed, he must say a few words. It was sunk below the level of the Hall, 3 feet 6 inches, and was approached by the steep gradients his hon. Friend the Member for Galway had described. It was a place of limited height, the front of it was to be formed by solid piers, with heavy stone arches springing from them. The horses of Members were to stand there, and it was to have a public urinal connected with it; while above it was to be the large Committee Room which had already been described in the debate. The effluvia from the horse shed and urinal must ascend to this room, and no mode of ventilation that could be adopted would prevent the evil. Not one rational suggestion was made for obviating the evil. One witness indeed—namely, Mr. Brooks—had the courage to suggest ventilation by a fan. He (Mr. Dick-Peddie) asked Mr. Brooks how the fan was to be driven, and the reply was "by steam, or gas, or water power," and by that means the witness said the air would be exhausted in five minutes. He asked the witness whether, in that case, there would not be a rush of air into the place to fill the space from which air had been extracted by the fan, and whether that would not involve draughts of air which would be injurious to the horses? Mr. Brooks admitted that "it would not be good for the horses." In fact, the plan of ventilation was utterly absurd, and, if adopted, would kill the horses in a week. He thought that to spend the public money in the erection of buildings such as had been described should be condemned by the Committee, and that no additions to this great national building should be made, except to meet some urgent need, and after every care had been taken to make sure that that need was met in the best way. The building now proposed would be nearly useless, and would only be a record of error. He need not say that he found it no agreeable duty to oppose the carrying out of these plans, as he had done. For Mr. Pearson he had the greatest respect. As an ecclesiastical architect, he was second to none in the profession; but for a building of the kind proposed he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) could not admit that he was the best fitted. One other matter only he must refer to. The Chairman of the Select Committee had been strongly censured by the hon. Member for Galway, for the way in which he had treated the witnesses who gave evidence against the designs of Mr. Pearson. He (Mr. Dick-Peddie) was not inclined to endorse all that his hon. Friend had said; but he was sorry to say that he was not surprised to hear the charge. The right hon. Gentleman had defended himself by saying that he was acting in two capacities—first as Chairman of the Committee; and, second, as the person responsible for the plans, he having been First Commissioner when they were prepared. He (Mr. Dick-Peddie) had yet to learn, however, that the fact of a Chairman's filling a dual, or even a triple capacity, was any justification for treating witnesses otherwise than with courtesy. He was sorry to have to refer to this matter. But he felt it due to some of the witnesses to do so. The right hon. Gentleman constantly, in the Committee, made invidious comparisons between Mr. Pearson's witnesses and those who had given evidence against the plans. Now, he ventured to say that the latter witnesses were, as architects, quite as eminent as those whom Mr. Pearson had brought, while, as archæologists, they possessed eminence and qualifications which no witness on the other side, except Mr. Pearson himself, could pretend to. The way in which the witnesses had been treated had had a bad effect on the inquiry. It was an easy matter for any architect to bring forward five or six friends to give evidence in favour of his plans; it was a very different thing to find witnesses to oppose them, for professional men were naturally averse to criticize the plans of a professional brother, knowing how liable they became to invidious remarks. The way in which several of the witnesses had been treated had prevented other eminent architects from coming forward. He had to thank the Committee for their kind indulgence, and he ventured to express the hope that, even now, they would decline to grant the Vote asked.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, he did not desire to stand between the Committee and those who were more competent than he was to address them on this question. He wished to rise early in the discussion, because he wanted to say that he should speak only as a Member of the Committee, and not as Financial Secretary to the Treasury. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) seemed to think he would address the Committee in an official capacity; but he would point out that he had nothing more to do with this Vote than any other Member of the Committee. The hon. Member for Galway had spoken of him as possessed of a judicial mind; but, whether that was so or not, he had never laid any claim to the possession of taste. He always bore in mind Pope's lines—

> "What brought Sir Visto's ill-got wealth to waste?
> Some demon whispered, 'Visto, have a taste.'"

He only wanted to state on what principle, rightly or wrongly, he approved of the plan before them. Certainly, he had entered the Committee with no feeling one way or the other; and while bearing his testimony to the zeal, ability, and knowledge of Mr. Pearson, he desired to bear a no less willing testimony to the ability and knowledge of the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie). In fact, the hon. Gentleman's Report, which had been most carefully prepared, had formed the subject-matter of the speeches of the hon. Member for Galway, and of the hon. Member for Kilmarnock himself; and he should be surprised if it were not made the subject of reference by subsequent speakers, because it embraced, in his opinion, every point in connection with the subject. However, after careful consideration, that Report had been rejected by the Committee—not unanimously, because there was one other Member, but only one, who voted with the hon. Member for Kilmarnock. He did not propose now to go into the details of the subject; but he believed that, on the whole, the plan which had been adopted was the best. What other plan had the Committee before them? They had the proposal of the revival of Sir Charles Barry's plan; but he thought it would be admitted that Parliament had distinctly put an end to any revival of that plan. Although it might not be absolutely necessary to carry out that plan that St. Margaret's Church should be removed, yet the modified plans brought before the Committee by his son, Mr. Barry, were extremely awkward in appearance, the front being rounded off in a very unpleasant way, and he believed that no Member of the Committee approved that plan. Then there was the plan of the wood and plaster gallery, which he was not surprised had been dropped in this debate. The hon. Member for Kilmarnock had said nothing in his speech with respect to that gallery. [Mr. DICK-PEDDIE: I never was in favour of it.] Of course, if the hon. Gentleman was not in favour of it, he withdrew the observation so far as he was concerned; but some of the witnesses brought forward by the hon. Member had declared in favour of it. Then, as to the third plan before the Committee, that was again, of course, a matter of taste—it was to repair the buttresses; in other words, to rebuild them, as they were so grievously out of repair, and to lay down grass. But the hon. Member for Galway had thrown out some further suggestion that there should be a modest structure of glass and iron for cabs and horses. He presumed the hon. Gentleman did not mean that that should be anywhere near Westminster Hall. [Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: No. On the other side of the Yard.] Those, then, were the three plans before the Committee, and certainly he did not intend to set himself up as an absolute judge of their respective merits; but, as far as he could see, the Committee were right in choosing the plan which had been most carefully worked out by a gentleman thoroughly competent, and which was approved by the most able architects. He did not want to say anything against what had been stated by the hon. Member for Galway upon that subject; but he thought no one, after reading the evidence, would dispute that the leading architects had approved Mr. Pearson's plan. He would now refer to one or two of the points which had been brought forward against the plan. It was said that it would make the Hall very dark, and that was one of the reasons which had made him desire to see the height of the new buildings somewhat lowered; and he had himself introduced the Amendments in the draft Report which gave effect to that view, and which were adopted by the Committee. As the matter now stood, he very much questioned whether there would be any serious darkness to complain of.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: They block up one window absolutely.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, that was so; but he was afraid that would be the case under any plan, as it would be necessary in order to finish the North side of the Tower overlooking the proposed cloister. It had been said that according to this plan the Richard II. windows would be shut out. He was of opinion that the plan originally proposed did shut them out too much; but it must be remembered that very eminent architects, who were very anxious that the upper parts of the windows should be seen, were by no means desirous of having the lower part visible. It was desirable, in their opinion, to have this lower part hidden, because the windows were too short; and if that part were not hidden the defect would be shown. There was, therefore, no reason for the Committee to guard against the hiding of the lower parts of the windows. A very considerable portion of the windows would be seen according to the amended plan. Then there was the question of the steps into the Hall. That matter had been carefully considered, and it had been decided that there should be no steps such as heretofore had existed, and which had always been a great blot on the beauty of the Hall. The steps, if it was necessary to have them at all, would be in one corner by the side of the door. As to the building which would go at right angles from the wall, he admitted it would not be a very pleasant thing to have horses under the room in which Gentlemen were to meet for conferences, or for other purposes; but it must be remembered that there would be no horses there until 4 o'clock. Members did not come down on horseback before that hour, by which time all conferences would have ceased. He did not, therefore, anticipate that the use to which it was proposed to put this part of the building would be of any inconvenience to hon. Members who had to make use of those rooms. It was not yet definitely arranged that the rooms would be used for the holding of conferences. True, they might be used for that purpose; but it was not necessary that they should be. And that brought him to his last point—namely, the restoration question, which had been treated by some as one of importance. He, for one, as a Member of the Committee, had not attached great importance to it. If the plans submitted were consistent—not as a pure and simple restoration, but consistent with what it was possible Westminster Hall had been in the old days—he was prepared to adopt it. He was prepared to adopt it, though it was not a restoration. He had put aside the question of absolute restoration in considering the case; and he was satisfied if the proposed building was in general harmony with the simple grandeur of the Hall. He was obliged to the Committee for having listened to him, although he felt he was not dealing fully with the points hon. Gentlemen had raised in their speeches. He had endeavoured to deal with these points when the subject was under the consideration of the Select Committee. He had had constant discussions with the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) on those subjects; but, seeing that that hon. Gentleman's Report had been overruled, the Committee would not desire to hear him (Sir Henry Holland) go into the matter again.

MR. ILLINGWORTH declared that, from the leisurely way in which they had proceeded that day, it would scarcely be credited by a stranger that they had arrived at the last few hours of an expiring Parliament. He was of opinion that a question of this character, instead of suffering by delay, would benefit by it. Delay would prove that Parliament had been wise, seeing that there were such wide differences of opinion on the subject, in hesitating and taking time for consideration. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Galway County (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had pointed out that there would shortly be a new Parliament, sent there by a very different electorate to that they had had in the past. There was great force in the observation; and the Committee would be acting wisely, he thought, in leaving the whole subject to be dealt with by the new Parliament, according to the conditions and exigencies which might be found to exist in connection with it. The question might wear a very different aspect in the future, and the tendency of the House and the requirements of the building might be very different to what they had been in the past. Hon. Members might not be disposed to perform their duties in the somewhat leisurely way in which many hon. Members had performed them in the present and in past Parliaments. For his own part, he was not going to attempt to settle the difference between the two opposing schools on the question of the restoration of Westminster Hall. He would only venture to say that he hoped the utilitarian question would not be lost sight of. His own opinion was, from the proposals which were before the Committee, and the plans which had been submitted to them, that they were really damaging the work they had in hand by a slavish adherence to some mediæval notions. The first question for them to decide was what could really be done on this site, bearing in mind the desirability of having harmony of design, as far as possible, between the new and the old buildings; but the main question for the moment was whether an increase in the accommodation of the House of Commons or of the other House of Parliament was required. If it was not, he maintained that there was no hurry, and there could not be any hurry for pushing forward the question. He wished to give his right hon. Friend the late First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) credit—and he thought the right hon.

Gentleman deserved a great deal of credit — for the masterly manner in which he had carried out most of the work with which he had been intrusted in connection with the Office he had held. The right hon. Gentleman had immense ability; and he possessed another quality, which, if it were rightly directed, was invaluable to a Minister in his position—that was to say, he liked to succeed. But the right hon. Gentleman must excuse him for saying that in this manner he had been like one of the ships of Her Majesty's Fleet —his steering apparatus had been out of order. The right hon. Gentleman had admitted before the Select Committee that he had a difficult function to discharge, in being himself a most ardent advocate of one of the schemes before the Committee, so that it was almost impossible for him, with his zeal for something to be done, to sail with an even keel; and he (Mr. Illingworth) thought there might be some little foundation for the complaint made by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), and noticed to some extent by the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie). He did not blame the right hon. Gentleman altogether; his zeal had probably led him a little beyond what some hon. Gentlemen would wish him to go. But the point was a small one, and he (Mr. Illingworth) would not dwell on it further. He did maintain, however, that there was no haste for the settlement of this question as it was now presented to the House of Commons. As to the danger of the stone decaying in the winter if the settlement of the question were deferred to next Session, he thought that, seeing that the stone had been where it was for centuries, and had now been exposed for a considerable period, they might put that consideration aside. He could not believe that any real, substantial harm would be done to the Norman masonry if Parliament should take another year, or even two years, before coming to a final decision on the matter. He was satisfied of this—that, as far as the utility of the buildings proposed was concerned, a strong case could not be made out for the plan before the Committee. In the first place, his right hon. Friend—as they had been already reminded—with regard to one important matter connected with this subject—namely, the question of additional accommodation for Committee Rooms, had not thought it worth while, in the strengthening of his case, to say one word as to that in his very able speech. As far as the other buildings were concerned, there did not seem to be any call for them whatever. In fact, it seemed very uncertain what use the rooms could be put to if really built. Considering the enormous amount of work Parliament had on its hands, the expenditure the country was involved in, and the altered circumstances in which the new House of Commons would come together, he, for his own part, should rejoice if the Vote were to be delayed for another year, and if the responsibility and work to be undertaken in sanctioning the plans and designs were left over to the new House of Commons when it should be elected. Of course, this question was to be looked at from many different standpoints. He, for one, looked at it from a utilitarian point of view. He considered they were paying a very poor compliment to the men who originally built this magnificent building—Westminster Hall—if they assumed that they did it for the mere sake of appearance. It was one of the most capacious rooms in the world, and it was manifestly one in which utility had been first considered by those who built it. When it was remembered that the carrying out of the proposal before the Committee might necessitate the sinking of the floor, that it would give them an imperfectly lighted range of rooms, that care had not been taken to arrange for warming the building, and that with regard to ventilation the frivolous proposal was made that they should have a fan worked in connection with the rooms in consequence of the use the cloister would be put to, and to prevent unpleasant odours annoying anyone upstairs, he thought the House of Commons would be justified in hesitating before deciding the matter that Session. It was only due to the new First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) that he should have time to consider the matter on his own responsibility. He (Mr. Illingworth) did not contend that all wisdom rested with the Liberal Party, and he should be glad to see a manifestation of it from the other side; and from no hon. Gentleman would he expect such manifestation with more confidence than from the right hon. and learned Gentleman who now represented the Office of Works, and who, presumably, expected that he and his Friends would have to carry out this work.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, he should take up as little of the time of the Committee as possible; but still this was a question upon which he would not be doing his duty to his own convictions—having taken great interest in the matter, and having, certainly, gone far to make up the average of the Members, whoever they might be, who had sat very continuously on the Committee—if he did not take part in the debate. The difficulty he had experienced in dealing with this question was, that he had to deal with Gentlemen who, no doubt, from most honourable and enlightened motives, had followed the rule of the well-known and time-honoured game—a game, no doubt, well known to hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, called "thimble-rig." He could not find out under which thimble the pea was. Some Gentlemen, like the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) got up and fell very heavily upon Mr. Pearson because he was not archæological enough. The hon. Member for Kilmarnock was followed by the hon. Member for Bradford, whose complaint against Mr. Pearson was, his aversion to such mediæval matters as the architect purveyed. The hon. Member was practical. Now, whether Mr. Pearson was too archæological or too practical was a matter upon which his (Mr. Beresford Hope's) mind had been in a state of confusion and flux ever since he came into the House. He had heard this gentleman attacked with much vigour on one or on other of the two points mentioned; and, if he remembered rightly, one hon. Member had attacked him on both. That being the case, what were they called upon to decide? Here was Westminster Hall stripped naked, and ashamed by an act of most righteous judgment on the part of the then authorities who had pulled down—and he was glad to find that amongst the many differences of opinion which had been exhibited that day all were at one on this question—those most hideous buildings, the old Law Courts. They had to be pulled down. ["No, no!"] Well, at any rate, they were pulled down, and Westminster Hall was left as they saw it now; and whether the Estimates were in one state or another, whether they were at war or peace, every man with taste and common sense must see that it would be a national disgrace to leave that West Front of Westminster Hall in its present condition one day more than was absolutely necessary. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), with that bright imagination which they knew was the heritage of the Hibernian race whom he represented—and it was of the hon. Member's official Hibernianism and, consequently, of his official representative imagination that he spoke—had declared that until the Old Law Courts were pulled down nobody knew of the existence of the flying buttresses. That was not the fact. Possibly he (Mr. Beresford Hope) had been exceptionally placed; but he had known of and had seen the flying buttresses, or at least one or two of them, from the windows of the official residence of one of the most respected officers of the House. Everyone who had been able to look at the back of the Law Courts knew that those buttresses existed. The point, therefore, the hon. Member for Galway had attempted to make out of this alarming discovery of these flying buttresses was due to the hon. Member's own bright imagination. No doubt the discovery of the Norman wall, in its present condition, was a new matter. That wall, with its untouched face, was a discovery of great importance, and one that, of course, modified, or ought to have modified, the plans. The hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) had said—"Why not put off the thing for a year? This wall, which had existed for centuries, can wait a year more, and will take no harm." But how had it existed for centuries? Why, because it was well built up and kept air-tight, water-tight, eye-tight, and tight all round. If it were now allowed to remain open for even a year to the atmosphere and the weather, in time an effect might be produced upon it which by no possibility could ever be repaired. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had complained that the plan submitted to the Committee would have the effect of partially hiding the flying buttresses; but if the hon. Member had studied well—as no doubt he did study well—the full-sized model that was on exhibition a few weeks or months ago, and if, now, he would look at the pictures in the Blue Book, he would see that no part at all of the flying buttresses would be shut up. They would be all open and exposed to the day. To say that the flying buttresses would be hidden was a thing of which the very simplest test of evidence would prove the unwarrantableness. The hon. Member had grown pathetic when he had touched upon the question of the amount of light which would be built out of Westminster Hall by the cloister. There, again, he (Mr. Beresford Hope) joined issue with the hon. Member, and declared that it would only be an infinitesimal amount of light which would be shut out, if any at all. Then the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), essaying even a bolder flight, had poured much ridicule and contempt on the right hon. Gentleman the late First Commissioner of Works and Postmaster General (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), for saying that there would be two doors leading into the building which stood at right angles. He (Mr. Beresford Hope) had been rather surprised at the hon. Gentleman's assertion, for he could not credit it that the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works would make a statement without knowing what he was talking about; but, upon this matter, he (Mr. Beresford Hope) had looked into the Blue Book. He had there found two or three plans giving the ground and other floors, and of course a ground floor plan did not represent doors leading into rooms on the stairs above; but if the hon. Member had had the patience— and it would not have been a very long or onerous task—to look on as far as plan number six he would there have seen in the Blue Book the two doors, one at the end and the other out in the turret. Therefore, the hon. Member's charge fell entirely to the ground. But, of course, the way in which the question was presented to the Committee, who were anxious to follow out the question modestly and industriously, prevented them from being able to do so. With regard to the rooms, if an hon. Member ventured to make a proposal as to the use to which the rooms should be put, he was held for ever afterwards to have laid down an unalterable opinion that that was the particular use to which the rooms should be put. If at any time he should see reason to modify his view he was at once charged with vacillation and double-dealing. That was the complaint made against a Member if, in the course of his investigation, he saw something better, and had sufficient common sense, when he had made up his mind to something better, not to stick to what he now thought something worse. And so the subject of the use to which these three or four rooms in the cloister should be put was made matter of contention, and for bringing charges of vacillation and double-dealing to an extent which he would have thought men of common sense would have been ashamed of. The first thing the Select Committee had looked to had been the preservation of Westminster Hall and the safeguarding of the flying buttresses; and, no doubt, if the House succeeded in that object—no doubt, if the safety of Westminster Hall and the safeguarding of the flying buttresses were secured by pleasant architectural improvements—they would be able to find a use for the rooms. The rooms would be 40 feet long and 20 feet broad, and of good height. They would be very useful, but there was no practical purpose in connection with the House to which they could be applied at present. The House had no immediate use for them. They might be found useful for conferences and for Members to see their constituents in; but, such as they were, there was great probability that they might be wanted some time; and from a practical point of view they would not be unworthy of the adoption of the House as additional space. There they were; rooms available for something or other. They might be called Committee Rooms. "Committee Room" was an easy and a comprehensive term, and one generally adopted to describe rooms used in the Houses of Parliament. The room which would leave Westminster Hall at right angles had been much discussed, and when it had been mentioned in connection with Grand Committees, "Grand Committees" had been made fun of. But who had ever said that this was to be a Grand Committee Room? To begin with, they could not have a Grand Committee Room without a Grand Committee to put into it; and he did not think that the House by its action that Session was so enamoured of Grand Committees that anyone could say there was ever likely to be a Grand Committee to put into this room. If they had another Grand Committee appointed in addition to the two they had already, then it would be time enough to consider whether or not this room—with its two doors at two ends, and not with its one door at one end—could be made available. If not used for a Grand Committee, it might be, as had been pointed out, utilized for conferences or some other purpose. No doubt the hon. Members for Kilmarnock and Bradford, or any other Members, desired at times to meet their constituents, and no doubt their constituents might at times desire to meet Representatives so well educated upon all political questions and so capable of giving an opinion. It was said there was to be no fire-place in this room. One hon. Gentleman—he thought it was the hon. Member for Kilmarnock—had drawn a touching picture of the men of the olden time who made real substantial fire-places, and the men of the present day who could not properly supply these conveniences. The only flaw in the indictment was that Mr. Pearson did arrange for fire-places in his designs, not on the model of ancient fire-places it was true, but with the advantage of a great knowledge of the chemistry of air and smoke, which builders and architects in mediæval times had not the least idea of. Mr. Pearson's scientific knowledge enabled him to adapt his fire-places and chimneys to the space at his command. The hon. Member for Kilmarnock had dwelt very much on the evidence of Mr. Brock, who had come forward with a theory of his own, so far as he (Mr. Beresford Hope) could make out, which was unsupported by anyone else. Now, he gladly admitted Mr. Brock's erudition, industry, and antiquarian ability; but this gentleman was not to be put forward as a man who had only to speak for them to fall down. Some hon. Members would kill Mr. Pearson's plan because it was not archæological enough, whilst others would kill it because it was too archæological. Mr. Pearson's proposal was in the true spirit of archæology. It was not an absolute restoration of what could not be absolutely restored, seeing that all evidence of what the building originally was had perished; but it did take up in a generous spirit the general form and outline of the old buildings, and give something which in itself and in its general outline gave a broad idea, a pleasant and complete whole. If they were to do nothing until they knew what building had stood on this site in the time or Richard II. they would never do anything at all. If they waited until they could reproduce the whole thing the building would remain in the condition in which it was at the present moment for ever. It would be like the old book of illustrations of costumes which gave the dresses of every country till it reached England, which appeared in the shape of a man stark naked, with some bundles of cloth under his arm, unable to decide which pattern he would prefer. They had a man who was prepared to carry out the building, who was determined to take it up on general lines and give a broad idea of what the structure might have been, and that the Committee were asked to adopt. If it were a very extravagant idea which would cost hundreds of thousands of pounds, like Sir Charles Barry's plan, then he would say—"Have nothing to do with it." But what would Mr. Pearson's plan cost? Here he would say that hon. Gentlemen opposite had not dealt quite fairly with their figures. What made up the £35,000? Why, it was partly asked for in respect of the two towers at the entrance to Westminster Hall, which, whether they added to the beauty of the Hall or not, were not at present to be constructed—a circumstance which some people might regret from a merely artistic point of view. He might be one of those people himself. He was quite satisfied that from a utilitarian and practical point of view that part of the work might be postponed, and ought to be postponed. That would diminish the expense very largely. Another part of the expenditure had reference to what must be done, whether any plan was adopted, or no plan was adopted; and that was the repairing and completing of the ragged corner of the building near St. Stephen's Porch—the building thrown open by the demolition of the old Law Courts. Hon. Members would, therefore, see that one part of the work was not to be done, and that another might or might not, but was quite independent of the proposed cloister; and in this way the cost was reduced to about £10,000. This would be, for the magnitude of the work, a most cheap undertaking, and he would strongly recommend it to the Committee. What would its effect be? Everyone who had studied archæological effect would know very well that, with all the magnificence and grandeur of the Palace, its fault was that it was too regular. Its architecture had not the light and shade, the advances and recesses, of true Gothic work. In the proposed new building they would gain that. The westerly building, with its different heights, would give a lightness, and life, and vigour to Barry's great pile which nothing else could do. On these grounds the plan of Mr. Pearson was recommended to the Committee. He maintained that the objections were frivolous, because they were inconsistent, because they killed each other. The expense would not be great, looking at the character of the undertaking; and if the present wretched ruin were left in the condition in which it was at that moment it would get worse and worse. As to leaving the work to the new Parliament, he heard a great deal about the new Parliament; and his opinion was that although in some respects it might be better or worse than the present Parliament, at any rate with regard to the considerations hon. Members had now to deal with, it would be the same sort of Parliament as that of to-day. He thought the plea for delay was based on insufficient grounds, and hoped that the Committee would pass the Vote.

Mr. CAUSTON said, that in the few words he proposed to address to the Committee he would not touch the subject from either an architectural or archæological point of view, but would simply approach it from what he considered to be a practical business point of view. He had no intention of saying anything against Mr. Pearson, or his design, or the designs of any of the other architects; but he was one of those who felt that it was not necessary in the year 1885 to ask what was the intention of an architect 800 ago when he designed a building, the accommodation in which, for the purposes of the present day, they were considering. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the last First Commissioner of Works but one (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) stated in his speech that immediately the old buildings that surrounded Westminster Hall were pulled down he endeavoured to ascertain who was the best architect for the purpose of restoration, and that he had selected Mr. Pearson. He had said he had given no instructions and no hints as to what should be done. Well, that was the complaint he (Mr. Causton) had to make, looking at the matter from a practical point of view. When they considered that the Westminster side of Westminster Hall was the only space available for the enlargement of the Palace, it would be folly to appropriate it until that matter had been fully considered. As to the best plan by which they could make use of that space for Parliamentary purposes, he contended that the proper course to have adopted would have been when that space was cleared to have consulted some authorities here, if not the House generally, saying—"Here is a space available now for the use of Parliament; in what way can we best utilize it?" But, instead of that, an architect was sent for who, no doubt, was a man of great ability, and he was told to propose plans suitable for the elevation. He (Mr. Causton) thought that was a wrong course to have adopted. Notwithstanding the fact that they had the authority of the right hon. Gentleman the late First Commissioner of Works in the Report, when he stated

> "That, according to his view, there was no very serious demand for increased accommodation in the Houses of Parliament which could not be met by the arrangements already existing under the Rules of the House,"

he (Mr. Causton), for one, should certainly be disposed to disagree with the right hon. Gentleman. Holding this view, the right hon. Gentleman presented a Report which the Committee adopted —in which he stated that several rooms would be conveniently situated in that new building for conference rooms, or deputation rooms, for Members or Ministers, or would be useful for Royal Commissions, or, as the right hon. Gentleman who last spoke declared, would be useful for "something or other." He (Mr. Causton) did not think that was at all the way to approach a subject of this kind; and, for his own part, he would earnestly wish the Committee to adopt the view suggested by his hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth), who had said he desired that the right hon. and learned Gentleman who now filled the position of First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) would have an opportunity of looking into that matter for himself. They had heard the criticism of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), and he thought he had put it perfectly clearly to the Committee—although if he had not made it clear to the Committee the Report of the Committee did so—that the question of restoration had been thoroughly disposed of. The Committee in their Report said that much of the evidence before them had tended to show that they could not go beyond conjecture as to the building which previously existed on the vacant site, and that much had been directed to criticism of Mr. Pearson's plan which they considered to be wrongly described as "restoration," on this ground—namely, that the form of the windows in the gallery was conjectural. Mr. Pearson himself had fully admitted that—that the windows in the Hall were not a restoration of what existed in the time of Henry III. He (Mr. Causton) thought they had disposed of the arguments of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who were anxious that the building should be restored in the form in which the architect 800 years ago originally built it. It appeared to him that the real wants of the House had not been considered by the Committee. In fact, the right hon. Gentleman had never for a moment suggested that anyone was called before the Committee to say what the requirements of the House were. And then the right hon. Gentleman rebuked them for that. He took it that as Chairman of the Committee it was the duty of the right hon. Gentleman to lead up to such an inquiry if he thought it necessary; but it appeared from the evidence before the House that that point had never been attended to at all. He (Mr. Causton) thought, for his own part, that the question could stand over for another year. That which was necessary to protect the walls could be done. They heard the statement made last year that the walls would be considerably damaged if they were allowed to remain open and unprotected last winter. The building was not erected, and yet he had not heard to-day that any damage had been caused by that exposure. As to the plans of Sir Charles Barry, the right hon. Gentleman had said that the opposition to the Vote to-day was divided into two classes—namely, those who were in favour of the plan of the late Sir Charles Barry being adopted, and those who looked upon the matter from an archæological point of view. For his part he thought it would be undesirable that Sir Charles Barry's designs, or any other architect's plans, should be adopted, unless the buildings erected were suitable for the purposes of Parliament, and all they were asking now was that the matter should be postponed. He was sure that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), who had moved the Amendment, would be quite willing to adopt the suggestion that the matter should be left over for another year. In the meantime he hoped that an inquiry would take place as to what their requirements were. As to the expense of Sir Charles Barry's plan, the right hon. Gentleman had stated that it would be at least £500,000; but he must understand that that was for the complete building—to finish the whole square court-yard. But there was no occasion to carry out the full plan. The plans that were now to be seen in the Tea Room of the House showed that that was unnecessary; but, at the same time, he was not there that day to advocate the plans of any architects. All he would say was—"Do not, for the sake of archæological or architectural effect, put up what he believed would be thoroughly useless buildings, containing rooms which had not been considered with regard to any object of utility, but which, according to a right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Beresford Hope), could be used for 'some purpose or other.'" He hoped the Committee would not allow the Vote to be carried that day, and he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman who had charge of the Committee would see what the feeling of the Committee really was, and would not endeavour, with the assistance of the Government Bench, to drive the Report of the Committee through Parliament in a manner which he thought would be greatly opposed to the feelings of a large majority of the House.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he was very much afraid that he must follow the lead of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), and endeavour, at all events, to bring about a postponement of the Vote for this expenditure for some time to come. He would state his reasons for taking that course in as few words as possible. His first objection to the plan before the Committee was that, as a matter of fact, it was no restoration at all. It was an invention of Mr. Pearson's which, on the face of it, did not pretend to be an absolute attempt to reproduce the work of old times. His right hon. Friend below him (Mr. Beresford Hope) had, however, gone so fully into this question that there was no necessity for him to deal with it any further. His general objections had been, to a certain extent, stated by hon. Gentlemen who had addressed the Committee previously, the point being this—that the plan was, after all, nothing but a piece of patchwork. It never could be satisfactory in its general results, and would preclude the possibility at some future time of work being done which would make complete the Palace of Westminster in the manner in which the architect had originally contemplated its completion. But, passing by his general objection, he came to the particular one he desired to press on the Committee—namely, that of all men in the world Mr. Pearson was the last one who ought to be called on to carry a restoration of this kind. He quite accepted the idea of his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland). They all knew that taste differed very widely in different individuals, some saying that a certain thing was good, others that it was bad. There was no definition for "taste." But he could say, and he thought they were entitled to say, that the taste of the Ancient Masters was a thing they ought to follow—not invariably, perhaps, but as a rule. Well, then, as to Mr. Pearson, however good an architect he might be, however ingenious and original, he was, judging from his public work, one of those who entirely discarded the principles which he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) insisted on. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had spoken of Mr. Pearson's plan as having the unanimous assent of all who had been consulted on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman had done him (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) the honour to consult him, though, admittedly, his opinion was of small value. What he had said to the right hon. Gentleman was this, "If we employ Mr. Pearson we shall get into a mess at the end." All the architects referred to—that was to say, Mr. Waterhouse, Mr. Blomfield, Mr. Scott, and the rest—all had a scheme of their own which they, no doubt, thought better than the Old Masters; and it was because of this that he did not believe in them, and did not think that their opinions deserved weight. But he would not confine himself to theory—he would bring a few examples before the Committee to illustrate his meaning, and bear out entirely the position he assumed. Let them take the case of the two towers in Mr. Pearson's plan, which, he understood, were not to be at the present moment erected. Look at the picture! Did anyone ever see towers produced by mediæval architects of the perpendicular period anything like these? They were opposed to the ideas of the great architects not only of the 15th century, but of the 14th and the 13th. Architects in those days had great ideas of uniformity. If hon. Gentlemen disputed that let them go across the road and look at Westminster Abbey. Whoever saw a tower of the 14th or 15th century with one pinnacle longer than the other. It looked like a donkey with one ear longer than the other. The old architects used to go in for uniformity; and the hon. Member for Kilmarnock, he was sure, would support him in that assertion. Another example of Mr. Pearson's work was to be seen in the piece of patchwork in Little Dean's Yard. He had absolutely spoiled the building. Let hon. Gentlemen look at the façade it was proposed to erect under this Vote. On the one side they would have an overpowering building, on the East there was the structure which was now to be seen, and on the West there would be a small building which would have no correspondence whatever with the rest. Then they came to Westminster Hall. Had anyone who was a believer in the Old Masters, and who knew anything about their staircases, ever heard of staircases being erected in such a place as Westminster Hall? They would spoil the grand appearance of the area of the Hall. They would be eight or 10 feet in height, and would extend into the Hall some 15 feet. No one who understood anything of the principles of the Old Masters would make such a suggestion as that. On the question of utility he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) did not propose to enter, as it was a matter which had been fully dealt with by hon. Gentlemen who had preceded him; and he confessed he had not sufficiently studied the plans to be able to form a proper judgment on the point. He would only conclude his observations by entering upon an argument which had been raised by the late First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) and the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), who had said—"Oh! it amounts to this—we are obliged to adopt this plan because we have no other." That argument was no argument at all. They did not know what plans would have been produced had they given a general authority to architects to prepare them by way of competition. He could not for the life of him understand how the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), when he had raised an open competition for the new Government Offices, which it was said were about to be constructed—although he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) doubted whether they would ever be built at all—and had got a large number of designs sent in, could say that the designs of Mr. Pearson were all that could be obtained for this restoration. In the case of the new Government Offices there was only an idea that the work would be carried out, and no certainty, when the designs were obtained. If the right hon. Gentleman could have given the Committee three or four or a dozen schemes, he then could have met the argument, or rather the objection, of hon. Gentlemen by saying—"We have no satisfactory alternative scheme." But when the right hon. Gentleman neglected this ordinary precaution, he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) did not think that the right hon. Gentleman, or those who were supporting him—however unwillingly—should object to the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry). It was for those reasons that he would support the rejection of the Vote; and he hoped hon. Members would oppose the Estimate with such force as to show the independent voice of the Committee in the matter.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, that he rose with great diffidence; but as he had had the honour of serving on the Committee he would like to say a few words on the subject. It was, perhaps, to be regretted that they should have pulled down the old Courts without knowing what they were going to put up in their place. What, however, now was the position in which they found themselves? Of course, they could not, without considerable danger, leave the building in its present condition. One hon. Gentleman who had taken part in the debate had made use of an expression which he very much agreed with—namely, that it was no use discussing matters of taste, and that he would not, therefore, do so. But the hon. Member had not quite followed out his own rule. Without going so far as to say that Mr. Pearson was the highest authority, no one would question that he was a very high authority, and that they would do well to give very careful consideration to everything he proposed to them. It was quite true that the walls had stood for many centuries, and had not suffered; but it must be remembered that they had stood under totally different conditions to those which existed now. They had stood without injury because they had been covered; but if they were left uncovered they would certainly suffer, and that before long. The outer wall was, of course, of very great interest, presenting, as it did, the ancient Norman mason's marks, and it required protection from the weather, without which it would soon perish. They would be incurring great responsibility if they were not to take steps as quickly as possible to prevent injury being done to the wall. Then, again, the flying buttresses, beautiful as they were, were not strong enough by themselves. It was never intended that they should remain as they were, without support. It was necessary that they should be strengthened; and the Committee would incur grave and serious risk if they allowed the wall to remain as it was without an attempt to strengthen it. The hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), in his interesting speech, had spoken a good deal about "restoration;" and he (Sir John Lubbock) would not follow him in that. He would not discuss with the hon. Member whether this was a restoration in the sense in which he used the words. The hon. Member said that there were once some very high chimneys, which were not to be replaced. But they were no part of the original plan, and he was sure the hon. Member himself would not propose to re-erect high chimneys there. The hon. Member for Kilmarnock had spoken of rooms at £1,500 a-piece, and had arrived at that by taking the cost and dividing it by the number of rooms. But he (Sir John Lubbock) demurred to that, because, even if they did not build a single room, some expense must be incurred to protect the wall and strengthen the building. Expenditure would have to take place to put the building in a safe position. The Committee would observe that the Gentlemen who had opposed the Vote were not by any means agreed as to what should be done. Some recommended one course and some a totally different one; but as opponents to the suggestion of Mr. Pearson and Her Majesty's Government they had no other definite plan to lay before the Committee. The evidence of archæologists who had come before the Committee had been quoted, and the hon. Member for Kilmarnock had truly said that they had objected that any attempt to retain the character of the building might lead to confusion and to mistakes hereafter as to which was the new and which was the old portion; but the Committee had adopted a suggestion he made in order to meet any such objection—namely, that remark by making a suggestion that the stones used, or a sufficient number of them, should bear some distinguishing mark, such as a date, so that it might always be possible to distinguish the new from the ancient work. If that had been done in the case of earlier restorations, they would now be in possession of a great deal of information which would be most valuable, but which it was now impossible to obtain. He hoped the First Commissioner of Works would act on that recommendation. It must be remembered that something must be done, and the Gentlemen who opposed the present plan were by no means agreed on an alternative. The hon. Member for Kilmarnock spoke of the much-despised archæologists. Certainly, he (Sir John Lubbock) would not be disposed to despise archæologists; but archæologists could not be expected all to agree. He did not deny the difficulty of the subject, or that there might fairly be differences of opinion; and he thought they were indebted to the hon. Members for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) and Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), who had given so much attention to the subject, for the able manner in which they had placed their views before the Committee; but he hoped the Committee would support the Government and its own Committee, who had recommended that Vote after a prolonged and careful inquiry.

Mr. RYLANDS said, that perhaps he might be allowed to say one word on this matter, having been a Member of the Committee to whom had been referred the consideration of what was called the restoration of Westminster Hall. Very admirable speeches had been delivered by Members of the Committee—speeches which had explained, to a large extent, the conclusions to which the Committee had arrived. He was bound to say, in justification of the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of the Committee (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), that the Committee had been constituted with the greatest desire to secure on it, as far as possible, a fair representation of different sections and opinions in the House, and that the Members generally had given their very careful attention to the subject. It might have been well if the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) could have been placed on the Committee as representing the Irish Members, for he would have brought the force of his great ability and judgment to bear upon the question; but, as the hon. Gentleman himself perfectly well knew, in the unfortunate position in which they stood with regard to Irish Members in the House of Commons—or a large majority of them—there was some difficulty in regarding him as the Representative of that portion of the House. No doubt, the Irish Members had insisted upon the Irish Member who was appointed on the Committee being so placed on it; but the services of that Gentleman were of little use, as it was said he had never attended. He (Mr. Rylands) was bound to say, however, that, on the part of the other Members of the Committee, there was very close and constant attention paid to the question under consideration. The speech of the hon. Member for Galway, to which he (Mr. Rylands) had listened with great interest, and which the Committee would agree displayed great ability, was, after all, only the case of a strong partizan against the conclusions of the Committee. The hon. Member had spoken of lofts and cellars, and had pointed out all sorts of enormities connected with the proposal of the Committee; and if hon. Gentlemen had not taken the trouble to read the very complete Report the Committee had presented, they might easily be mistaken as to the nature of these proposals. It was to be hoped that hon. Members had made themselves familiar with that Report. Now, in the course of the day's discussion he had observed that not only the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mitchell Henry), but all those hon. Gentlemen who had opposed the Vote, had cried out for delay. Let the Committee understand what was behind these Gentlemen. They did not come and say exactly what they wanted. They said—"Let us delay till the new Parliament; let us delay in order to enable the First Commissioner of Works to bring his carefully-trained intellect to bear upon the question; let us put it off, in fact, to some future time." Why? Because those Gentlemen, for the most part, had a scheme of their own to which they believed this scheme of the Committee would be fatal, and because they thought that by putting off the present proposal it would be a point gained, and that their scheme might have a chance in the future. ["No, no!"] Yes; and he would say, further, that those Gentlemen who had considered the matter, and were pressing for delay, were doing so under the influence of a strong feeling they had in favour of carrying out to a greater or less degree Sir Charles Barry's plan.

MR. ILLINGWORTH: No, no! nothing of the kind.

MR. RYLANDS said, he knew a number of hon. Gentlemen who had had that in their minds in striving for delay. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Colchester (Mr. Causton) had strong sympathy with Sir Charles Barry's design.

MR. CAUSTON: I am not advocating any particular plan.

MR. RYLANDS said, he did not mean to say that those hon. Gentlemen had advocated Sir Charles Barry's plan; but they had it in their minds. There was the hon. Gentleman the Member for Galway—let him prepare a plan and lay it on the Table of the House. Let him bring forward the sort of plan he would like to see adopted. The hon. Gentleman would raise the magnificent roof of Westminster Hall to carry out Sir Charles Barry's plan. He would run any risk to do that; at any rate, the hon. Member was in favour of a large portion of Sir Charles Barry's plan. [MR. MITCHELL HENRY: No, no!] The Select Committee, in their Report, recommended only a small expenditure. It did not come forward with a large scheme like Sir Charles Barry's. The latter the Committee thought out of the question. They would be no party to recommending it, and they contended that the House of Commons would do well to adopt the moderate scheme they had proposed in order to put a stop to the other wild plan, which would cost such an enormous sum in the future. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope) had pointed out a fact that he thought hon. Gentlemen should bear strictly in mind. From the total sum talked of in the first instance—namely, £35,000, they must eliminate certain items which need not be expended, or which were absolutely necessary to be spent, restoration or no restoration. It was clear, with regard to the present condition of Westminster Hall, it would never do for them to leave it in the state in which it was now. It was a positive disgrace to the country that they should have this magnificent Westminster Hall allowed to remain in its present dilapidated and disgraceful state on its West side. It presented a most disagreeable face to strangers, and must be a great eyesore to them, to say nothing of the people who lived in the Metropolis. To think of leaving the West Front of the Hall in its present partially restored or dilapidated state would be a disgrace to the country; and since they must rebuild and repair the place, they should decide upon commencing it at once, and adopt the economical Estimate which was here proposed. They ought not to leave St. Stephen's Porch in its present condition.

It was in a serious state of disrepair and dilapidation since the Law Courts had been pulled down. The towers, as they had been recommended by Mr. Pearson, had been given up. There had been no disposition on the part of the Committee to carry out the towers in the way which had been suggested. As for the other part of the work, and the expenditure it would entail, the Committee recommended it as a wise and economical undertaking, and one which would be a credit to Westminster Hall itself. He did not think there was a single hon. Gentleman who pleaded for delay, and who had taken a decided opinion on the subject, who would not propose a plan to meet the difficulty which would cost enormously more than the £25,300 that the Committee proposed to spend. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), who had taken a very able part in this discussion, no doubt would be content with a very simple arrangement — with the simple spending of a few thousand pounds on the repair of the buttresses and the covering of the face of the wall. He supposed the hon. Gentleman had entirely given up now that which he had been rather inclined to favour—namely, the idea of having a lath and plaster building, which, no doubt, the right hon. and learned Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) would unhesitatingly condemn. What he (Mr. Rylands) understood hon. Gentlemen who objected to this Vote to say was this—"Do not do anything, or do as little as possible. Let it remain until the new Parliament meets, and then we shall have a chance of going in for a more ambitious scheme." He did not think that would be a wise or judicious course to take. This subject had been carefully inquired into, the necessity for doing something was urgent, and he did not think they should throw over the carrying out of essential works to the new Parliament, at any rate until they had endeavoured to carry them out themselves. He should most certainly support the proposals of the Government.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that as the discussion had lasted for some hours he was very reluctant to prolong it much longer; indeed, he should trouble the Committee with very few remarks. He had taken a great deal of interest in this project ever since it was conceived by his right hon. Friend the Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). Having taken that interest, he had more or less studied the proceedings of the Select Committee, the recommendations made, and the Report finally arrived at; and he desired to impress on the Committee the desirability of not coming to a vote which would approve of the scheme suggested by Mr. Pearson. His right hon. Friend took away the old Law Courts. He (Mr. Courtney) would not go into the question whether that was a good step; but it was obvious that when the old Law Courts were taken down and the condition of the West Front of Westminster Hall revealed to the public it was necessary the state of things should be considered. He thought the right hon. Gentleman was to be praised for the great care he took in the selection of authorities to whom he referred, in the fullest manner, the question of what should be done with the West Front of the Hall. The right hon. Gentleman had no conception of his own as to the result; it was admitted he had no utilitarian view in his mind. The only question submitted to Mr. Pearson was—What should be done? and in answer to that question Mr. Pearson produced plans, which were first laid before the right hon. Gentleman, and which had since been considerably modified. When he (Mr. Courtney) saw them he was struck with a feeling of something like dismay, and he retained that feeling still, because this was the state of the case. The removal of the Law Courts revealed what was really a most striking and noble wall with flying buttresses, which should command the admiration of any person, whether he presumed to be a man of taste or not. He could not imagine anything in architecture more noble than the West Front with its flying buttresses; and he confessed he should have expected Mr. Pearson to arrive at some conclusion of this kind—"Whatever we do we must not obscure the front so presented to the public gaze; we must do what we can to strengthen what is there shown, so as to prevent any dilapidation of the West Front or buttresses; but the front and buttresses must be preserved in their original intention and completeness." But instead of that the scheme of the

Academician was shortly this, to hide the buttresses by building rooms which were not wanted, in the reproduction of something which never existed, to be devoted to purposes which nobody could define, and at the same time to interfere not only with the outward form of Westminster Hall, but with the inside itself. He hoped his right hon. and learned Friend the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) would hesitate before he gave his official sanction or support to the resolution to adopt this scheme, a scheme which need not be adopted at the moment, but which might very well be deferred for maturer consideration. He had as strong an opinion as his hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) that they should run no risk of any injury happening to the West Front; but that could be easily and effectually guarded against. He understood the hon. Gentleman the Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) to propose a reduction of the Vote proportionate to this purpose, leaving enough, or what was conceived to be enough, to be expended in preventing any further injury being suffered by the wall or buttresses. If the proposed reduction was too considerable, if the margin left was not sufficient to preserve the wall and buttresses from further damage, he had no doubt the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mitchell Henry) would modify the amount of reduction. What the hon. Member desired was that only so much should be voted now as would prevent the wall and buttresses from receiving further damage, and that the settlement of the question be left for persons who could give to it the most mature consideration. It was asked—what was the alternative scheme? He confessed that the primary business was, at all events, extremely simple. They had to repair and strengthen the buttresses where they were faulty. The stones which were worn and could not be trusted to enable the buttresses to fulfil their original purpose of supporting the wall must be replaced. Evidence was given to the Select Committee that the Northern wall, which was so highly and deservedly valued, could be easily preserved from further damage for at least two or three years by the simple process of washing it with a chemical mixture. But there was a further plan submitted to the Select Committee by two or three Gentlemen, and more or less supported, which Parliament might possibly have to fall back upon, and that was to build a wall which should be within the buttresses—a wall with a lean to. The buttresses would then be left in that noble and simple sweep which was now exhibited. A part of the suggestion was that there should be a sort of arcade along which people could walk and admire the nobleness of the buttresses. He wished to speak with all respect of Mr. Pearson and his proposition; but anybody who could see what the idea of the wall and buttresses was, must have felt something like a sudden shock at the notion of closing them up with the building Mr. Pearson proposed to put up. The hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) did not approach the matter in an official spirit, but as a private Member; in his official capacity he must have been startled at the proposal to spend the sum of money suggested upon rooms which would be absolutely useless, and for which no possible employment could be found. The upper rooms would be dark, and they would have introduced in them the buttresses, over which they would in a certain measure be built. The buttresses would be like the ribs inside a steamer's cabin, making the room a marvel of mystery and curiosity. The under rooms would be nothing but cellars, to which people would have to descend from the level of Westminster Hall by means of a flight of steps. The inner portion of Westminster Hall would be more or less disfigured by the steps, and there would be outside a building which could not answer any purpose, but which would have the possible effect of darkening the interior of the Hall. Then there was the right angular building, which was to occupy the site of a building which stood there a long time. Avowedly it was not an attempt at reproduction; but it was something entirely different to the building which originally stood there. The upper room in this building was to be ventilated in the manner described by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie). ["There is no ventilation at all."] Well, the question of ventilation was raised, and it was suggested that the room might be ventilated by means of a fan working every five minutes. The other room which it was suggested should be used as a Conference Room or Committee Room was situated over the space to be occupied by the horses of Members. It was said that any Committee would have ceased to sit by the time Members came down to the House and horses were standing in the shed. That might be true. But Conference Rooms were often used from 5 to 7 o'clock, which was just the time that horses would be there. Therefore, in the month of June or July Members would have the option of sitting in the room with the windows open, underneath which were the horses with all the attendant circumstances, or of shutting the windows up and being broiled. Besides, the building at the North-West corner would altogether prevent the West Front of the Hall being seen by anyone coming down Parliament Street. Now, if the design were something very good in itself, he could understand a good deal being said in favour of it; but as soon as they had discovered the possession they had, it was proposed to hide it or cover it up. They were about to hide one of the finest things in all Europe, when they might preserve it for all time. They were going to hide what was a very beautiful possession in order to build rooms which were not wanted, which could not be appropriated to any use whatever. There was no value at all in the design—it was a poor thing. He believed that if the right hon. and learned Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) would only take this matter into serious consideration, he would determine that he would not be committed to the scheme now. Let them take money enough to keep things as they were, and leave the consideration of the scheme to the new Parliament.

Mr. WALTER said, he had not the advantage of being present during the earlier part of the discussion, having been engaged on a Committee upstairs; but the speech he had just listened to from his hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney) made him regret very much that they had not the assistance of the hon. Gentleman on the Select Committee which sat last year and the previous year to consider this question. There was always much to be said in favour of delaying any question, and he was anxious to do full justice to all his hon. Friend had said on that subject. But having endeavoured to acquaint himself with the merits of Mr. Pearson's plan, and having also fully considered all the alternatives which were presented to the Committee in lieu of it, he was bound to say that, on the whole, Mr. Pearson's plan was by far the best submitted to the Committee, and that it did really and adequately meet the difficulties of the position. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had discovered what their forefathers never appeared to have discovered, or, at any rate, to have shut their eyes to—namely, that the row of flying buttresses which had been revealed to the public by the demolition of the Law Courts was one of the wonders of the world. No doubt, the exhibition of a row of flying buttresses was a very uncommon thing; he knew of only one or two places in England where there was anything of the kind. He happened to be at Tewkesbury the other day, and he saw at the end of the Abbey there one flying buttress bearing a close resemblance to the row at Westminster. How the row came to be there, and why they were built in that particular way, the Committee never could distinctly gather from any architect; indeed, there was great conflict of opinion on the subject. Mr. Pearson was strongly of opinion that they were built solely for structural reasons, and not from any supposed value which flying buttresses possessed. However that might be, as a matter of fact the most beautiful part of the buttresses—namely, the upper part, would not be concealed from the public by the adoption of Mr. Pearson's plan. Great pains were taken to prevent that being done, and the public would have ample opportunity of seeing what was really the most beautiful in the flying buttresses, even if Mr. Pearson's plans were carried out. It was altogether out of the question to let the buttresses remain in their present condition. The strongest evidence was presented to the Committee that it was essential for the security of the structure that the flying buttresses should be connected, up to a certain level, at all events, by a wall. The beauty of the buttresses, as it was now presented, would be altogether destroyed by any such structure. But his hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney) talked as if an arcade might be made there, having an entrance from Westminster Hall, so that people might walk along and enjoy the sight of the buttresses. But the level of Westminster Hall was five or six feet above the ground line of the buttresses, and that was one of the points the Select Committee had to consider. The base of the flying buttresses was several feet below the surface of the street; and if the Committee would adjourn to the building itself, and walk along the excavation which had been made by the demolition of the old Law Courts, they would see how impossible it was to connect the base of the buttresses with the floor of Westminster Hall. It was too late to argue the thing at length—in fact, it was altogether impossible to discuss the question fairly except in the presence of the object itself. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) that the Select Committee had, at all events, exercised a wise discretion in not attempting to deal with the question of the towers. That would very properly be relegated to another Committee; but with regard to the block of buildings at the West end of Westminster Hall, about which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) was so severe, it was absolutely necessary to have a structure of some kind. The only alternative of any importance which was submitted to the Select Committee was that which was presented to them by the advocates of the completion of Sir Charles Barry's scheme. The Select Committee spent a great deal of time in discussing the plans; and the conclusion they arrived at was that, even if no other plan was to be adopted, it was not worth while to ask the House to spend £500,000 in carrying the plan into effect. His own belief was that the best thing to do was to adopt Mr. Pearson's plan, which was not costly or elaborate; and if a future generation could discover a better way of dealing with the building, it would not be a large sum of money which had been thrown away.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH said, he thought there was a general feeling in the Committee that it would be better to defer the decision on this question; there seemed to be nothing approaching unanimity of feeling. Personally, he considered that the plans of Mr. Pearson amounted to nothing more than a piece of patchwork. He might, perhaps, be in a small minority in the House; but he was one of those who held that they ought to revive the original plans of Sir Charles Barry. He thought that nothing less than them would satisfy the case, or do justice to this grand building. The designs of Sir Charles Barry had unity; they were those of one man; and it was always better to carry out the designs of an original architect than to adopt patchwork of this kind. It was not possible to bring about harmony or unity of design between an ancient building like Westminster Hall and a modern building like Westminster Palace. It was true that experts might give pedantic opinions on the subject of architecture; but he thought if this question were left to be decided by the country they would hold that the original designs of Sir Charles Barry would produce a finer edifice than it was now proposed to construct. What the Committee should aim at was that the West side of Westminster Palace should present a similar appearance to the East side. As they approached this building from Westminster Bridge, they were confronted by the finest architectural outlines to be seen in the world; but as they approached it from the other side, the eye was painfully confused by the total want of harmony between the two classes of architecture. He did not believe that justice would be done to the building until they revived, in some shape or other, those admirable plans which were drawn by that great man who was the designer of the building. He was aware that the cost was the great obstacle; but the country had spent millions of money on the building, and when they had done nine-tenths of the work he did not see why they should hesitate to do the remaining tenth. In his opinion, it was a penny-wise-and-pound-foolish policy. The cost would be spread over a number of years; it would scarcely be felt; but the result would be the finest public building in the country, perhaps in the whole world. He hoped the Committee would not be in a hurry to commit itself to any scheme which subsequent generations might very likely upset.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he did not intend to go into the structural details of the subject, though he was sorry to differ from some of his hon. Friends in regard to those details. He could not agree with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. S. Smith), neither could he agree with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), because he considered that the West Front of Westminster Hall, in its present shape, was hideous. His simple and sole reason for desiring the postponement of this Vote was that he wished to preserve the piece of ground for the future use of Parliament. He was one of those who held strongly the view that, at a not very distant date, it would be found necessary to sub-divide the Business of Parliament by means of Grand Committees. Rooms would be required for those Committees, and it seemed to him they had in the ground on the West of Westminster Hall the very piece of ground on which to provide the accommodation. He was, therefore, very unwilling to see the ground taken up by an imperfect and insufficient and not very useful—in fact, a very useless—construction, such as they were told the building suggested by Mr. Pearson would be. He was sorry the debate had been prolonged to such length by what, after all, had merely been a battle of architects. He advocated postponement because he wished to see this piece of ground turned to the utmost advantage another day. He thought it was to be regretted that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) had put the question as if it were a matter of confidence in Mr. Pearson. He (Sir George Campbell) never heard of Mr. Pearson until he was told that gentleman had been consulted in reference to this matter by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). This was a case which ought to be decided on public grounds alone. Why not pay Mr. Pearson for the work he had done, and let the settlement of the matter stand over? His right hon. Friend the late Postmaster General (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had done an injustice to himself. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman who rendered a tribute to the conspicuous business ability of the right hon. Gentleman; but it very often happened in the House of Commons that the best and most practical men had some fad. His right hon. Friend had immense practical ability; but, unfortunately, his one purpose in this matter appeared to be to carry out the designs of Mr. Pearson. He (Sir George Campbell) was not an advocate of the plan of Sir Charles Barry; he wanted to see something humbler and simpler. He trusted the settlement of the question would be postponed until such time as they could ascertain the future needs of Parliament.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) said, he had listened with the greatest attention to the debate that had gone on for the last five hours, and he did not regret that there should have been a very full expression of the opinions which were entertained by hon. Members on the subject. He had no intention of speaking at any length, not only because the Committee had already heard his views on the question, but also because it was impossible for him to add anything to what had been said by his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), and others, who were all Members of the Select Committee, by whom very great care was bestowed on the consideration of this question. He would like, however, to explain to the Committee the exact position in which he found himself. He had been invited in the most flattering manner to consent to the postponement of this Vote until next year. That, certainly, was not only a very flattering but a very tempting invitation; and he plainly foresaw that if he did not accept it he should, for some time to come, receive a considerable amount of bombardment from different Members of the House, and persons out of the House, upon the matter. Of course, he did not wish to press the Vote against the will of the Committee; but he felt it incumbent upon him to submit to the Committee that this was a Vote which ought now to be adopted. It was admitted on all hands that it was impossible to leave the outside of Westminster Hall as it was at present; and the question what was best to be done in order to remedy the horrible disfigurement that had been produced by the removal of the old Law Courts was referred, last year, to a Committee—as he had already said, a very strong and a very representative Committee. That Committee took the matter into consideration as carefully as they could; and although all the varied opinions expressed that day were very fully discussed by the Select Committee what was the result of the investigation? Against every argument put forward that day, and which was put forward before the Select Committee, the Select Committee arrived at a decision in favour of the plan of Mr. Pearson by a majority of eight to two. He put it to the Committee, as men of common sense, were they ever likely to achieve a decision so nearly unanimous as that, if they were to refer the matter to another Select Committee? He had no personal prejudice in favour of either of the schools which had been so strongly represented that day. Neither did he wish to side with those who would complete the great work of Sir Charles Barry against those who were entirely against any such attempt; but this he did feel strongly—that the hope of, within any reasonable time, getting Parliament to consent to the expenditure of £500,000 to carry out the design of Sir Charles Barry was perfectly visionary. He really believed that the Hall, if left in its present condition, would crumble to pieces before that object was attained. Whatever else the Select Committee might have differed about, they were all agreed that Mr. Pearson was a most competent authority, and that his plans were supported by some of the most eminent architects of the day. The Select Committee were unanimous as to Mr. Pearson's professional qualification, and they approved of his scheme by a majority of eight to two. Now, there was a great deal of misconception as to the necessity of increased accommodation. It was said that the lower storey of the proposed addition to Westminster Hall would consist of nothing more or less than cellars. It would do nothing of the kind. The rooms on the Western side would be level with the ground, and would, he believed, be quite as comfortable as many of the rooms now set apart for the different Members of the Government, and which, whether cellars or not, were competed for by them with the greatest possible zeal. Therefore, whoever the persons might be who would be asked to occupy the lower range of rooms they would be in no worse position as regarded accommodation than were some of the Members of Her Majesty's Government. In conclusion, he felt bound to say that as the proposal which he now submitted to the Committee had been assailed by a good many Members whose sincerity he could not for a moment question, who, no doubt, felt very strongly on the subject, but who differed amongst themselves—differed probably more amongst themselves than they did from the views of Mr. Pearson—it was not reasonable that the Committee should be asked to postpone this matter to some future time. However much he might consult his own convenience by agreeing to the suggestion of hon. Members, he did not think it would be fair to the Committee, or to the country, to postpone for some uncertain time a matter which had received so large an amount of support.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he had made his proposal for the express purpose of preserving the West Front of Westminster Hall as it at present existed. Last year the Government obtained a Vote of £3,000 to be applied to the preservation of the flying buttresses and wall, not 1*d.* of which they expended. What he proposed now was that the Government should have a grant of £2,000, which was all that could be expended upon the preservation of the flying buttresses between this and the time when Parliament met again. The opinion of Mr. Butterfield, one of the greatest Gothic architects in the world, was that if they committed the act of barbarism, which the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had described, of covering up the flying buttresses, which were unique of their kind, and more beautiful than anything which existed in this country, they would do that for which they would for ever be blamed. Do not let anyone be led away by the idea that the plan of Mr. Pearson was one acceptable to every architect equally eminent. Mr. Butterfield was an architect of the highest eminence, and his opinion coincided with the architectural journals and various eminent men that the buttresses should be preserved in their integrity. That opinion he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) commended to the consideration of the Committee.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 42; Noes 196: Majority 154.—(Div. List, No. 231.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(2.) £9,600, to complete the sum for the Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.

(3.) £478,500, Pauper Lunatics, England.

(4.) £69,500, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Scotland.

(5.) £51,021, Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Deficiency.

(6.) £1,751, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(7.) £6,464, to complete the sum for the National Gallery.

(8.) £1,630, to complete the sum for the National Portrait Gallery.

(9.) £13,900, to complete the sum for Learned Societies and Scientific Investigation.

(10.) £8,484, to complete the sum for the London University.

(11.) £10,500, University Colleges, Wales.

(12.) £3,627, to complete the sum for the Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report).

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee to sit again upon *Friday*.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [14th July] *reported*.

First Eighteen Resolutions *agreed to*.

Nineteenth Resolution *postponed*.

Postponed Resolution to be considered upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

—o—

ADMIRALTY (EXPENDITURE AND LIABILITIES).

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON), in rising to move—

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report upon the circumstances under which the Expenditure and Liabilities incurred by the Admiralty under the recent Vote of Credit have exceeded the revised Estimate stated to the House by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 5th of June, 1885; that the Committee do consist of Seven Members, to be nominated by the Committee of Selection; Three to be the quorum:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records,"

said: In making this Motion, I beg permission to read the following letter, which I have received from Lord Northbrook:—

"4. Hamilton Place, July 15, 1885, 9.30 A.M.

"Dear Lord George,—I have just received your letter of yesterday. You are quite correct in saying that I 'impugned the accuracy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's figures' in the speech I made last night in the House of Lords, and I accept with pleasure the proposal which you inform me that Her Majesty's Government are about to make to-day that the 'merits of the controversy' between us should be tested by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, to be nominated by the Committee of Selection.

"I understand from your letter that the Reference is to be limited to this matter, which is a very simple one, and need take but a short time.

"I should be obliged to you if you will read this note from me in the House of Commons when you make your Motion, as I have not time to be sure of communicating with any of my late Colleagues.—Yours, &c.,

"NORTHBROOK."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: There is only one observation I wish to offer with reference to a statement which Lord Northbrook is reported to have made of a personal character touching myself. No one will desire now to discuss the merits of this question; but I find that Lord Northbrook is reported to have said yesterday that I was desirous of making an attack upon him. I wish entirely to repudiate any such desire. I felt it necessary, in the discharge of my duty, to state to the House that the £9,000,000 had been exceeded, and also the reasons why, in my belief, that excess had occurred. I certainly did not make that statement because I was desirous of attacking Lord Northbrook.

MR. CHILDERS: After what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, I think I ought to say that I was in the House of Lords yesterday, and heard, I believe, every word that Lord Northbrook said. Certainly I did not hear him make any charge against the right hon. Gentleman of desiring to make any attack on him. From my knowledge of the characters of both the right hon. Gentleman and Lord Northbrook, I am sure that the right hon. Gentleman would never be desirous of making an attack on the noble Lord, and that the noble Lord would never intentionally have imputed any such desire to him.

Mr. MOLLOY said, that as Ireland was very much interested in this question, he should like to know whether the Committee was to be composed exclusively of the two great Parties in the House, or whether a Member of the Irish Party was to sit upon it?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: It is impossible for me to bind the action of the Committee of Selection, though I have not the slightest doubt that they will take all circumstances into consideration.

Mr. SEXTON said, that as the Chairman of the Committee of Selection was present he would ask him to give an assurance that at least one Member of the Irish Party would be placed on the Committee.

Sir JOHN MOWBRAY said, that he could not answer that appeal, as he had no right to speak on behalf of the Committee of Selection. A highly respected Member of the House sitting beside the hon. Member was on the Committee of Selection, and he would doubtless see that the interests of the Irish Party were fully considered.

Mr. SEXTON observed that in case no Member of the Irish Party was placed on the Committee he should move the addition of the name of Mr. Arthur O'Connor.

Motion *agreed to.*

Select Committee *appointed,* "to inquire into and report upon the circumstances under which the Expenditure and Liabilities incurred by the Admiralty under the recent Vote of Credit have exceeded the revised Estimate stated to the House by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 5th June 1885."—Committee to consist of Seven Members, to be nominated by the Committee of Selection; Three to be the quorum:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records.—(*Lord George Hamilton.*)

SCHOOL BOARDS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Stanhope, Bill to amend the Law relating to School Boards, so far as affected by the incorporation of a Municipal Borough, and as respects the Divisions of the Metropolis, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Arthur Balfour.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 235.]

QUESTION.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—REPORTED RUSSIAN ADVANCE.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK: I wish to ask the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, Whether the Government have received any confirmation of the rumours that the Russians have attacked Zulfikar?

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Lord Randolph Churchill): In reply to the hon. Baronet, I beg to say that rumours have reached Her Majesty's Government that there has been some increase of the Russian Forces in the neighbourhood of Zulfikar. As to the actual extent of that increase, the Government have not received at the present moment any very reliable information; but inquiries are, of course, being made. Colonel Ridgeway's Commission has moved to the neighbourhood of Herat, and two officers—Captain Peacock and Captain Yate—have, on the invitation of the Heratees, repaired to Herat.

OATHS BILL.—[Bill 62.]

(*Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Percy Wyndham, Mr. Charles Russell, Mr. Noel, Mr. Pennington, Mr. Arthur Elliot.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Debate arising.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 16*th July,* 1885.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Post Office Sites* (181); Cholera Hospitals (Ireland)* (182); Polehampton Estates* (183).

Second Reading — Housing of the Working Classes (England) (177).

Committee — Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) (65); Archdeaconries* (150-180); Tithe Rent Charge Redemption* (165).

Select Committee—Report—Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment [No. 179].

Report—Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment * (127); Secretary for Scotland (178).

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * (147); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (156); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * (157); Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order * (148); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * (114); East India Loan (£10,000,000) * (164), and *passed.*

Royal Assent—East India Unclaimed Stocks [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 25]; Yorkshire Registries [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 26]; Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 27]; Gas Provisional Orders (No. 1) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lv]; Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lvi]; Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lvii]; Commons Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lviii]; Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lix]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lx]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxi]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxii]; Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxiii]; Gas and Water Provisional Orders (No. 2) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxiv]; Water Provisional Orders [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxv]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxvi].

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (No. 2) BILL.

(*The Earl Spencer.*)

(NO. 65.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Earl Spencer.*)

THE EARL OF LIMERICK, in rising to move, as an Amendment, "That the Order of Monday last for committing the Bill to a Committee of the Whole House be discharged," said, that, in adopting that course, he was actuated by no other than feelings of high respect for the noble Earl opposite (Earl Spencer), who had made the Motion which was carried on Monday, and that he had no knowledge of any of the parties interested in this particular project, either of those who were promoting or those who were opposed to it. He took the course he had taken solely because of the interest which now for 20 years he had taken in the Private Bill legislation of the House. The House, he thought, was rather taken by surprise by what took place on Monday. He was sure that the majority of their Lordships could not have been aware what a very large question affecting the whole procedure of the House was raised by the Motion of the noble Earl. When the Notice appeared on the Paper he (the Earl of Limerick) thought, and he also was of opinion that many of their Lordships looked upon it as being simply a Motion to commit the Bill to a Committee of the Whole House, because the noble Earl was dissatisfied with the reception of the Bill before the Select Committee of their Lordships' House. Their Lordships had no idea of the raising of the larger question whatever. The noble Earl's argument was that the reference to a Select Committee had been made under a misconception of the Act of 1860, which regulated the procedure on this Bill, and that the Bill was really a Public Bill. But an examination of the various Acts passed between 1860 and the present time, establishing the procedure on Bills confirming Orders of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, showed that the noble Earl was mistaken, and that the procedure of the House, as related to Irish Tramway Bills, had not been founded on an entire misconception, as contended. The noble and learned Lord (Lord Fitzgerald) did not challenge the fact that, if the Bill had, upon the face of it, been a measure to confirm a Provisional Order, it would have necessarily come under the Standing Orders of their Lordships' House, and brought before a Select Committee without any opposition being made. The ground taken was that the Act was not an Act confirming a Provisional Order at all, but was one of an entirely different character, though he could not quite gather from the noble Lords who had spoken what the exact nature of the Act was supposed to be. He thought the matter was one of very great importance; and if this was an Act confirming a Provisional Order, it should follow the Rule of the House applicable to such measures. It was contended that the Bill had been introduced as a Public Act; but that would not exempt it from the ordinary Rule affecting those Public Acts which were of a local, limited application affecting private rights, which had always been referred to Private Bill Committees when they were opposed.

The noble Earl attributed some importance to the wording of the Act of 1860. It was—

> "The Lord Lieutenant, in Council, shall, as conveniently as may be, cause steps to be taken for the confirmation of such Order in Council by Act of Parliament, and until such confirmation the Order shall have no effect whatever."

At that time, even when it was not opposed, a Provisional Order was to have no effect until it was confirmed by Act of Parliament. In 1861 the Act was changed; but, surely, if the rights of private persons to appear before a Private Bill Committee were intended to be taken away by either of those Acts, that would have been done in specific words, and not by a general statement that the Act was to be taken as a Public Act. He could not find anything since 1861 to show that these Orders were treated in an exceptional way. The Act of 1881 went further, and provided that no Act to confirm the Lord Lieutenant's Order should be required, unless the parties not only appealed, but also appeared to prosecute the appeal. When the Bill of 1883 was introduced, there was nothing to show that these Bills were not to take the usual course of Bills confirming Provisional Orders. Mr. Trevelyan, in introducing that Act, said that the Order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council in such cases as the present being only provisional, and requiring to be confirmed by Parliament, it would be open to anyone to oppose it. But opposition would be impossible unless the Bill were referred to a Select Committee as a matter of right. It would come to this—that if any person had sufficient influence he could get a Bill referred to a Select Committee; but that the general public who had private rights which were injured by such Bill, but who were not influential in Parliament, could not get them so referred. He could not believe that that was the intention of Parliament. Under the Act of 1883 very large rating powers were given, and also the power to take land compulsorily and to a considerable extent; but he did not know that Parliament had ever delegated to any other body the right to take land compulsorily. Those were the general grounds upon which he based his Motion. The question was whether they should continue the procedure they had followed for 25 years, or whether they should adopt the decision of Monday. If the Bill were not a Bill for confirming a Provisional Order, but was to be treated in every respect as a Public Bill, he (the Earl of Limerick) submitted that it ought not to have been introduced into that House at all, for it was one of those Bills which by the custom of Parliament could only have been introduced in the House of Commons according to Standing Order 226 of that House. Besides these reasons of a general character, he would urge that their Lordships should be very careful before they went into Committee on the Bill. Rightly or wrongly, this Bill went before a Select Committee of their Lordships' House, and that Committee decided that it was not advisable that it should become law. He submitted that the decision of the Committee ought to be received with great consideration. He wished he were better able to meet the arguments of noble Lords opposite. He had not raised this question out of any disrespect to the noble and learned Lords who took part in the discussion on Monday; but those Noblemen knew the exact question that was to be raised when they came down, and the rest of the House did not, and he thought a subject so important should not be decided hastily and without due investigation. In conclusion, he trusted the House would exonerate him from blame for occupying so much time in proposing the Resolution that stood in his name.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD, in seconding the Amendment, said, this could not be both a Private and a Public Bill. If it was a Private Bill, it had been killed in Committee. If it was a Public Bill, it could not now commence at the Committee stage—in fact, it had never been introduced in that character. Some consideration ought to be paid to those who had been, by the Order of the House, at the trouble and expense of coming over to oppose the Bill, and who had proved their case before a Select Committee. It was not desirable to proceed with the Bill.

Amendment *moved*,

To leave out all the words after ("That") and insert ("the Order of Monday last for committing the Bill to a Committee of the Whole House be discharged.")—(*The Earl of Limerick.*)

The Earl of SELBORNE said, he was not going to repeat the speech he had made the other evening; but the proceedings were quite regular, and he hoped their Lordships would proceed with the Bill. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Limerick) gave due Notice of his intention to bring the subject forward theo ther evening; but no new argument had been adduced on the present occasion. He (the Earl of Selborne), therefore, trusted that their Lordships would adhere to the decision at which they arrived the other night. He maintained that the Bill was a public one, and that it had gone through all the usual stages.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES (The Earl of Redesdale) said, that he did not think the matter was thoroughly understood.

The Earl of LIMERICK: Hear, hear!

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES: Whether it was right or wrong, the Bill was read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee under the Standing Orders of their Lordships' House. It was called a Provisional Order, and every Bill which was called a Provisional Order there was no doubt might be dealt with in the way that this Bill had been. He held in his hand a letter from his noble Friend (the Earl of Belmore), the Chairman of the Select Committee, who was absent in Ireland, in which he said the Committee unanimously felt that the Bill ought not to proceed. He (the Earl of Redesdale) thought the decision of that Committee was a far more important guide to their Lordships' House than either the advice of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland or the Privy Council of Ireland. He believed that matters were inquired into before those Committees, and that their investigations were conducted in a way to bring out all the points of the case that were important in regard to legislation.

The Earl of ROSSE said, that, as one of the Members of the Select Committee who considered the Bill, he desired to say a few words as to the general feeling of the Committee, and as to why it was their general feeling that the Bill should not proceed. So far as he knew, their action proceeded entirely on the ground that there seemed extremely little likelihood that the line would ever pay. The guarantee amounted to 1*s.* in the pound, which would be levied on the district; and the Committee were of opinion that they should not allow an Act to go on, which would so heavily tax the occupiers and landowners of the district. The prospects of traffic appeared much over-rated, as the residences were situated principally near Ballincollig, which was already served by the Cork and Macroom line. It did not seem likely that lime would be sent partly by rail so short a distance; and as, under the scheme, no provision was made for its direct transfer from the ships to the trucks, it did not seem probable that the traffic in coal would be large.

On Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion?"

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Title.

Earl SPENCER, in moving an Amendment to alter the title of the Bill by striking out the words "Provisional Order," in order to put in the words "Order in Council (Ireland) Bill," said, he did so on the ground that the measure was intended to affirm not a Provisional Order, but an Order in Council.

Amendment *moved,* "That the title of the Bill be changed to 'Order in Council (Ireland) Bill.'"—(*The Earl Spencer.*)

The Earl of LIMERICK said, he questioned whether the former stages of the Bill, if a Public Bill, were not irregular.

The Earl of SELBORNE said, the Amendment was only to insure that the Bill should be called by the name by which it was called in the Act of Parliament under which it was presented; and that no such mistake as had occurred in this instance should occur again, by the use of a form of title which failed to make a distinction between an Order in Council under the Act of 1860, and a common Provisional Order under Acts of a very different kind.

The Earl of LONGFORD said, it would appear that the Bill had been introduced and read a second time, as a Public Bill, under false pretences. It was read a second time as a Private Bill, and rejected by a Select Committee.

The House, by main force, might be determined to pass it; but the noble Earl (the Earl of Limerick) was entirely in the right that the measure ought not to proceed on its present lines.

Amendment *agreed to;* words *changed* accordingly.

Title, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Earl SPENCER, consequential Amendment made in page 1, by leaving out the word "Provisional," and after the word "Order" inserting the words "in Council."

Clauses *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received *To-morrow.*

House *resumed.*

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES said, that he must say that the Amendments proved most clearly that the House was right. The Bill had been read a second time, and confirmed by the House as a Provisional Order. Under the Orders of the House it was referred to a Select Committee, who had reported against it, and he thought their Lordships had committed an act of great irregularity.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES (ENGLAND) BILL.

(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

(NO. 177.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said: The Bill, of which I have now the honour of moving the second reading, I do not present to your Lordships as a Member of the Royal Commission, although it is a Bill which has been drawn up with the unanimous consent of the Members of that Commission, and in concert with its Chairman (Sir Charles W. Dilke). The composition of that Commission was one ranging over a large field of political opinion; and it is, no doubt, a surprise to those parties who look at the names and the Report that the Commission came to any conclusion at all. I think, however, the Commission have made a very considerable number of very important recommendations, and the result is very largely due to the tact and conciliation with which the deliberations of the Commission were conducted by the Chairman. Of course, anybody reading this Bill must read it with the knowledge that it is, to a certain extent, a compromise. Various Members of the Commission, no doubt, would have liked to go further, each in his own direction; but perhaps they occupied ground that was all the safer and sounder, because they had had to agree with one another in regard to the provisions of this measure. No one need expect to find that it contains any magic formula which will cure all the evils of which this House and the public have heard a great deal, and there is nothing startling, sensational, or extreme in its provisions. We are hoping to cure those evils by slow and gradual steps, by the application of remedies apparently not far-reaching in their character, but still judiciously directed to the precise difficulties which arose in each department of our inquiry. There is, as I have said, therefore, nothing sensational or extreme in the measure which we recommend your Lordships to accept. I will just go through the various portions of the Bill, only saying that it must not be considered to be the whole outcome of the deliberations of the Commission, for there are some very much larger and more difficult questions behind, which the circumstances of the Session do not permit of our dealing with now, but which I hope will be dealt with at some future time. The evils which this Commission was appointed to remedy consisted of two very distinct branches, which must not be confused, but must be kept apart by anybody who will apply the remedies rightly, but which there is a great tendency in the public mind to confuse. There are evils of a strictly sanitary character—namely, those evils which arise out of material causes, the bad structure of the houses, bad drainage, insufficiency of water, and so forth; and the evils which arise from overcrowding, due to the excess of population in one particular place. These evils are different in their nature, different in the remedies which it is requisite should be applied to them, and different, above all, in respect to the hope with which we can look for their speedy cure with the prospects of remedy which we have before as. The sanitary evils—and this is the result of our investigation—although they exist, are in process of fairly rapid cure. In truth, if the law, as it exists, was fully carried out, these evils would hardly remain. Our task has principally been to suggest alterations that would secure a more ample and rapid execution of the law; and we believe if that can be done the sanitary evils will altogether disappear. But the most cheering point with respect to them is this—that with the increase of civilization and with the progress of the community these sanitary evils tend to vanish altogether, and they essentially differ in this respect from the evils of overcrowding. The more our prosperity increases the more sanitary evils will vanish; but the more our prosperity increases, the more there is the danger that unless remedial measures are taken the evils of overcrowding will also increase. The sanitary part of the measure consists of a number of details which we cannot well discuss without the Public Health Act in our hands; but, in the first place, it may be said that we give the Sanitary Authorities power to put into effect byelaws all over the country, giving them the right of supervision as to tenement houses. At present, I think, there is only power in the Metropolis, and there only power where the Local Government Board give their previous authority. The Sanitary Authorities, by this Bill, receive power to bring these bye-laws into effect at once. They are byelaws which permit the proper inspection and supervision over tenement houses—that is, over houses in which numbers of rooms or floors are inhabited by several distinct families, and where, therefore, there is great danger of sanitary evil arising. The next point that we deal with in respect to that subject is an alteration of the Artizans' Dwellings Act. Under that Act, the Local Authority has power to clear these places, popularly called "slums," and substitute better buildings. But the Local Authority is not always inclined to do its duty in that respect, the expense being very considerable, and local interests of a formidable character having often to be met. This Bill gives power to the Local Government Board, where the officer reports that the premises are unfit for human habitation, to authorize the Local Authority to put in force the provisions of the Act, and then it becomes the duty of the Local Authority to comply with the order for the removal of the premises. Then there is another provision which will tend largely to increase the health of the Metropolis, and, in fact, of all houses in large towns. Anyone who has had a house built is acquainted with the speculative builders or the builders who are not speculative. They have a habit—I do not know under what part of their business it comes, perhaps from some uninstructed workmen—but they have a habit of conducting all the drains into the centre of the kitchen and leaving them there. If anything occurs in the house it is said—"It cannot be the drains, because it is a new house." The children die; typhoid fever has done its work, and then it is found that all the mischief has sprung from preventible disease. At present, under the law, a man who lets a furnished house is compelled to enter into a contract that the house is healthy; but, by a curious peculiarity of the law, that does not extend to an unfurnished house. By the provisions of this Bill that anomaly will be removed and the evil will be met. Any person building a house and letting it, and not taking proper and reasonable precautions that it shall be healthy, will be held to have broken the contract, and will be held liable, just as the Railway Company is, for the illness or death of any person living in it, so far as it is due to his own negligence. I believe that will be a provision of considerable value, which will put a stop to the somewhat reckless disposal of unfurnished houses, from which so many lamentable evils have arisen. I need not tell your Lordships of the evil in this end of the town; but it is ten-fold worse in the small houses, which are run up in the suburbs at a cheap rate, and the building of which has often been exceedingly disgraceful. No one who has examined into the matter can doubt that there is a great deal of scamped work, which has greatly increased the death-rate. I look to this clause more than to any other to diminish the death-rate that is caused by insanitary dwellings. But we must not imagine that it is anything we can do in this House, or in the House of Commons, that will remove all these evils. It must be done by that stirring up of public opinion which these investigations cause; it is to this that we must look for any real reform; it must be from the people themselves, from the owners, builders, and occupiers, when their attention is drawn to the enormous evils which past negligence has caused—it is from them that the cure of the sanitary evils which have so largely increased the death rate must come. I think we should be deceiving ourselves if we imagined that any impulse would be sufficient to cure an evil so widely spread. But with regard to overcrowding there is something more we can do. In the main, the worst features of overcrowding are to be found in the Metropolis, where the chief difficulty lies in the enormous distance which the circumference lies from the centre. In other places it is possible to meet it by building cottages on the outskirts of the town; but that cannot be done in London, because of the distance being so great. We must, therefore, find some mode of stimulating the provision of houses in places where the work-people have their work to do, or in the immediate neighbourhood thereof. We propose to give facilities in the Bill for using certain open spaces, which have been cleared in the Metropolis and elsewhere — for instance, the sites of prisons in the Metropolis — which, in consequence of recent legislation, have ceased to be necessary. The recent alteration of our prison-house legislation has made it expedient that many of the old buildings shall cease to be used for the purpose for which they were intended and to which they are now applied. It is proposed with reference to Millbank Penitentiary, Coldbath Fields, and Pentonville Prisons, that the sites shall be sold to the Metropolitan Board of Works at prices which will enable the Board to let them out, either to Trusts like the Peabody, or other similar Companies, under, of course, proper restrictions that they shall be applied, and solely, to the purpose of erecting dwellings for the working classes. I cannot help hoping that in connection with that provision some effort may be made to obtain working-class dwellings that shall be, while still healthy and useful, somewhat cheaper in their construction than those which the Peabody Trustees have erected. I believe that the Peabody buildings have done an enormous amount of good; but they have not struck at the lowest and most necessitous class. They are built on a scale that renders necessary a rent higher than that class can pay. The people must be housed; and we must make an effort to see if we cannot, without disregarding the laws of health, produce buildings sufficient to house them, without asking a rent which is beyond their means to pay. As far as we have gone at present I do not think that the problem has been sufficiently approached. I believe it is possible to grapple with it, and do more in the way of cheap buildings than we have done. I hope that the Metropolitan Board of Works in dealing with these sites, if it shall please Parliament to place them in a position to do so, will make a serious and earnest effort to see that that great difficulty is more completely removed than it is now. Another change which we propose with respect to London is a change dealing with private and corporate property. Your Lordships are aware that very commonly in settlements it is provided that land shall only be leased at the best price that can be had. The result of that is that though the tenant for life may be perfectly willing to let the land for building working-class dwellings upon, and though it is for the public interest that he should do so, and every man living may desire that he should do so, yet he is forbidden by this provision to let the land for such purpose. Of course, it is more profitable to let the land for the purpose of large and rich buildings, shops, or private houses, than it is for poorer class houses. At all events, that is the case in many parts of the town. There are large properties in this part of the town which are bound up in that way; and I believe that if some legislation of this kind were introduced we should find a great deal more land set free. We do not, of course, wish to do anything contrary to the wishes of the owners; but we want to give liberty to use land for working-class dwellings in towns just as a man is at liberty now to use his land in the country for farmhouses and cottages, without considering whether it is the most profitable purpose for which the land could be used. I think your Lordships will feel that no injury is done to any interest by conferring powers upon town owners of providing for the wants of the population similar to those which already exist in the country. There is a curious peculiarity in the Settled Land Act, which enables trust money, or the money belonging to Corporations, to be expended in erecting buildings for the country population. It enables farm-houses and cottages to be built out of the money belonging to the trust or Corporation; but the Settled Land Act stops short, and gives no such facility for building these working-class dwellings in towns. I do not understand on what basis this exception is made. I was anxious that some such clause should be introduced into the Settled Land Act while it was passing through this House; but it was thought better that the Act should pass without the introduction of matter which would lead to unnecessary conflict. I hope, now that it is recommended by the Royal Commission, it will commend itself to your Lordships. There is only one other provision of importance to which it is necessary I should draw your Lordships' attention. It may be that, after all these facilities are given, cases will occur in which room cannot be provided for the population. These cases occur principally in places where industries have suddenly sprung up, and where a large population has suddenly gathered together, and where there is no local capital to come forward in order to supply the necessary accommodation. I may illustrate what I mean by the case of the town of Camborne, in Cornwall, which occupies a considerable place in the evidence taken by the Commission. In that case, there were local difficulties which prevented the proprietors from selling the land, and there was no one who was willing to build. The consequence was there was most frightful overcrowding, accompanied by great misery, for which no possible remedy could be found. I do not think that in these cases there should be an exceptional remedy; but it so happens that we have, on the Statute Book, a law designed to meet cases of this kind, which is, perhaps, not so wholly applicable as it might be. The noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Argyll) made use of a striking observation the other night, that the history of social movements in this country was very nearly the history of the life of my noble Friend (Lord Shaftesbury). I believe that is a very true representation of the facts. Among the measures which my noble Friend, in his long and active life, was the means of passing, was one for increasing the number of lodging-houses in places where congestion of the population had taken place. He passed it in 1851, first through the House of Commons, and afterwards, owing to the death of his father, it was his singular fortune to pass it through the House of Lords. But it does not fulfil the expectations which he entertained of it, owing to certain technical difficulties that have arisen. We propose to use that Act with a little more freedom, for the purpose of meeting such exceptional cases as I have referred to. The Act of my noble Friend enables a parish or Local Authority to build lodging-houses in cases where the necessity has arisen. The Act is safeguarded by a number of provisions, requiring certain majorities to be obtained. The result of these precautions is, that the Act does not work at all. We prefer to apply it in another way in requiring no special majority of the population, but providing that an examination shall take place by the Local Government Board; and if the Inspector reports these two things—first, that the accommodation is wanted, and is not likely to be obtained in any other way; and, secondly, that the parish may provide it without any risk to the ratepayers—without imprudence as regards the ratepayers—then the Local Government Board may issue the necessary authority to enable the work to be carried out. At the same time, to clear up certain legal doubts as to whether my noble Friend's Act, and the Acts founded upon it, apply to separate tenements as well as to lodging-houses, the Bill provides that it shall be applicable to cottages as well as lodging-houses. My impression is that it is applicable to the building of cottages at the present time; but we have introduced a Proviso to clear up any doubt on that point, and also to give power, in suitable localities, for the provision of not more than half-an-acre of garden ground for each cottage, the annual value of such garden not to exceed £1. Where such provision is made by the Local Authority it is, of course, desirable that it should not take the form of long rows of buildings; but, as far as possible, they should erect cottages separated by gardens. It may not be possible to apply this provision in many cases; but I think the carrying of it out will have a double effect; it may relieve cases of great congestion such as those to which I have referred, and it may, by its very existence, operate as an incentive to those who have the power to build cottages, to do so without bringing the Act into operation. I have now gone through all the principal provisions of this Bill, and your Lordships will perceive that there is nothing in it of a very large or sweeping character, yet I am not without hope that, if adopted by Parliament, it will exercise considerable influence over the happiness of those whose lot in life is difficult and who have many sorrows and troubles in store for them. I feel that the condition of the lowest and poorest of the working classes in the most crowded parts of the community is one which, more than any other, deserves attention both outside and in both Houses of Parliament; because it is by the character of the English race, and the nature of those produced from generation to generation that you carry on the traditions of the country, fill its armies, perform its public services, and maintain its prosperity, and uphold its ancient reputation; and their fitness for this electing must depend upon the physical causes which attend their birth and nurture. Among those physical causes none is more powerful, or more prominent, than the condition of the houses in which they and their parents dwell, and therefore there is none that deserves more earnest, careful, unflagging, and yet circumspect, attention both of the philanthropist and the statesman.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Motion *agreed to ;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

(NO. 178.) REPORT.

Order of the Day for the Report of Amendments to be received, read.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY said, he thought their Lordships should have a clearer and more distinct understanding than they had at present as to the course the Government proposed to take with regard to the Bill in the other House.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he had already stated that although the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery) had continued in charge of the Bill in their Lordships' House, they proposed that, in the other House, it should be taken up by them, and become a Government Bill.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY said, he was quite aware of that; but he was anxious to know what the intentions of the Government were with regard to the Scottish Education Department? There was some uncertainty on that point, because of the remarks of the noble Viscount the Lord President of the Council (Viscount Cranbrook) on Tuesday night.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he very much regretted the absence of his noble Friend (Viscount Cranbrook) on the present occasion, and that he was not there to explain the matter. However, he understood from the speech of his noble Friend on Tuesday, that the Government entirely accepted the Amendments introduced at the instance of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery).

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, a considerable change had been introduced into the Bill with regard to the title of the Secretary, and he thought it was very desirable that there should be no doubt whatever as to what the position of the Secretary for Scotland, as Vice President of the Council who was to preside over the Scottish Education Department, was to be. He understood from his noble Friend the Lord President (Viscount Cranbrook) the other day that that position was to be absolutely clear and distinct; and he should like to know now if the Government could, in a more distinct manner, give a confirmation of what the Lord President was understood to say on Tuesday. He wished, in the first place, to know whether he was correct in understanding the Lord President to say that the Scotch Education Department would be wholly distinct and separate alike in form, in substance, and in organization from the English Department; and, secondly, whether, in spite of the alteration of title from President to Vice President, it was still intended that the Department should be under the control of the Scotch Secretary? The Scotch people had made up their minds that they wished to have the control of their own education, and their Lordships having conceded so much to their wishes—he might say their unanimous wish—he thought it should be made perfectly clear and distinct what the scope of the Bill was before it left that House.

THE EARL OF MINTO said, the title of the Secretary for Scotland, as regarded education, had been changed in a very remarkable way. The Amendment, as it stood on the Paper on Tuesday morning, was to the effect that the Secretary for Scotland should be the President of the Scottish Education Department; but when he looked at the Bill now before him, he found that the word "President" had been changed to "Vice President." He did not know that that change had been made. He would like to ask the noble Earl what the position of the Scotch Secretary was to be in regard to education; and, also, that they should know something more about the position of the Committee of Council. Was that Committee to be composed simply of official Members of the Council, or was it to be specially constituted so as to meet Scotch requirements? It was very desirable that they should know what was to be the constitution and the real functions of the Scottish Department. Was it to remain merely a titular body? In short, was it to be a sham or a reality? Was the Lord President of the Council to be a Member of the Scottish Committee of Council, and was he to be of superior rank to the Secretary for Scotland? He regretted that he could not join in the general approval given by their Lordships; for, in his own opinion, the change made in the title of the Secretary was a change for the worse, and he regretted that it should have been made.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in reply, said, he could not give any pledges or extended explanations in regard to the constitution of the Committee; but it was due to the noble Earl behind him (the Earl of Minto) to say something to clear up the point that had been raised as to the change in the title. It was perfectly true that, in the Amendment as it appeared on the Paper, the word "President" was there; but in the Amendment, as he (the Earl of Rosebery) read it to the House, he used the term "Vice President." The explanation of the matter was this. In drawing up the Amendment, he had taken the analogy of the Board of Trade, which was a Committee of the Privy Council, constituted with a President by an Order in Council. He did not not see why the same form should not be used in this cese; but, on coming down to the House, the noble Viscount the Lord President (Viscount Cranbrook) pointed out to him that, though he quite understood the intention to be as it was stated, yet it would not be possible to have another President of the Council, one permanent, and the other shifting. The Chairman of the English Committee of Education was called Vice President, and therefore, as a matter of form, it was better that the Scottish Secretary should also be a Vice President. He (the Earl of Rosebery) did not see any great difference in substance in the change. He was asked by the noble Earl whether the Committee was to be a sham or not. He had no power to decide that point; but, in moving the Amendment, he had laid great stress on the intention of the promoters of the Bill that the Committee of Council should be a living reality, and not be, as at present, a collection of phantoms; but that, of course, rested more with noble Lords opposite than with himself. The noble Earl who had just spoken (the Earl of Minto) had said that he thought the original better than the amended Bill. In some respects, he agreed with him. He (the Earl of Rosebery) himself would have preferred if it had been possible to transfer education to the Scottish Secretary in a more distinct way by scheduling the Education Act; but it appeared that that was not possible. However, they were doing all they could in that direction, and he thought it infinitely better to do it in the way he had, than to risk the passing of the Bill by introducing changes in the interpretation of a Statute. For the rest, he trusted to the public declarations of the Lord President, who said that if education in Scotland was to be transferred to the new Minister—and it was to be transferred—it must be transferred as thoroughly and completely as possible. He (the Earl of Rosebery) put the largest interpretation upon these words. They could not, in a Bill of that sort, deal with the question of patronage. That was outside the scope of the Bill. If it was intended at the last moment to withhold any part of that complete transference, all he could say was that an incomplete transference would be wholly unsatisfactory to the people of Scotland. The people of Scotland had made up their minds that their Minister was to have the control, absolute and complete, of their education, and anything that fell short of that in reality would be unsatisfactory to them. He believed also the Government were determined that this should be a large and a graceful concession, and not a niggardly and grudging one. In one case, it would be complete and satisfactory; in the other, it would be a phantom.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (The Earl of IDDESLEIGH) said, he thought the explanation which the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery) had given of what took place the other night was a perfectly accurate one. He understood that the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) was anxious for some fuller and more precise information on certain points which he thought could be best supplied by the Lord President. What he (the Earl of Iddesleigh) would venture to suggest, therefore, to his noble Friend (the Marquess of Lothian) would be that, instead of attempting to deal with the matter now, he should renew his Questions to the Lord President on the third reading of the Bill. If that course was taken, he had no doubt they would have a satisfactory statement from the Lord President with regard to the matter.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, he would act upon the suggestion, and repeat his Questions when the Lord President was present on the third reading of the Bill.

Amendments *reported* accordingly; and Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 16*th July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN — Sir Henry Fletcher, baronet, *for* Horsham.

SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report* — National Provident Insurance [No. 270]; Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) [No. 271]; Forestry, Mr. Northcote *discharged;* Colonel King-Harman *added.*

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* — *Resolutions* [July 15] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Considered as amended* — *Third Reading* — Witham River Outfall, and *passed.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2) [223]; Exchequer and Treasury Bills* [229]; Medical Relief Disqualification Removal [232].

Committee — Bankruptcy (Office Accommodation) [215] — R.P.; Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) [214]—R.P.

Committee—Report—National Debt [172].

Committee — Report — Third Reading — Public Health (Ships, &c.)* [230]; Ecclesiastical Commissioners* [227]; Marriages (Saint John, Cowley)* [234], and *passed.*

Third Reading—Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (No. 2)* [207]; Copyhold Enfranchisement [26], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he would give Notice that, on the first convenient day, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the late Secretary of State for the Home Department, What course he proposes to take in regard to the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill; or, whether he has definitely abandoned the attempt to get it passed into law?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: With the leave of the House I will try to answer the Question now. The hon. Member must be aware that I have no power in this matter. I very much regret that the Bill is not to be proceeded with; but I could not myself carry forward a Bill at this late period of the Session, unless the Government were willing to afford facilities for considering it, and I understand that they are not prepared to do that. My answer, therefore, must be that I cannot go forward with the Bill.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether he was to understand there was an intention to abandon the Bill; or, whether any independent Member was prepared to go on with it?

[No reply.]

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—DOYLE *v.* FENTON—TINAHELY PETTY SESSIONS.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will inquire into the case of poor rate collector Philip Doyle, against Richard Fenton, receiver under the Court of Chancery over the estate of Mrs. Courtney, heard at Tinahely Petty Sessions on the 1st instant; whether it it is true that the presiding magistrate was induced by Dr. Toomey, the solicitor acting for Mrs. Courtney, to dismiss the case, on the grounds that the agent, Mr. Fenton, was not liable, and could not be sued for rates; whether Dr. Toomey, who acted for Mrs. Courtney, also acts as solicitor to the Board of Guardians; whether the Board were specially represented by a solicitor on that occasion; and, if not, why; and, whether the magistrate was justified in the action he took under the circumstances?

The hon. Member also had the following Questions upon the Paper:—"Whether he will inquire into the circumstances under which Dr. Toomey, Solicitor to the Grand Jury of the county Wicklow, at Tinahely Petty Sessions, on the 1st instant, advised the High Constable of the barony of South Ballinacor to return the farm lately held by Peter Fleming, as being in bankruptcy; whether Dr. Toomey was acting as solicitor for Mrs. Courtney, as well as for the Grand Jury; and, whether the payment of the county cess was evaded by the course adopted?"

"And, if he is aware of the fact that Mr. Richard Fenton, agent for Mr. Fitzwilliam Dick, and also under the Court of Chancery, in the county Wicklow, has recently refused to pay the Poor Rate on holdings valued under four pounds, and, when the tenants have themselves paid, has refused to allow the whole Poor Rate to any who hold their farms at a rent under the amount of the Poor Law valuation; and, whether any, and what steps can be taken to guard against the consequent disfranchisement of the people?"

Sir George Campbell

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Sir William Hart Dyke): I will answer together, so far as I am able, this Question and the two following. In the first place, I am advised that Mr. Fenton, being merely a receiver under the Court of Chancery, was not liable to be sued for the poor rates or county cess in question; and that the magistrates took the legal course in dismissing the cases. I am informed, in the second place, that Mr. Toomey was not acting for Mrs. Courtney, nor otherwise engaged in the cases; and that the Guardians were not concerned in the case, as the poor rate collector was acting on his own responsibility. I have no control over Mr. Toomey, nor any means of inquiring into the circumstances in which he gave any advice to the high constable of the barony; but I am informed that the high constable is about to proceed for recovering the county cess. Thirdly, I have no means of ascertaining the nature of the dealings of Mr. Fenton and the tenants as to the payment of poor rates.

IRELAND—REGISTRY OF DEEDS OFFICE, DUBLIN.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the inquiry instituted by the Treasury into the condition of the clerks in the Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin, has concluded, and whether a report upon the subject has as yet been received by the Treasury; whether a scheme for the reorganisation of the Department has been formulated; and, if so, when do the Treasury propose to give it effect; whether the Treasury are prepared to render such a scheme retrospective in its effect, so as to permit the junior class in the Department to obtain the full measure of the improvement recommended for them by the Royal Commission which investigated the condition of the Office in 1881; and, whether it was proposed to fill up the vacancies at present existing in the Department by promotion in the ordinary course?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Sir Henry Holland): The inquiry of the Committee referred to has not yet been received, and, as I am informed, cannot be completed until August, owing to the professional engagements of some of its Members.

That being so, the hon. Member will see that it is impossible for me to anticipate the nature of the decisions which may be come to upon the Report. I can only say that the vacancies will not be filled up in the meanwhile.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—ALLEGED FIRING AT THE PERSON AT KILLASMEESTIA, QUEEN'S CO.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, on the 29th ultimo, in accordance with established custom, a bonfire was lighted in a field at Killasmeestia, Queen's County, at the site of the gathering of the people of the district for amusement, in celebration of the festival; whether the local fife and drum band, in proceeding to the bonfire, ceased playing while passing the house of one Walsh, who was obnoxious to the public sentiment of the district; whether, after the band had passed, four shots were fired from Walsh's house in the direction of the bonfire, from which it is distant about 100 yards, to the danger of the lives of innocent people, who had carefully abstained from giving him any provocation; whether Walsh has a licence for firearms; and, whether the Government proposes to take any, and what, steps in the matter?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): I am informed that the facts are as stated in the first two paragraphs of the Question, with the addition that, when passing Walsh's house, the crowd hooted and shouted. The shots were fired by Walsh in his own yard, a quarter of an hour after the crowd had passed, but not in the direction of the crowd, or so as to endanger the life of anyone. The bonfire was about 200 yards from Walsh's house. Walsh is duly licensed to have and carry firearms.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether this man would be allowed still to carry firearms?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND asked the hon. Member to put this further Question on the point on the Notice Paper.

POST OFFICE—THE COMMITTEE ON POSTAGE STAMPS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Postmaster General, If he has any objection to state what is the outcome of the labours of the Committee on Postage Stamps appointed by the late Postmaster General, Mr. Fawcett; and, whether the Controller of Stamps has made any Report upon his inspection of the various Continental Stamp Factories that were lately visited by him; and, if so, whether he has any objection to lay the same upon the Table of the House?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS): The Committee on Postage Stamps laid their Report before my Predecessor shortly after the hon. Member asked a Question on the subject in April last; and the new designs which were decided upon are now being carried out by the Board of Inland Revenue. The Report of the Controller of Stamps was made to that Board. At the request of the Ministers of the different States with whom that officer was placed in communication by Her Majesty's Ambassadors, the Controller undertook, on behalf of the Board, that all he saw and learnt should be treated as confidential; and it is, therefore, not intended to lay the Report before Parliament.

NAVAL KNIGHTS OF WINDSOR.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he is aware that there are three vacancies for Naval Knights of Windsor; and, whether he is about to submit to the Home Office the names of those deserving Officers whom the Board may think entitled to that honour?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON): There are three vacancies to be filled up; but my Predecessor (Lord Northbrook) ordered the postponement of action as regards filling up those vacancies until the effect of the proposed legislation by which captains and commanders will be eligible for appointment is ascertained. There is a clause in the Greenwich Hospital Bill carrying out this change.

THE STATIONERY OFFICE.

LORD ELCHO asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that, while in other departments contracts are publicly advertised and schedules sent direct to the manufacturers, in the Stationery Office alone a different system prevails, and schedules are only sent to a few of the larger wholesale London stationers; and, whether, if this is so, he can see his way to remedying this anomaly and thereby benefiting the trade as well as the country?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): The schedules for tenders for general supplies of stationery are sent to over 80 different firms, 30 of whom received them at country addresses. New names are constantly being added. This system of competition commends itself for adoption in the case of stationery upon grounds of efficiency and economy, and I have no reason to suppose that it causes any inconvenience to the trade.

LAW AND JUSTICE—CASE OF DAVID BRADLEY, M.D.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to a Memorial addressed to the late Home Secretary, by a large number of medical practitioners of Sheffield, and other places, having reference to the case of David Bradley, M.D., who was sentenced to two years' hard labour for an alleged outrage upon a woman named Sweetmore who was subject to epilepsy; and, if the facts are as stated in the Memorial, he will order an immediate inquiry into the case?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS), in reply, said, that a considerable number of Memorials had been received with reference to this case, which was, at the present moment, being made the subject of most careful investigation. He should be prepared to make a statement on the subject on Tuesday.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIAN OUTRAGE ON A CONSULAR OFFICIAL.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the following statement in *The Standard* newspaper of the 13th July is correct:—

> "Consul Finn's clerk has been liberated, after being flogged with the 'cat,' threatened with death and otherwise cruelly treated, and forced to hard labour. The reason for this treatment was that he would not make certain statements which the Russian used every effort to extract from him;"

and, if so, what course the Government are taking with regard to so serious a circumstance?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BOURKE): In reply to my hon. and gallant Friend, I have to state that, from information which has reached Her Majesty's Government, the circumstances of the case seem to be as follows:—Mr. Consul Finn was proceeding to Sarakhs, and on his journey one of his mules strayed across the frontier. It was traced to a place called Kara Chacha, and he sent his Native Secretary with a guide and a note to the Russian authorities, to make inquiries in order to get back the mule. The Secretary and the guide who went with him were arrested by the Russian authorities, and by them they were sent first to Askabad and, after being kept there for some time, they were sent under escort to Meshed. When the Native Secretary returned, he said that he had been flogged by the Russian authorities during his captivity. Her Majesty's Government have made representations upon the subject to the Russian Government, and they have asked for a full inquiry into the treatment of persons in the employment of a British Consular officer, who were said to have been so used by the Russian authorities. The Russian Government have replied that they will institute an inquiry into the subject; but General Komaroff has stated that the Native Secretary did not tell the Russian authorities that he was in the service of an Englishman; but, on the contrary, the Russian authorities had reason to believe that they were suspicious persons, and had consequently sent them under escort to Meshed.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—THE DEPRESSION OF TRADE—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. WILLIAMSON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government intends that the proposed Royal Commission on Trade Depression shall inquire specially into the alleged hindrances to British enterprise and commerce with silver using countries, in consequence of recent monetary changes adversely affecting silver in Europe; and also into the effect of these changes on the "appreciation of gold," and the fall in the values of commodities?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I am afraid I can only give the hon. Member this general reply—that the subjects proposed to be referred to the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry are undergoing very careful consideration; but in reference to this and other questions, I would venture to say that I think the House will feel that if the inquiry is to be of any service, care must be taken not to make it too discursive.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—RELEASE OF A CONVICT MURDERER.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, On what grounds did Lord Spencer order the release of the Orangeman who murdered a Catholic solicitor in Omagh twenty-one years ago under the most horrible circumstances; and, did the late Viceroy leave any Minute behind him recommending the release of the Phœnix Park prisoners after they have served a portion of their sentences?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The convict referred to as having been recently released is a Roman Catholic. At the time of his conviction, 20 years ago, the jury strongly recommended him to mercy on the ground that the crime was unpremeditated, and Baron Fitzgerald, who tried the case, reported that, in his opinion, it was one of aggravated manslaughter rather than murder. The case came up for consideration in the usual course after 20 years of the sentence had expired. There was nothing exceptional in its treatment. The late Viceroy left no such Minute as is suggested in the second part of the Question.

GRAND JURY ACT (IRELAND)—FEES TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GRAND JURY, CO. CAVAN.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the secretary to the Cavan Grand Jury charges each person who makes a tender, 1*s*. for each form of tender if filled by his clerk; 6*d*. for form of tender when not filled by his clerk; 1*s*. for each cheque paid to a contractor at assizes, and 2*s*. if paid between two assizes; whether above charges are legal; and, if not, whether he will endeavour to have the illegality discontinued; and, whether the secretary is justified in using his official room also as a rent office?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): I find that this Question was partially answered on the 2nd March last by my Predecessor, who explained that a Secretary of a Grand Jury is not under the control of Government. I have received a telegram from the Secretary of Cavan Grand Jury as follows:—

> "Secretary charges sixpence for form of tender, and one shilling if filled by his clerk. Question respecting cheques answered in previous report. Cheques issued between two Assizes are those paid on certificate of County Surveyor, who sometimes divides a payment between two or more contractors, and one shilling is usually paid for each cheque issued. Secretary's office is not used as rent office. Tenants unable to pay at appointed time and place occasionally pay clerk in Secretary's office."

CIVIL SERVANTS AS ELECTION AGENTS.

MR. BRODRICK asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the fact of holding a position as a salaried civil servant is a legal disqualification for the post of election agent; and, whether, except in the case of interference with official duties, any objection exists to a civil servant accepting such an appointment?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER): The fact that a person holds the position of a salaried Civil servant does not, as a matter of law, disqualify him for the post referred to in the Question. In the absence of Departmental Rules to the contrary, there is no objection to his accepting the appointment, provided it does not interfere with his official duties.

LAW AND POLICE—THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE"—OBJECTIONABLE ARTICLES.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Government will institute a searching inquiry by means of a Royal Commission, or otherwise, into the truth of the horrible statements of crime made by *The Pall Mall Gazette;* and, if they are found to be true, will use any endeavour to bring the guilty parties to justice?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMEMT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): No one can sympathize more deeply than I do with my hon. Friend in regard to the object which he has in view in asking this Question, and I can assure him that I will use every endeavour to find the guilty parties, if there are any guilty of such practices, and to bring them to justice.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—RETURN OF CAUSES.

MR. INCE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has any objection to a Return being ordered:—(1) Of the number of actions standing for hearing, with witnesses to be examined in court, at the commencement of Michaelmas Sittings 1884; (2) Of the number of such witness actions heard and determined by each of the following judges, viz.:—The Vice Chancellor Bacon, Mr. Justice Kay, Mr. Justice Chitty, Mr. Justice Pearson, and Mr. Justice North respectively, in each of the following sittings, namely, Michaelmas 1884, Hilary 1885, and Easter 1885; (3) Of the number of witness actions standing for hearing at the close of the Easter Sittings 1885?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite can have the information he requires in an unopposed Return.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND) — THE UPPER MORNING STAR RIVER DRAINAGE DISTRICT.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware of the dangerous state of the lands and crops in the "Upper Morning Star River Drainage District" should flood arise there during the harvest; and, if so, will he take any steps to pass at once into Law the Bill introduced on the 23rd of March last to drain and improve this district?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): My hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) will answer this.

PARLIAMENT—ORDER—QUESTIONS—HOME RULE.

MR. BORLASE, who had the following Notice of a Question upon the Paper:—To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government have any intention of dealing with the question of Home Rule in Ireland, in the sense of power to be given to the Irish people to control the internal affairs of their Country? said: Before I ask this Question, Sir, which appears on the Paper in my name, I wish for your ruling on a point of Order. On Monday last, I gave Notice of a Question to be put to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reference to Home Rule. When I took that Question up to the Table, it was found to be inadmissible, because it involved matters of opinion. Thereupon, after consultation with the authorities of the House, I altered the form of the Question in a way which I understood would be admissible. Now, I find that the Question has been cut in two, and the part which I consider the most important has been expunged. With the view of having your opinion, Sir, as to whether I may put it to the right hon. Gentleman or not, I will read this portion of my Question. It is this—[*Loud cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member that it is not permissible to deliberately read any part of a Question which I have ruled to be entirely out of Order. It is irregular to ask Questions with regard to matters of opinion, as it is obvious that if that practice were allowed to be indulged in it would give rise to a great deal of debate and controversy.

MR. BORLASE: I bow entirely to the authority of the Chair, and I will now, Sir, put the Question as it stands upon the Paper.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I confess I was rather puzzled by the Question as it appears on the Paper. All I have to say is, that when the hon. Member submits to the House, as I hope he may be able to do next Session, the scheme for Home Rule, which I understand from his Question he has in contemplation, I shall be prepared to state the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to it.

LAW AND POLICE—ALLEGED DRUNKENNESS—CASE OF MR. JOHN SHAW PHILLIPS, CULHAM HOUSE, ABINGDON, BERKS.

MR. E. W. HARCOURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of Mr. John Shaw Phillips, of Culham House, near Abingdon, who on the 6th of July last was locked up for four hours in the Vine Street Police Court, charged with being drunk and incapable; whether he is aware that Mr. Phillips is afflicted with illness, and is unable to walk alone; whether he is also aware that Mr. Phillips, being overcharged by a cabman, requested a policeman to obtain for him the cabman's number; whereupon the policeman bid Mr. Phillips move on, which as Mr. Phillips was unable to do, he took him into custody; that, when Mr. Phillips arrived at the police station, he handed his card to the inspector, and requested that a doctor might be sent for to examine into his condition, which request was refused; and, whether the Secretary of State will sanction the institution of some further inquiries into the matter, with a view of righting an individual who has been wrongly charged?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS), in reply, said, he had no special knowledge of the case. The proper course for anyone aggrieved by the conduct of the police was to complain to a magistrate, and he would remind his hon. Friend that there was a rule now of 17 years' standing which required that the superintendent of police was to ascertain whether a person making a charge against a constable was willing to make it before a magistrate. When the case under notice came before the magistrate, he made use of these words —"I discharge the prisoner, and do not attach any blame to the constables who gave evidence." Therefore, he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) must leave it to the discretion of the gentleman concerned whether he made a complaint or not.

INDIA (BENGAL)—ALLEGED STARVATION.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for India, If it be true that a large number of deaths from starvation have already occurred in the thannah of Kargram, in the district of Moorshedabad, and that a considerable proportion of the population are threatened with death from famine; whether the distress in the Beerbhoom district, especially at Nulhati, from want of food, want of water, and the increase of cholera, is becoming acute; and, what the Government propose to do to meet the distress, especially among the high caste and zenana classes, who retire to their houses to die, rather than go like coolies to relief works or soup kitchens?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): There is no official information at the India Office on this matter; therefore, there may be ground for believing that the statements in the Calcutta newspapers are considerably exaggerated. But we do happen to know that the Lieutenant Govenor of Bengal, when he saw the statements in the newspapers, ordered a house-to-house visitation in the district, and he found there had been no deaths from starvation, that the health of the district was as good as usual, that there was no application for employment on the relief works, and that the death-rate was lower than usual.

CIVIL SERVICE—THE "WRITER" SYSTEM.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If there is any truth in the statement which has been made in the newspapers, that the Government intend to abolish the existing "writer" system in the Civil Service; and, if so, in what manner, from what date, and on what terms?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I have not seen the statement referred to; but, so far as I can gather the purport of it from the hon. Member's Question, if it has been made, there is no truth in it.

EGYPT—THE NILE EXPEDITION—SIR CHARLES WILSON.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will obtain from Lord Wolseley the terms of his request for explanation of Sir Charles Wilson's delay, and lay the same upon the Table?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH): I do not propose to ask for this letter from Lord Wolseley. It does not appear to me that it would add anything to the information which the public already has on this matter.

ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) COMMISSION—HERIOT'S HOSPITAL SCHEME.

MR. BUCHANAN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will, in the arrangement of public business, grant facilities for the discussion at a reasonable hour on an early day of the Motion relating to the Heriot's Hospital Scheme of the Endowments (Scotland) Commissioners?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I understand it will be in the power of the hon. Gentleman to bring forward the Motion referred to at any hour, and it has been usual for such schemes to be discussed at a very advanced hour of the Sitting. I am afraid, therefore, I cannot grant it any special facilities.

MR. BUCHANAN asked whether, if he put the Motion down for some day next week, considering the important matter involved, the right hon. Gentleman would give facilities for bringing on the subject at half-past 10 or 11 o'clock?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he believed the scheme in question would become law by the 6th of August, if objection were not taken to it by the House. If the hon. Member would be good enough to communicate with the hon. Member for Buteshire (Mr. Dalrymple), who had charge of Scottish Business, he dared say some arrangement might be arrived at.

PARLIAMENT — THE DISSOLUTION — POSTPONEMENT OF THE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS.

MR. HEALY asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he will consider the advisability of applying to municipal elections the proposed Bill to defer the School Board Elections until after the Dissolution in November?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS), who replied, said, he did not contemplate introducing a Bill deferring municipal elections this year until after the Parliamentary Elections.

ARMY ACT—ENLISTMENT OF FOREIGNERS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the fact that Daniel Lyons, 486 D Company, 1st Royal Munster Fusiliers, stationed at Pembroke Dock, Wales, is a recognised citizen of the United States of America; and, whether it is an infringement of the International Law to compel him to serve in the English Army; and, if so, whether steps will be taken to order his discharge?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH): I have no information at present upon the subject; but an inquiry will at once be made with regard to it. I may, however, observe that, under Clause 95 of the Army Act, it is lawful to enlist foreigners, provided that in any corps they do not exceed one in 50 of the strength, and I must add that the act of enlistment is purely voluntary.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — MR. W. FRANCIS, PETTY SESSIONS CLERK, CARRIGALLEN, CO. LEITRIM.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that Mr. W. Francis, clerk of the petty sessions in the district of Carrigallen, county Leitrim, holds the position of bailiff upon three properties in the vicinity of Carrigallen; and, whether it is in accordance with the rules of the petty sessions that he is permitted to hold these appointments?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): I am informed that the Clerk of Petty Sessions at Carrigallen is under-agent on three estates, but that he never acted as a bailiff. However, there is no rule against his acting in either capacity.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—CABLE COMMUNICATION.

MR. PULESTON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any, and, if so, what steps have been taken by Her Majesty's Government for opening cable communication with British Settlements on the West Coast of Africa and the Cape of Good Hope by the Atlantic route?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Colonel STANLEY): As regards the establishment of a cable to the Cape of Good Hope by the Atlantic route, I find that the late Government fully recognized the advantages which would result from the duplication of the means of telegraphic communication with South Africa, but that they were not satisfied that they would be justified in incurring the heavy cost of establishing the line suggested. A letter has since been received from the Eastern Telegraph Company enclosing telegrams from their agent, to the effect that the Cape House of Assembly had passed a resolution in favour of a Western cable, and offering to deal with the question if an adequate subsidy were guaranteed. I have informed the Company that I do not think it possible to proceed with the consideration of this subject until after the receipt of further information as to the arrangements which may be contemplated by the Cape Government. The question of establishing telegraphic communication with the West African Colonies is still under consideration at the Treasury.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1878—APPLICATION OF ACT TO GIRLS.

MR. JAMES STUART asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the Irish Intermediate Education Act of 1878 admitted girls as well as boys to its benefits, leaving power to the Commissioners created by the Act to make necessary arrangements, subject to the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant; that, by the Act of 1879, creating the Royal University in Ireland, women were admitted to all the examinations, degrees, prizes, and scholarships of that University, on the same footing as men; that the arrangements of the Intermediate Education Commissioners have hitherto been such as to give girls the same choice of subjects and the same standards as boys, thus affording them equal opportunity of preparation for the Royal University; that efforts have from time to time been made to alter the programme, so as to lower the standard for girls; and that it has now been proposed by the Commissioners to make two programmes, one maintaining the same level of excellence as hitherto, to which alone boys will be admitted, and to which girls will be admitted on condition of competing with the boys, the other for girls only, on a lower level, which would practically exclude the severer subjects of study, and be unsuitable as a preparation for the Royal University; whether the effect of this arrangement would largely disturb the teaching arrangements of high-class girls' schools in Ireland, by putting strong pecuniary pressure on parents of girls and on teachers to adopt the lower standard; whether the effect of this would be to put great difficulties in the way of girls preparing for the Royal University, and thus tend to nullify the intentions of Parliament in opening the Royal University to women; and, whether, under these circumstances, he will advise the Lord Lieutenant to withhold his sanction from the proposed plans?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): No such change as that referred to has been made in the programme of the Intermediate Education Board. The subject has been under their consideration; but they have postponed their decision until the year after next.

EGYPT—THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL AGREEMENT—THE LOAN OF £9,000,000.

MR. RUSTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the agreement of this year between the Great Powers of Europe, for guaranteeing a loan of nine millions sterling, for the purpose of relieving the finances of Egypt, has been completed by the ratification of all the Powers who are parties thereto; and, if the sum of nine millions, or any part thereof (and, in that case, how much), has been raised by means of this security, and handed over to the Egyptian Government, and at what date?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BOURKE): In reply to the first portion of the hon. Member's Question, I have to state that the Agreement referred to has not yet been completed by the ratification of all the Powers. As regards the second portion, no part of the sum mentioned has yet been raised.

POST OFFICE—THE IRISH MAIL SERVICE BETWEEN DUBLIN AND THE WEST.

MR. SEXTON asked the Postmaster General, If he has been made aware that the Midland Great Western (of Ireland) Railway Company offered to establish a Day Mail Service of forty miles an hour between Dublin and the West of Ireland in consideration of the sum which they declared the service would cost them—namely, 1*s.* 6*d.* per mile run, or, in the event of the Post Office declining to give the amount, intimated that they would be willing to abide by the issue of arbitration; and, whether it is to be understood that the Post Office will neither give the price specified, nor refer the matter to arbitration, and that the existing service of mails is not to be reformed?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS): In reply to the hon. Member I have to state that I am aware that the offer he refers to has been made; but the payment at the rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* a-mile for an improved service between Dublin and the West of Ireland represents an expenditure greater than the revenue derived from the letters to be accelerated would warrant. I could not agree to refer the matter to arbitration for the reason given, I think, by one of my Predecessors—namely, that the question is not whether the terms demanded by the Railway Company are fair and reasonable for the service which they would be prepared to render, but whether the general principles on which the Post Office is conducted will warrant the payment which they demand. I regret that I cannot see my way to agree to the terms offered by the Railway Company; but I am still willing to consider any further offer which the Company may make, especially if it applies to the entire system, rather than if merely limited to the main line and the Sligo branch.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—"BOYCOTTING" OF IRISH WORKMEN.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that an Irish detective, named Brady, who is now stationed at Greenock, has endeavoured to intimidate employers of labour into Boycotting their Irish workmen; whether he has threatened to pursue a similar course with regard to others; and, what course Her Majesty's Government intend to take in the matter?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The hon. Member has sent me a telegram which, I presume, came from his informant in this matter. The sender of the telegram has been interviewed, and has named three persons as the employers of labour to whom he referred; but those persons deny that there is any truth in the statement that they had been asked by Sergeant Brady to "Boycott" Irish workmen.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—MURDER OF MRS. NOLAN.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state what was the verdict of the coroner's jury in the case of the woman Nolan, who was killed by her husband shortly after his discharge from prison on ticket of leave; and, whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table Copies of any Medical Certificates or other documents bearing on the prisoner's mental condition prior to his discharge?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The Coroner's jury found that Mrs. Nolan came to her death from wounds inflicted by her husband, and they added their opinion that the man was insane when he inflicted the wounds, and that he was "let out on ticket of leave a real lunatic." The medical officers of Maryborough Prison, one of whom is Visiting Physician to the District Lunatic Asylum, have reported thereon that Nolan was received into that prison in February, 1884, being then reported from Mountjoy as weak of mind, and suspected of a suicidal tendency; that during his detention in Maryborough he showed no tendency, disposition, or desire to suicide or towards any other offence; that he was obedient, and conformed to prison regulations; that he showed great religious zeal amounting to eccentricity; and that his manner was docile and submissive. The only Medical Report made to Government in the case was the one which I quoted in my previous reply to the hon. Member.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether there is not, as a matter of fact, a greater development of lunacy in Maryborough than in any other gaol in Ireland; and, if the Government will make any representations to the officials as to the necessity for lessening the severity of the treatment of prisoners confined there?

[No reply.]

MR. SEXTON: I beg to give Notice that I shall call attention to this really deplorable case upon the proper Vote.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND said, that he would take care to look into the matter before the Estimates were discussed.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government are aware that Michael Casey, now suffering penal servitude, has intimated his wish to make a statement respecting the Maamtrasna murders; whether any opportunity to make this statement has been afforded, or will be afforded, to him; and, whether the Governmont will lay upon the Table, before the Motion of the honourable Member for the city of Cork, which stands for Friday the 17th instant, is discussed, a Copy of the statements made, with reference to the Maamtrasna murders, by Patrick Casey and Patrick Joyce, before their execution at Galway on the 15th of December 1882?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): Since Notice of this Question was given, it has been intimated to the General Prisons Board by the Governor of Maryborough Prison, that the convict Michael Casey desires to make a statement respecting the murders referred to. The convict will be informed that any statement he wishes to advance may be embodied in a Memorial to which the Lord Lieutenant will give careful consideration. The rule as to such statements as those referred to in the last portion of this Question has been frequently stated in the House, and I am advised that it is one which, in the interests of justice, should be invariably adhered to, and that they should not be laid upon the Table.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many stipendiary magistrates held office in Ireland in May 1882, at the date of the introduction of the Crimes Prevention (Ireland) Bill, and how many hold office now; and, whether the establishment of stipendiary magistrates and police will be now brought down to the ordinary level?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): In May, 1882, there were 90 Resident Magistrates in Ireland. There are now 80. The number of Constabulary in the Estimates for 1883 was 14,277. The number for the current financial year is 12,667, and this number is being further reduced, so far as the requirements of the country permit, by the suspension of recruiting. There is no intention at present of further reducing the number of Resident Magistrates; but, on the occurrence of vacancies, we shall carefully consider whether economies can be effected by a redistribution of districts.

MR. HEALY: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he is aware of what took place last year as to the illegal payment of a greater salary to certain Resident Magistrates than the Vote warranted, and that the late Government brought in a Bill making it legal? Will the right hon. Gentleman or the Financial Secretary to the Treasury give any guarantee that no sum not authorized by Act of Parliament will be paid to the Resident Magistrates?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND said, he was well aware that the matter had been under consideration.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider whether the cessation of the Crimes Act Courts will not allow the Government to reduce greatly the number of stipendaries?

[Reply inaudible.]

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—SWINE FEVER—THE ORDER IN COUNCIL.

MR. CLARE READ asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the Privy Council contemplates making compulsory the present permissive Order which authorises Local

Authorities to slaughter not only pigs affected with swine fever, but also all those that have been in contact with the affected animals?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER (Mr. CHAPLIN): The Privy Council are anxious, before making any fresh Order on the subject, to see the effect of the Order for closing the markets, which was passed on the 3rd, and which comes into force on the 21st of this month. They are quite prepared however, to make an Order for compulsory slaughter, if it should be necessary; and, if any such Order is made, it will include not only the animals which are suffering from disease, but those which have been in contact with them also.

ARMY—THE SOUTH WALES BORDERERS—DISTURBANCES AT WATERFORD.

MR. P. J. POWER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of the serious disturbance which occurred in Waterford on the 12th, in which a civilian was killed, and of the bad feeling which has existed for some time between the South Wales Borderers and the citizens, he would give effect to the recommendation of the coroner's jury, and order the removal of that regiment from Waterford?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH): The following telegram has been received from the General Officer commanding in Ireland:—

> "The General Officer commanding Cork district has been directed to relieve the detachments of South Wales Borderers at Waterford and Duncannon Fort by another corps."

I think it right to add that, during its service at Waterford for the past two years, the conduct of the men has been reported as very good.

MR. P. J. POWER: Then they were misreported.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CONTEMPT OF COURT.

MR. M'COAN asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether the fine of £500 imposed by the Irish Court of Queen's Bench, for contempt of Court, upon the defendant in the case of Bolton *v.* O'Brien has been enforced; and, if not, for what reason?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES): I understand the fine referred to has not been inflicted. The fine having been imposed for contempt of Court it rests with the Court to impose its payment. Probably some steps are necessary to put the Court in motion; but such steps can only be taken by the litigants at whose instance the fine was imposed. The matter is not within the province of the Attorney General.

MR. HEALY: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, if it is within his province to say how often the editor of *The Levant Herald* was fined by the Turkish Government for Press offences, and how often he paid the fine?

[No reply.]

EGYPT—THE ALEXANDRIA MASSACRES—CHARGES AGAINST THE KHEDIVE.

MR. M'COAN asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether he still adheres to the charges of complicity in the massacres of Alexandria made by him in this House against the Khedive Tewfik, and subsequently embodied in the Memorandum addressed by him to the late First Lord of the Treasury, and printed as a Parliamentary Paper, "Egypt, No. 4, 1884?"

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): The hon. Gentleman put a Question to me on the 21st of June to the same effect as the Question on the Paper, and which I then answered. I have nothing whatever to add to the statement I then made.

MR. M'COAN: I wish to state that this Question is altogether distinct from the one to which the noble Lord alludes.

INLAND REVENUE (INCOME TAX)—SURCHARGE ON THE LONDON ASSURANCE CORPORATION.

MR. M'LAREN asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he has considered the effect of the decision in favour of the Crown of the majority of the House of Lords reversing the Court of Appeal, in the case of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue and the London Assurance Corporation, reported in yesterday's newspapers, and particularly the judgment of Lord Bramwell, the dissenting judge, in which occurs the following passage:—

> "If the Crown is right, Income Tax will be payable in all cases in which employers have

agreed with the employed that, besides fixed wages, the employed shall receive what is called a share of the profits. The Income Tax will apply to Co-operative Societies, strictly so called, and be payable on a sum falsely called profits, with no deduction of the wages contingently payable to workmen, if gross profits enable them to be paid. This is what Counsel for the Crown admitted. I think it most disastrous and most unreasonable;"

and, whether he will introduce provisions in Committee on the Tax Bill to obviate the consequences of this decision?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Sir Henry Holland): This Question only appeared on the Paper this morning, and the case alluded to was only decided on Tuesday. The consequences of this decision will be considered when the shorthand writer's notes are available; but as the highest Court of Appeal has now pronounced in favour of what has been the contention of the Crown throughout, I am unable, as at present advised, to hold out any hope to the hon. Member that legislation will be proposed to alter the law as declared by that decision.

LAW AND JUSTICE—FLOGGING.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of recent outrages, he has considered the propriety of adopting the provisions of a Bill now before the House, by which the flogging penalties inflicted upon garotters would be extended to offenders under "The Explosives Act, 1883," and might further be extended to include those who wound unarmed persons with revolvers?

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross), in reply, said, that he was not prepared to say that the suggestion contained in the Question was not a good one; but, considering how very contentious a subject the adoption of flogging as a punishment was, he was not prepared to adopt the provisions of the Bill referred to.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. JAMES STUART asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can state to the House on what day the Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill will be taken; and, on what day the proposed Government Amendments to that Bill will be placed on the Paper?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department has already placed on the Paper the Amendments he proposes to move to this Bill. As regards the day on which the Bill will be taken, I must remind the House that the most pressing measure of legislation to which there is any practical opposition is the Medical Relief Bill. The passing of it is a matter of urgency, being a question of days, and we shall proceed with it before any other measure of legislation. Therefore, if we are able to complete Committee on that Bill, as I hope we may, before Tuesday, the right hon. Gentleman will propose to take the Criminal Law Amendment Bill on Tuesday. On Monday, however, I shall be able to make a further statement.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer a Question in regard to the Business for to-morrow. There is an important Notice of Motion in the name of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), which stands the third Amendment on going into Committee of Supply. I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government intend to use their influence in order, if possible, to obtain precedence for the hon. Member's Amendment; and, if not, what course they intend to take, in order that the House may have an opportunity of giving judgment upon the question raised by the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I quite agree with the noble Marquess that it would be desirable that the House should have an opportunity of expressing its judgment on the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and I hope that that opportunity may be afforded to-morrow night, because I observed that the first Notice on the Paper is in the name of the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan), and will, probably, not be proceeded with, and it, at any rate, does not involve a Motion. The second Notice, which stands in the name of my hon. Friend the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce), my hon. Friend has informed me that it is not his intention to proceed with; therefore, the hon. Member for the City of Cork will have an opportunity to bring forward his Amendment.

Mr. PARNELL: In that case I am able to announce that, after consultation with the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan), he will give place to me to-morrow; consequently, my Motion will come on.

Mr. WEBSTER asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether he would undertake not to bring on the University (Scotland) Bill to-night, except at an hour which would allow an opportunity for full discussion; and, also if he would state what course the Government intended to take with regard to proceeding with the Bill this Session?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Of course, such a Bill could not be taken without full opportunity for discussion; but I am afraid I have to add to that statement an expression of opinion that it will not be possible for us to proceed with it. I understand there is considerable opposition to the measure regarding which the hon. Gentleman asks me, and that the hon. Gentleman is himself the leader of it. I fear it is hardly likely, under these circumstances, that the Bill can proceed any further.

Mr. CHILDERS asked what would be the Business on Monday?

Mr. LEWIS asked whether Committee on the Budget Bill would be taken to-morrow?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he did not think it would be possible to take Committee on the Budget to-morrow, as the Irish debate would occupy the evening. The Business on Monday would be the Irish Votes in Supply.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS asked if the Government were prepared to insert a clause in the Medical Relief Disqualification Bill, directing the overseers to make supplementary lists which should include those electors who had been omitted from the ordinary lists by reason of disqualification through medical relief?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he was unable to answer the Question, as he was quite unprepared to pass an opinion upon a clause he had never seen; but it would be quite competent for the hon. Member to raise the subject.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

Mr. ACLAND said, in Committee on the Bill he would move that the operation of the Bill should be restricted to two years.

In answer to Mr. Sclater-Booth,

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. W. H. Smith) said, the Army Estimates would have to be postponed to later than Tuesday.

CENTRAL ASIA—AFGHANISTAN—THE REPORTED RUSSIAN ADVANCE.

Mr. PULESTON asked, If Her Majesty's Government had any further information with regard to the state of affairs on the Afghan Frontier?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: No, Sir; there is nothing further that I can communicate to the House.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE (No. 2) BILL.—[Bill 223.]

(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Holland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. CHILDERS: I do not propose to move any Amendment to the second reading of this Bill, nor will it be necessary for me to speak at any great length on the subject; but several disputable statements were made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he introduced the Budget the other day, and I especially wish to observe more fully than I have done on one statement which he then made. I wish to call attention to what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said as to his nominal responsibility for the deficit. The Chancellor of the Exchequer used very strong language disclaiming all responsibility for the deficit. Of course, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer is not responsible for the whole of that deficit, but he is responsible for a large part of it. It is true that his Resolution which was adopted by the House makes it a partner with him in responsibility for the removal from the Budget of the proposal about the Death Duties, and I think the amount we proposed to raise in that way was £250,000. So far, he is responsible in partnership with the House; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer is, as I will show, alone responsible for a very large increase in the deficit in consequence of his refusal to introduce into his present Bill any provision for increased duties on liquor. I will ask the House to consider what was the Amendment which the present Chancellor of the Exchequer carried on the second reading of the Budget Bill. It was in these words, and I ask the House to weigh them—

> "This House regards the increase proposed in the Duties levied on Beer and Spirits as inequitable in the absence of a corresponding addition to the Duties on Wine."

Now, Sir, that Resolution left the Chancellor of the Exchequer entirely free to impose any addition to the duties on spirits and beer, provided a corresponding addition were also made to the duty on wine; and he is in a particularly favourable position for such a proposal, because, as he told me in answer to a Question the other day, the Government proposes to abandon the two Resolutions which were adopted by the House in Committee of Ways and Means, which raised the superior limit of the 1*s.* duty on wine from 26 to 30 degrees. That abandonment leaves the Government entirely free as to the Wine Duties. They are no longer restrained, as we were, by the negotiations which were going on for several years with Spain. Those negotiations have come to an end, and, therefore, it is quite in the power of the Government now to increase, if they should think fit, the Wine Duties in the same proportion as it was proposed to increase the duties on spirits and beer. It is therefore clear that the Government and the Chancellor of the Exchequer are entirely responsible for not proposing an increase in the duties on wine, spirits, and beer. The responsibility for the absence of any such provision in the present Bill is entirely theirs, and they cannot shift that responsibility on the House or on anyone else. If that is the case—and I think there can be no doubt about it—the present Government is distinctly responsible for between £1,500,000 and £2,000,000 of the deficit. I pass now to the way in which it is proposed to deal with the deficit, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer states as being estimated at between £3,500,000 and £4,000,000. His plan is simplicity itself—namely, to add £4,000,000 to the Debt. Of course that, in future years, could be paid off out of the Sinking Fund like all other Debt. We proposed to add nothing to the Debt; but to take the deficit out of the Sinking Fund of next year direct. I cannot conceive what the difference between the two operations is, for which the Chancellor of the Exchequer takes so much credit. It is really the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. I have no objection to the manner in which it is proposed to deal with what is called the New Sinking Fund; and, indeed, I admit that this is an improvement on my plan. I should now like to refer to what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said as to the Expenditure for which provision is to be made—I mean the increase upon the Expenditure as we left it. I am not going to refer for a a moment to the attack on the Admiralty, because the Committee about to be appointed will deal with the whole matter; but I wish to refer to the statement as to War Office expenditure which the right hon. Gentleman made, and which I think requires some further explanation. He used these words—

> "Of the sum estimated by the War Office, a certain portion was due to the provision which had been authorized for the defence of our principal coaling stations and commercial harbours, an item for which, in spite of its great importance, and in spite of the pledges given to Parliament last December by the First Lord and the Secretary to the Admiralty, no provision had been made in the Army Estimates."

I do not attribute a wilful mistake to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but I am bound to say that this is incorrect. The ordinary Army Estimates provided £198,000 for works and armaments for Colonial coaling stations, in addition to £67,000 which was to be provided by the Indian and Colonial Governments, and in addition to £35,000 which had been provided in the Supplementary Estimates of last year, and to £9,000 also provided last year by the Indian and Colonial Governments. My noble Friend the late Secretary of State for War made a short statement on March 19 in moving the Army Estimates, when he stated that work had been begun at Aden and Hong Kong, and enumerated the other stations at which work was to be commenced this year. It is true that no provision was made for the fortification of commercial harbours at home; but he referred to this subject in the preliminary discussion of the Estimates, and promised a more detailed statement of the views of the Government on the proper Vote. While, therefore, it is true, as stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the Vote of Credit included a sum of £200,000 which was required for the submarine mining defence of the Home and Colonial ports and the acceleration of the armaments of some of the latter, it is the case that this was in addition to the £198,000 provided in the ordinary Estimate for defence of coaling stations, of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer does not seem to be aware. I come now to what is of graver importance—I mean the declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to indirect taxation, its prospects, and the powers of this House to increase it. Now, it seems to me that the greatest caution is necessary in dealing with this most important question. Everyone knows the dangers which are ahead, and which were so well indicated by my lamented Friend the late Mr. Fawcett when he described what might be expected in future days from a Parliament popularly constituted. He warned us, in pregnant words, of the impatience of indirect taxation which such a Parliament might exhibit; those who elected it being interested in lavish expenditure on war, but careful to throw all the charge for it, the taxation required to meet it, on property. Therefore, Sir, with that warning before us, I think that whatever a Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes as to direct and indirect taxation, he should be careful not to use, without absolute necessity, strong language, which could not fail to have great weight with the House and with future Ministers deprecatory of increased charges, even on an emergency, upon the consumer; and I must say that I was, above all things, surprised at the words which the right hon. Gentleman used, coming, as they did, from a Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer. How often have hon. Gentlemen opposite, whether in power or in Opposition, proclaimed the necessity of adhering to the principle laid down by my late right hon. Friend. So lately as in November last, when it was my duty to propose to Parliament a small additional charge on property for the Soudan Expedition, in the shape of an increase of 1*d.* in the Income Tax, I was vigorously attacked by several hon. Gentlemen opposite, warning me of the impolicy of relying alone upon taxes on property; and they received from me answers which appeared to be acceptable to the House generally, to the effect that although towards the end of the year it might be impossible to have recourse to anything but the Income Tax when a large addition of Expenditure was necessary, that was a practice which ought not to be adopted by Parliament in the Budget at the commencement of the year, but that both direct and indirect taxation in these circumstances should be had recourse to. Let me remind the House of what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in his Budget Speech. He used these words, which I have taken from the best report I could find—

> "We have arrived for the purposes of Revenue at the limits of increased taxation on the most important taxed articles of consumption except perhaps one article—namely, tea."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to correct him. I prefaced these words with the remark "in such times as these."

MR. CHILDERS: I accept the correction; although the words really occurred later in the right hon. Gentleman's speech, and I am about to quote them; although I hardly see how they qualify his statement. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

> "The scheme to increase the duties on beer and spirits is financially unsound."

He said, further—

> "The Revenue from these articles is notoriously decreasing. . . . The Inland Revenue authorities now assure me that the yield from the increased tax on these articles would not have approached the low estimate he (I) had formed of it. . . . The principle that the whole of additional taxation in times like these should not fall upon property cannot be carried into effect without the addition of some one or more articles to our Customs tariff."

Now, in the comments which I am about to make on this most important statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer I am sorry that I cannot have the spoken support of my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian; but if he had been able he would have taken part in this debate, and he entirely agrees with me in the principles which I now advocate. It appears to me, Sir, that these words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer sound the knell of indirect taxation. They are very important, and they evidently were deliberately spoken; and I repeat that, whatever our individual sentiments may be, they sound the knell of indirect taxation. In passing, I would say that I am not prepared to assent absolutely to the assertion of the right hon. Gentleman that there is a notorious decrease in the Revenue from spirits and from beer. There was some years ago, between 1876 and 1881; but matters are different now. As to beer, that is certainly not the case, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer can hardly have looked at the figures for the last few years. The official figures are as follows:—In 1882-3 the Revenue from beer was £8,400,000; in 1883-4 it was £8,488,000; and in 1884-5 it was £8,545,000. The increase has not been a rapid increase, but it is an increase; and there is not, therefore, a "notorious decrease," as the right hon. Gentleman stated. In the case of spirits there is a slight decrease, but it is very slight. In 1882-3 the Revenue from spirits was £18,576,000; in 1883-4 it was £18,436,000; and in 1884-5 it was £18,295,000. So that, although there is a decrease in those three years in the Revenue from spirits, that decrease is under 1 per cent per annum, and certainly is not such a decrease as should interfere with financial operations which on other grounds may be advisable. Perhaps I may be allowed to read to the Chancellor of the Exchequer the advice given to the House by a Predecessor of his with respect to the duty on spirits. Lord Iddesleigh, on April 16, 1874, used these words as to an increase in the Spirit Duty—

> "That is one source of Revenue which is still open to us upon an emergency, for I verily believe it would be possible to increase the duty without diminishing the consumption, and without raising the danger of illicit distillation. But that resource we keep as a reserve for the future."—(3 *Hansard*, [218] 666.)

That was the language of Lord Iddesleigh in 1874, and in his subsequent speeches I never heard him use any words qualifying the advice which he then gave to Parliament. I take, again, the question of the Beer Duty. The actual duty on beer is only 20 per cent on its value; and I am confident of this —that the Inland Revenue authorities have never told the right hon. Gentleman that the duty on beer, considered upon Revenue grounds, could not be raised so to produce more Revenue.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER was understood to explain that he had referred to spirits.

MR. CHILDERS: In his speech the right hon. Gentleman spoke of every article now subject to duty except tea; and, therefore, he included not only spirits, but all other articles now taxed. Therefore, I take it as being beyond question that the Revenue from beer, regarded solely as a question of Revenue, might be increased from 2*d*., the present rate, to 3*d*. a gallon—that is to say, to 9*s*. a barrel—with the greatest possible ease. If any Member will read the discussions which have lately appeared on this subject in *The Economist*—one of the best authorities outside this House, they will see it distinctly shown that a very large increase of Revenue could be raised with perfect safety from beer. I am not speaking of the political and other aspects of the question, but only of its Revenue aspect. From that source £11,000,000, instead of £8,500,000, could easily be obtained. Then as to the duty on wine, that is one of the important branches of Revenue of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke. The present duty on wine averages 1*s*. 9*d*. a gallon, or 25 per cent on the value. Before 1860 it was 5*s*. 7*d*., or 80 per cent on the value. The duty received from wine in 1856-7 was £2,016,000. In 1884-5 it was £1,230,000. Who can doubt for a moment that, if it were a question of Revenue only, we could easily obtain in all £2,500,000 from wine? Therefore, as to beer and wine, there is no question that a very large amount of additional Revenue might with perfect safety be raised upon sound Revenue grounds, putting aside altogether for the moment political and other considerations. I do not think the assertion can be disproved when I say that it would be perfectly possible to raise from liquor, if Revenue only were considered, between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000 more than is raised at present. Let those who are conversant with the subject discuss it with the figures which I have given to the House, and they will find that that calculation can be substantiated. Of course, I do not say that this increase of duty should be now, or at any particular time, obtained. In fact, in the Budget which the House set aside I proposed much less. But, in settling what duties should be increased, besides the general question as between property and consumption, we have many considerations to weigh in addition to those of Revenue; for instance, we have to look, first, at the distribution of incidence as between England, Scotland, and Ireland; secondly, at the effect on the producer of the raw material; and, thirdly, at the effect on our trade with foreign countries, which send us articles of drink. But I repeat that, excluding all considerations which are not Revenue considerations, the amount raised from liquor might be increased by £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 a-year. I am now only answering what appeared to me at that time, and what I still think was, a very incautious declaration in the mouth of a Minister as to the impossibility of raising more Revenue by indirect taxation. Might I even now hope that the right hon. Gentleman will qualify that declaration, by which, coming from the Leader of the Conservative Party in this House, I fear that much mischief has been done? I do not believe that whatever may be the emergency after that declaration, if unqualified, the right hon. Gentleman or any Minister would dare to increase, to any considerable extent, the Revenue obtained from indirect taxation. I have thus felt myself bound to enter my protest—a protest in which my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian concurs—against the language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this respect. I admit that after our defeat by the right hon. Gentleman the contest is, for the present, over; and we can now do little more than struggle for a fair distribution of taxation on property. But if in this struggle the landed interest should suffer, let them remember to whose fatal Amendment they owe their misfortune.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD, in moving the following Resolution, of which he had given Notice:—

> "That, in view of the rapid extension of local rating and of the continuous imposition of the Income Tax, it is desirable that the province of Local Rating and of Imperial Taxation be severally readjusted and defined, and that a common authority and common measure be provided for the levy of both rates and taxes so as to regulate their incidence upon the principle of assessing the rate or tax upon the real or upon the net annual value,"

said, he did not attach to the recent remarks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer the importance which had been given to them by the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken; but he thought the House would agree that whatever articles were necessary for the sustenance of the people should be provided as cheaply as possible, in order that our working classes might stand the competition of the other nations of the world. But it was not so much to indirect as to direct taxation that he wished to drawn attention. The charges which he proposed to deal with comprised Imperial taxation to the extent of about £22,000,000, and local rates to the amount of £30,000,000. It was perfectly remarkable how the local rating and the local indebtedness of the country had increased. In the year 1871 local rates amounted to £17,000,000, in 1880 to £25,000,000, and now they were £30,000,000. The £30,000,000 of local rates, together with £21,000,000 of Imperial taxation, formed the matter to which he desired to draw the attention of the House. The growth of local rates was remarkable in the amount annually levied; but it was still more visible when they examined the question of local indebtedness. In the year 1871 the local indebtedness of the country was £63,000,000, in 1875 it was £93,000,000, in 1879 it was £128,000,000, and in 1883 it was £159,000,000. Contrasting these figures with the liabilities of Imperial finance, they found that in the years he had mentioned—namely, from 1871 to 1883—the public Debt had diminished by £48,000,000, and the local indebtedness had increased by £96,000,000. This was a very remarkable contrast, and the growth of local indebtedness was far larger than it ought to be. The local debts had been incurred by virtue of authority given through Private Bills, and when he considered how those Bills were carried through Parliament he was not astonished at the result. He knew that it was practically impossible for Local Authorities to act rigidly on the maxim that the Expenditure and the Income of the year should balance one another;

but he thought they should not, in their Private Bills, be allowed to borrow for more than 30 years, so that each generation should pay its own debts. The only portion of England now provided with a perfect system of administration in regard to local rating was the Metropolis; and he was of opinion that the Act under which the rates were levied in London ought to have been extended to the country a long time ago. In the Metropolis the accuracy of the local assessment was tested by the amount charged under Schedule A; and the Income Tax levied under that Schedule was, in the gross assessment, almost identical with local taxation. In the country, however, there was a 10 per cent difference between the actual gross value of property and the amount at which it was assessed for local purposes; and, this being the difference on the average of all assessments, it is obvious that individual discrepancies must be still larger. The object which he had in view in moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice was that the salutary and scientific rule already adopted in the matter of local legislation should be applied to Imperial legislation also, and that the Income Tax, among other taxes, should be subject to the rule of being levied not upon gross value, but upon net. Under his plan capital would pay considerably more and industry considerably less than at present. The adjustment of Income Tax which he proposed had been greatly misunderstood or misrepresented. The adjusted Income Tax, which had been the subject of controversy ever since its proposal by Mr. Disraeli in 1853, was not a graduated Income Tax at all. Assuming three different kinds of property of the nominal value of £1,000 each a-year—interest from money in the funds, rents of land, and rents of houses—while the real income from interest of money in the funds would be £1,000, the real value of £1,000 derived from rents of land would be £900, and from rents of houses £800. It was quite clear that if they charged one and the same rate upon all these properties they must in fairness first reduce the assessment to what was the real value. Mr. Disraeli's proposal was to charge upon the gross or nominal income a rate diminished in proportion to the outgoings—a proposal agreeing in principle, though less perfect in operation, with the process of reducing gross incomes to net incomes, and then charging an uniform rate. That principle had existed since 1869 in the Metropolis Valuation Act. The present system, from beginning to end, favoured wealth and pressed hard on property. In the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill there was one portion to which he referred with great gratification—namely, the clause which imposed an annual charge upon Corporations in lieu of Succession Duty, which they might be called upon to pay if their property was precisely on the same footing as other properties. The Bill assumed that this annual charge was not to be levied on the gross rental at all, but upon rental with such deduction as might be necessary to obtain the real value of the property. This Corporation Tax was, in fact, the adoption, with respect to Corporations, of an Income Tax constructed precisely upon the conditions which he advocated in the Income Tax levied upon all incomes. He found that the present Probate Duty, which produced £4,000,000 sterling, was almost entirely composed of the newly enacted charges of 2 and 3 per cent. But why should the Probate Duty be 2 or 3 per cent? The original Probate Duty was simply a Stamp Duty imposed to certify the title of the administrator of the property bequeathed or inherited. He looked upon the Legacy and Succession Duties in quite a different light from the Probate Duty. The Probate Duty, as he had said, was simply a Stamp Duty, but in the case of legacy and succession the State constituted itself a joint heir with every subject of the Crown, and took a portion of the substance according to the proximity of the heirs, rightly taking the least from the children and the most from those who were strangers. Therefore he did not raise any objection to the continuance of the Legacy and Succession Duties. He thought they might fairly continue as at present, and he entirely concurred with his right hon. Friend near him that they ought to do away with those fictitious distinctions which merely complicated the matter. The more simple they could make the operations of finance the better they were understood. He wished to give relief to those who were suffering. He thought it was a cruel thing, when the father of a family died, that they should come down on the widow and children for 3 per cent of the property. The result of that was often to destroy their homes and make them break them up. Legacy Duties ought to be levied in such a way as to be most easily paid. He trusted that the House would support him in his Resolution, with a view to persuading the Government to introduce at no distant period a comprehensive adjustment of our fiscal system. The right hon. Member concluded by moving his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in view of the rapid extension of local rating and of the continuous imposition of the Income Tax, it is desirable that the province of Local Rating and of Imperial Taxation be severally readjusted and defined, and that a common authority and common measure be provided for the levy of both rates and taxes so as to regulate their incidence upon the principle of assessing the rate or tax upon the real, that is, upon the net annual value,"—(*Mr. J. G. Hubbard*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH observed that he did not propose to follow his right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard) into the wide field of subjects, not unfamiliar to the House, over which he had ranged; but he could not help feeling that he had done the previous Conservative Government an injustice in his remarks upon their endeavour to apply to the whole country the same principles in respect of valuation which were applied to the Metropolis. Had the House been allowed to adopt that proposal, considerable incidental advantage might have accrued to the Exchequer; but his right hon. Friend, instead of assisting the Government in that direction, was constantly occupied in placing an obstructive Amendment against the Valuation Bill, and did his utmost to prevent its becoming law. He had heard with surprise the comments of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Childers) upon the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had not understood his right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) to state that indirect taxation would never under any circumstances be increased. What his right hon. Friend meant probably was that the limit of addition to the taxation of certain commodities appeared to have been practically reached, and that great difficulties would be placed in the way of any Chancellor of the Exchequer who should endeavour to select any one of those commodities for the purpose of taxing it additionally, and so raising any important sum of money. Although experience had shown in a practical way the great difficulty in which Governments or Chancellors of the Exchequer were placed who endeavoured to augment the Spirit, or Beer, or Tea Duties, or the duties on other articles of consumption, he was not on that account persuaded that no means could be found by which a more equitable and satisfactory state of the public mind might be brought about which would enable a Government on either side of the House to deal with this subject without exciting the acrimony of the Party contests which had accompanied previous endeavours to deal with these subjects of taxation. The relative incidence of these taxes was pronounced *ex cathedrâ* by the Chancellor of the Exchequer from time to time, and few people had the knowledge or opportunity to contest his decision; but they found that when, after making his Financial Statement, he proposed to increase the duties on this or that article of consumption, a great party came forward to thwart and oppose his proposition; and the practical result was that he found himself obliged to surrender. He, however, deeply regretted that the circumstances of the moment were such that his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer was unable to propose anything in the way of alleviating or reducing existing anomalies. He thought it would be to the advantage of the country if the House of Commons were to pay a little more attention to the principles on which this indirect taxation was levied, and would endeavour to arrive at an understanding as to what should be the normal amount of them. In that case, without doubt, the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be much more easily accomplished. There would be no endeavour to trip up a Government by rousing up the enemies of a particular tax, and a much more fair and just system might possibly be arrived at. He would throw it out as a suggestion whether by bringing a Committee of the House into immediate contact with the heads of the Revenue Department, and enabling some dispassionate scheme to be propounded as to the principles which ought to guide the indirect taxation of the country, entirely separated from the Parties of this House, a good work might be done, which would be of great assistance to future Chancellors of the Exchequer, on whichever side of the House they might sit. He felt that for the present, and probably for the future, the great mass of indirect taxation must be considered to be for the most part fixed upon the articles of luxury, on *quasi*-luxury, and upon the drinks consumed by the public at large; and with the exception of sugar, which he should be very glad to see brought into the same category, he did not know that there was any other article of consumption which could be fairly included in the list of Revenue-producing commodities. The attention of the House might fairly now be given to the Customs Duties generally, and the system on which they were levied. He thought the time had arrived when the great volume of articles of consumption imported from abroad, without imposing any restriction upon their consumption, might have a small duty levied upon them. He did think that by charging a small duty, or rather registration fee, on such commodities they might raise an important sum, certainly enough to defray the cost of the Customs Establishment. He took it that the duties of the Custom House officers in boarding a ship bringing goods from foreign countries was simple and easy enough; and if the charges were as low as he would desire them to be, it seemed to him that they would be a kind of guarantee of the information contained in the statistics compiled by the Custom House officers, and would make them more reliable and worthy of greater attention. He did not for a moment pretend that in this way any large sums could be collected; but so far as they could be they would be of such a general and comprehensive character that they could not be objected to from Party or interested motives. He would only add, in conclusion, that he believed if some such inquiry as he had suggested were made, perhaps in the next Session of Parliament, the consequence of it would be not to embarrass, but to greatly facilitate the operations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to place the public finance of the country upon a sounder and more satisfactory footing.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, there seemed to be a prevailing impression that this was a modest and unpretentious Budget, and one of no great importance one way or the other. So far from that being the case, it appeared to him to involve consequences of the utmost gravity, and to be one of the most momentous for many years. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that "under the circumstances" it would scarcely have been possible for him to take any other course than that which he had adopted. But the right hon. Gentleman, more than anyone else, was responsible for the circumstances in which he now found himself. The Budget itself sinned against the two great cardinal principles which had hitherto been held as regards finance by the Conservative Party—namely, "under any circumstances" to pay one's way; and, secondly, that "the increased expenditure should not fall wholly on property or on those payers of Income Tax who are by no means synonymous with the holders of property." When Sir Stafford Northcote took Office on the formation of the last Conservative Administration he made an excellent speech, in which he clearly proved that we had not done enough in the direction of repaying Debt, and he brought in a Bill to quicken this process. Such, then, were the wise principles enunciated by the Leaders of the Conservative Party; such were their principles; but their practice was, unfortunately, very different, for Sir Stafford Northcote was never able in any one year fully to carry his own Act into operation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, not only now proposed that they should pay off no Debt whatever, but he proposed that they should borrow no less than £4,000,000. The second principle, which had always been most strongly advocated by hon. Gentlemen opposite, had been that any necessary increase of taxation should be equitably divided between the different classes of the community. In the present instance the increase of expenditure was agreed to by hon. Gentlemen opposite. The difference of opinion had not been as to whether the expenditure was necessary, but as to how the money should be raised. The right hon. Baronet objected to the proposals of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer; and even if he was not bound to bring forward an alternative plan then, now that he was in Office that responsibility certainly devolved on him. They could well imagine the indignation which would have been expressed by hon. Gentlemen opposite if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) had proposed to raise £5,500,000 by an increase in the Income Tax without any addition whatever to the indirect taxation. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer had gone further than that. He had stated that we had "arrived at the limits of increased taxation on the most important taxed articles of consumption," with, perhaps, the single exception of tea; and that it would be impossible to raise the duty on tea because it would be so intensely unpopular. The right hon. Gentleman had not only done nothing to carry out his own principles, but he had done a great deal to prevent anyone else from carrying them out either. It would in future require a bold Chancellor of the Exchequer — though he hoped they might find one strong enough in case of need—to propose any increase in indirect taxation. Under these circumstances, he could not join in congratulating the Chancellor of the Exchequer on any part of his Budget. He preferred the course proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract, because he saw very little use paying off Debt on the one hand, and borrowing on the other. It was a serious matter, and one greatly to be regretted, that during a time of peace, instead of meeting the increased Expenditure of the country by a bold and manly increase of taxation, they were resorting to the weak and ignoble course of adding to the indebtedness of the country.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, he must express his regret at hearing from the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) that the death-knell of indirect taxation had been sounded by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. [Mr. Childers said, he had referred to increased direct taxation.] If the right hon. Gentleman meant the opposite of what he (Mr. Newdegate) and two other hon. Gentlemen near him understood, the right hon. Gentleman should not have used the word "knell," but the word "carol," over the prospect of reviving indirect taxation. Perhaps the House would allow him (Mr. Newdegate) to mention what the repeal of indirect taxation had cost the country within his own memory. Between the years 1840 and 1854, inclusive, the amount of Customs Duties which the Legislature had repealed or reduced was £10,092,719. In mentioning these figures, he asked the House to remember that he had begun his career in Parliament by supporting the late Sir Robert Peel in the abrogation of a part of that indirect taxation of £10,000,000, which chiefly consisted of Custom Duties. Where he had differed with the right hon. Baronet was on the repeal of the Corn Laws; and with regard to that question he would tell the House where he got his education. It was in the United States of America that he was taught to recognize the value of the Corn Laws, not as a commercial measure, not as a measure of finance, but as a measure of national self-defence. Between the years 1800 and 1805, the First Napoleon endeavoured to establish the "Continental System," a combination of Foreign Powers, the object of which was to starve out the people of this country; and he had been so nearly successful that in the absence of a Corn Law the people of London mobbed King George III., and subsequently hailed the adoption of a Corn Law, which provided them with food. Now that the Navy of England was weak, this, he thought, was a matter which deserved careful consideration. At the period to which he had referred the naval supremacy of this country was questioned, and continued to be so, until the victories of Nelson, which culminated at Trafalgar, put an end to Napoleon's projects in combining Foreign Powers against England on the sea. As an old Member of the House, he had seen the Corn Laws repealed; but in what he was saying he did not advert to the Corn Laws. He reverted to the subject of indirect taxation generally, and called the attention of the House to the fact that from 1840 to 1854, inclusive, not less than £10,092,719 of indirect taxation had been repealed. Again, from 1855 to 1869, inclusive, £9,255,526 of indirect taxation was repealed. From 1870 to 1874, inclusive, £6,924,245 of indirect taxation was repealed. So that within the period from 1840 to 1874 not less than £26,272,490 was the amount of indirect taxation repealed. It was important to notice what the nations of the Continent were doing at the present moment. Germany, which was not the most stupid nation in the world, had re-imposed a Corn Law, and other import duties. The French Republic had also re-imposed a Corn Law, and taxation upon foreign imports. According to the present system in this country, taxation by Customs Duties, on imports to large amounts, seemed to be abandoned. Let this House remember that it stood before the country self-condemned by its own act; it had invoked a new, and he (Mr. Newdegate) hoped a wiser, House of Commons. Why should this House, standing in that peculiar position, endeavour to preclude its Successor from the use of a method of indirect taxation which its Predecessors, and not inferior Parliaments, had so largely used? As matters stood, the House seemed to think that it had little to fall back upon in the form of indirect taxation, except that which might be effected through the Exchequer. He (Mr. Newdegate) felt unable to speak more at length, but begged, as one of the senior Members of the House, to apologize for having uttered these few sentences upon that which appeared to him a very grave subject.

MR. MONK said, he wished to draw attention to the omission of Clause 3 of the Bill, introduced by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, granting power to the Commissioners of the Treasury to alter the alcoholic scale of the Wine Duties from 26 to 30 degrees. The House was aware that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract proposed to take power to charge the 1*s.* duty up to 30 degrees in order to enable the negotiations with Spain, which were approaching completion, to be carried out. He heard with regret that evening from his right hon. Friend that the negotiations were now at an end. He believed that was not the case. He found in a letter dated the 22nd of May, from Madrid, that the Minister for Foreign Affairs made this statement:—

> "That on her part Spain is ready, and always has been ready, to carry out strictly the engagements she has contracted, and it is her wish to give sincere and loyal proof of this towards Great Britain."

In the reply sent by Lord Granville to the Spanish Minister on the 8th of June he found these words—

> "Her Majesty's Government have made no alteration of their intention to alter the lower half of the alcoholic scale to 30 degrees."

This being the case, he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to confirm his statement that the negotiations had not been broken off. He thought that this country had been treated in a most unjustifiable manner by Spain. It was insufferable that a Power of the standing of Spain should have refused to grant Most Favoured Nation treatment to Great Britain. Although this country had received fair expressions from the Spanish Government, the acts of the latter had not corresponded in any degree with their expressions. The right hon. Gentleman must admit that this question of the Wine Duties had been thoroughly threshed out. What was the use, therefore, in postponing the negotiations? They had been brought almost to a conclusion, and to his mind no useful purpose would be served by breaking them off now in order at some future time to resume them. He thought the best course for the Government to pursue was to send an *ultimatum* to Spain calling upon that country to fulfil the engagements which it had entered into in the declaration of December, 1884. Large quantities of British goods had been sent from Yorkshire and Lancashire to Spanish ports. They were now lying in British vessels, and could not be imported into Spain because they were liable to pay duty under the general tariff; whereas, when they were sent from this country, an agreement had been entered into between the two Governments that British goods should come under the conventional tariff. There was no reason why the present Government should not renew the negotiations and carry them to a successful issue. At the present time the Spanish wines brought into this country reached 40 per cent of the whole amount imported, whereas France contributed only 30 per cent, Portugal 20 per cent, Italy 4 per cent, and all other countries 6 per cent. When they came to regard the alcoholic test, it was found that up to 20 degrees Spain only exported 1 per cent, whereas France exported 92 per cent. Between 20 and 30 degrees of alcoholic strength Spain exported to this country 78 per cent, France 8 per cent, Portugal 4 per cent, and all other countries 10 per cent. In the higher scale, reaching from 30 to 40 degrees, Spain exported 50 per cent, France practically nothing, Portugal 37 per cent, and all other countries 13 per cent. Considering the assurances that were given by the late Government, it took the House by surprise when the late Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated that the negotiations with Spain had fallen through. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would assure the House that the negotiations with Spain had not been broken off; but that they would be carried on and completed. He still expressed a hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Committee on the Bill would take power for the reduction of the Wine Duties, otherwise the whole matter must be postponed for another year to the great injury of British commerce.

Mr. HICKS said, he must express his surprise that the late Chancellor of the Exchequer should be of opinion that it was still possible to raise a large amount of additional Revenue from an increased duty on beer. The figures which the right hon. Gentleman himself had given showed that any large increase of that duty would yield little or nothing. The right hon. Gentleman had proposed to increase the duty on beer by $\frac{4}{25}$, but had estimated the increase of the Revenue at only $\frac{2}{25}$. The increase ought only to have been £1,500,000, but he put it at £750,000. Again, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, during the Crimean War, imposed an increased duty on malt. In the first year the quantity malted fell off $\frac{1}{12}$, in the second year $\frac{1}{6}$. He (Mr. Hicks) believed an increased duty of $\frac{8}{25}$, instead of giving an increased Revenue, would probably cause a decrease. The right hon. Gentleman then said that the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had sounded the knell of indirect taxation. He (Mr. Hicks) did not so understand it, and if it meant that he could not agree with him. For himself, he did not believe that we had reached the limits of indirect taxation. On the contrary, he thought that the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) were sound views, and that the country would, in a short time, call upon the House to return to a larger and wider system of Customs Duties. The name of the Excise had been hateful to the English people ever since it was imposed. The price of barley for the last 12 months had been 31*s.* per quarter, and taking beer at 25*s.*, which was the duty imposed at 6*s.* 3*d.* per barrel, the duty at the present time upon the raw material was no less than 80 per cent; while if the additional duty had been imposed according to the Budget of the right hon. Member for Pontefract, the duty some weeks ago would have been about 90 per cent on the raw material. With regard to the proposals of the right hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard), he believed that they would increase the very great injustice now inflicted on owners of real property. As to Probate Duty, he would suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that a simpler and less troublesome method of collecting the duty might be advantageously adopted; and that details should not be required on affidavit for probate, but the property sworn to at a lump sum, as in former years, leaving the items for residuary account. The present system caused great and unnecessary trouble to executors, and delay, and also great additional trouble to the Office; and he thought it was a great hardship that the recipients of small legacies, who were in many cases servants and other persons in humble life, should have 10 per cent taken in the shape of duty from the sums left to them. Another matter well deserving of attention was the bounties on foreign sugar. If the present Goverment remained in power, as he felt confident they would, he believed they would redress that grievance, and not suffer an important home industry to be oppressed through the bounties given by foreign Governments.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE expressed his dissent from the views advanced by his right hon. Colleague in the representation of the City (Mr.

J. G. Hubbard) with regard to a remedy for the inequalities of the Income Tax. Neither could he agree with his suggestions in respect to the Probate Duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had declined to face the difficulties attaching to the duties on leasehold and freehold property. For his own part, he was an advocate of the placing of leasehold and freehold property on the same footing for purposes of taxation. If no Probate Duty was to be paid on leasehold property, as was suggested by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Hubbard), leasehold and freehold property would be put on an equality with respect to Succession Duty. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) was the only Chancellor of the Exchequer who had attempted to remedy the injustice which had existed so long in the taxation of leasehold and freehold property under the Death Duties. Take the case of a large landowner, who had let land, in this Metropolis, on building leases for 80 or 90 years, on which land had been built numerous streets and large squares of magnificent houses. Some 40 years had already expired, during which time Probate Duty on the full value of the leaseholds and also Succession Duty had been paid by the successors, and would continue to be paid during the remainder of the lease, on the transfer of these leasehold houses, by death. At the termination of the building leases the ground landlord would let the houses at rack rentals on leases for 21 years, the Probate Duty on which would be of small amount; and the freehold estate, now of great value and consisting of the whole of the houses built upon the estate, and let at an enormous rental, would pass by death to successors on the payment of Succession Duty only, according to the value of the lives, and a very large sum would be lost in perpetuity to the Exchequer. Take the case of a father leaving a leasehold house to one son, and a freehold house to another son. The one would have to pay Probate Duty on the full value of the house, and also Succession Duty; the other would have only to pay Succession Duty according to the value of his life. He asked if these anomalies were not most unfair, unequal, and unjust, and ought they not to be remedied at the earliest opportunity? The right hon. Member for North Hampshire had suggested a number of small duties on articles now imported free, which he proposed to register. Was he not aware that the expense of collecting a small duty was as great as that of collecting a large one? It was not surprising that the hon. Member for South Warwickshire had cheered that proposal, which was only a disguised form of Fair Trade, and, as such, he protested against it.

Mr. SALT said, he hoped that his right hon. Friend would not put the House to the trouble of a division, as it would make very little difference, in the present state of Parliamentary affairs, whether his Motion were carried or not. Among the many unfortunate political circumstances that had occurred during the present year one of the worst things that had happened to the country had been the introduction of such a Budget as was now before the House. He recognized that it arose from stern and unadvoidable circumstances; but those in any way acquainted with financial matters must admit that it was not a Budget which was creditable to a great commercial country. He believed, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that the Budget did not represent his right hon. Friend's financial views, but that it was a Budget of necessity, and not of correct financial policy. There was a large deficiency to be met, which was provided for partly by increased income tax, partly by suspension of the Sinking Fund, and partly by loans. It was unfortunate that at a time when it was desirable to show financial strength, with a view to foreign complications, it should be found necessary so soon to have recourse to the method of loans. Absolute necessity was the only excuse for such a policy. He never took a Party view of financial matters if he could possibly help it. It was quite right to criticize, but all Parties had a common interest, and that was to raise the necessary taxation in that manner which was most convenient and easy to every class of the community. He had merely risen in order to emphasize, as strongly as he could, what he believed to be the view of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself with regard to the character of the present Budget. In conclusion, there was one question he would like to ask, and that was—What had become of the money which was paid upon Spirit Duties between 1st of May and the time when the additional duties were abolished? He believed some of it had been recovered, but it must have been a difficult and inconvenient process, and he would like to know whether all of it had been recovered by those who had paid it?

Mr. SHIELD said, he regretted that while the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given the go-by to much that was meritorious in the Budget of his Predecessor he had not also hardened his heart and foregone the £150,000 which the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) had expected would accrue to the Revenue from the duty on bodies corporate and incorporate. The long list of exemptions took out of the Bill the only bodies worth taxing—namely, the great holders of land in mortmain. In his opinion the Bill would inflict on the Corporations to which it did apply an infinity of vexation, and on some of them great injustice, and all this would be done for the sake of an almost infinitesimal revenue. As a Fellow of a College and as a Bencher of an Inn of Court, he took an interest in the second part of the Bill. What, in the estimation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would be the operation of that part of the measure upon the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge? There seemed to be an impression that those Colleges were exempt, but this was not the view of his hon. Friend who sat near him; and he had been told that the view of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that the stipends even of those Fellows who were engaged in tuition in the Colleges would be exposed to the tax. With regard to the Inns of Court, no part of their income was, in the language of the exemption, "legally" appropriated for the promotion of education, or for any other purpose which would bring it within the exemption, although, in fact, it was so applied. Consequently the effect of the Bill would be to levy a tax of 5 per cent upon the whole of the income of those bodies for which they already paid Income Tax. He hoped the Bill would not leave Committee without such Amendments being introduced as would remove the very considerable grievances he had indicated.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he thought that successive Chancellors of the Exchequer, through regarding the Income Tax as a temporary tax, had failed to recognize the inequality of the present mode of levying it. If it were to be perpetual it was necessary to remove those inequalities. He heartily supported the Amendment, because it was not right that one section of the community should pay an unfair proportion of the Income Tax in order to save the pockets of others. Under existing circumstances he did not think the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have acted more wisely than he did in regard to the Budget he had presented to the House. He, however, heartily approved of the proposal of his right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London to remedy the inequalities of the Income Tax, which now pressed most unfairly upon the owners of small properties. In taking this step the right hon. Gentleman had hit a blot in the Income Tax regulations, and the country would owe a deep debt of gratitude to him.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he wished to call attention to the Income Tax charged in Schedule B on the occupation of land, and hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would take into consideration the practicability of its abolition. The charge on the existing rate was 8*d.*, the portion under this Schedule being fixed at 4*d.* in England and 3*d.* in Scotland and Ireland. The rate, however, ought to be only one-third of 8*d.* for Scotland and Ireland. Even these rates of charge was burdensome, because it was a tax on the profits of farmers, which were assumed, and not real. It gave great dissatisfaction, while the amount raised by it was very trifling. No doubt the farmers could claim exemption on proof of profits not being realized; but the necessity of keeping elaborate books prevented farmers from establishing their claims to exemption.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, the present financial condition of the country was one of the greatest gravity. The Expenditure of this year, he believed, had not been equalled in this generation. He should never cease to regret that the Party to which he belonged was, in the first instance, responsible for this extraordinary outlay, and that, instead of being checked by the Party opposite, the latter lent every encouragement to the most extravagant proposals which proceeded from the late Government. If the Expenditure had been extraordinary, our present position in regard to the Budget was still more singular, and even inexplicable. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer belonged to a Party which had been always understood to defend a combination of the systems of direct and indirect taxation. Apologies for the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been made that night by hon. Members, who said he had not struck the death-knell of indirect taxation by any utterance of his; but in the country the right hon. Gentleman would be judged, not by his utterances, but by his action. He had produced a Budget in which he had deliberately thrown overboard the proposals of his Predecessor; and, so far as he grappled with the great deficit under which the country was suffering, he had laid it entirely on real property, and he had made it almost impossible that we should in the future fall back upon any substantial Revenue from indirect sources. In one respect he (Mr. Illingworth) differed from his right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), inasmuch as he had been an advocate for nearly the whole of his life of the principle of direct taxation, both in local and Imperial finance; and, therefore, he saw a future in which we should be confined to direct taxation without any anxiety or alarm. He had considerable sympathy with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in being obliged to bring in a miserable and make-shift Budget, in which he had been compelled to do the thing that he did not wish to do—that was, to lay increased burdens on real property; and had neglected to do that which he would have liked to have done—that was, to put new burdens upon personal property; and in which he had been obliged to suspend the operation of the Sinking Fund, on which his late Colleague set so much store. He (Mr. Illingworth) was glad the sham of the Sinking Fund was exploded, for he had contended, over and over again, that it would be wise not to set up the practice of reducing the National Debt in good times and in bad times equally. The right hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard) drew attention to the fact that of late years the loans of municipalities had largely increased, and he and some other Members appeared to think that this was an evil and a danger to the communities. So far from that being the case, he (Mr. Illingworth) believed that there was no investment that had added so much to the prosperity and the stability of our large towns as the enterprizes of which these loans were the representation. How could the municipalities otherwise provide a boundless supply of pure water, which would benefit the community for endless generations? It was impossible that the expenditure could be met at the time that it was incurred. He did not hesitate to say that for substantial purposes of that character even 60 years was an unnecessarily short period within which to limit municipalities in the repayment of capital, though he admitted that in sewerage works, and, perhaps, street paving and improvements, the time now generally understood to be the limit was reasonable. Not long ago in his own town, where they had used those borrowing powers very largely, one of the best-informed and most experienced officials of the borough stated, at a public meeting, that if their gas and water works, which were the main items that had run up those large loans, were to be handed over to Companies, they would sell for a very large premium, and, so far from the outlay being a burden on the town, it was a valuable investment. Therefore, the hon. Gentleman who had manifested an undue anxiety as to the position of towns on asking Parliament for those loans might rest assured that in 99 cases out of 100 the outlay was a wise one on the part of the municipalities, which were as well capable of taking care of their affairs as Parliament had shown itself to be in Imperial matters. Some Members on the other side had shown a disposition to resort to the taxation of imported commodities in order to relieve the Chancellor of the Exchequer from the difficulty of putting taxation altogether upon real property. He was surprised to hear the right hon. Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) talk about raising large sums which should be a substantial relief of the Exchequer by very small import charges. Nothing was more absurd than that idea. The charge upon the imports must be substantial, otherwise the relief would be very trifling. If Members were to discuss import charges, he only wished they would speak plainly, so that the country might understand what was intended.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer would save his own Party from confusion if he would, by a plain declaration, state at once, as his Predecessor in the lead of the Conservative Party stated, that it was impossible for this country to return to anything like import duties, and that those who advocated such a change were only indulging in an allusion. He was not sorry, upon the whole, that just before a General Election there should be this deficit and this increased taxation. If the deficit pointed a moral, it would not be altogether useless. We had had wars, purposeless wars, in his opinion; we had had extravagant expenditure; and we were now cowardly enough to accumulate debt instead of meeting the expenditure immediately. He hoped the country would learn the lesson, and teach it to many Members.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I think, if the country does make the inquiry suggested by the hon. Member as to who has been instrumental in raising the National Expenditure, no one on this side of the House will have much cause to fear the result. My right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard) has raised in the Motion which he has made a subject of great importance and interest. It is one of which I may almost say he has made a life study. For something like 30 years he has continually brought forward this question, and he expressed his views on a certain occasion so effectively that he obtained the appointment of a Committee to investigate it; but he has not been able to carry the question further than he carried it then. As long ago as 1861, my right hon. Friend obtained the appointment of that Committee. It was a very strong Committee, and after full inquiry they reported that the plan proposed did not, in their opinion, give a satisfactory basis for the practical and equitable re-adjustment of the tax, and they were not prepared to offer to the House any suggestions. The matter has been frequently discussed since that time. It has been debated by a right hon. Gentleman of far greater experience than I can pretend to—by the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone)—and I think there has been a general conviction that, although, no doubt, there are anomalies in the present system of assessing the Income Tax, yet no change in that system could cure all these anomalies, while it might substitute even greater anomalies for them. I am not implying that the speech which my right hon. Friend has delivered does not deserve consideration. I shall give it such consideration as is in my power; but what has fallen from him to-night shows us something of the difficulty of dealing with this subject. He has shown, while dwelling on the great importance and usefulness of arriving at one basis for all direct taxation, that, so far from being able to do this, Parliament had not even been able to establish a uniform basis for the poor rate and county rate throughout the country. If we cannot do that as to the poor rate and the county rate, surely the prospect of establishing such a basis for Imperial as well as local burdens is not encouraging. I think the result of this scheme might be very considerably to relieve certain Schedules of the Income Tax at the cost of other Schedules—[Mr. HUBBARD: Of course.]—and that one Schedule which would be more heavily burdened would be that relating to land—a thing which I do not think my right hon. Friend would desire. I do not wish to pursue the subject now, because the Motion raises so many important questions that I do not think it would be possible satisfactorily to discuss them at present. All I can say is that I shall give attention to the statement he has made, and that I shall endeavour to approach it without prejudice. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Childers) has made, in a spirit which I wish to acknowledge, some observations upon the Budget. In the first place, he stated to the House that, in his opinion, I could not fairly abjure all the responsibility for the deficit. Well, the part of the deficit for which I may be said to be responsible amounts to £1,550,000. Of course, I am responsible for that amount; but I did not find anything in the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman to show that he really believed that I could have persevered with the increased Beer and Spirit Duties. He pointed out that it was perfectly consistent with the Resolution I carried against him to propose an increased duty on beer and spirits, as well as on wine; but he did not intimate that, if I made that proposal, he would himself support it, much less did he hold out any hope that it would be accepted by the House of Commons. I think it is perfectly obvious that my Motion was carried, not only by those who wished to see a corresponding increase in the Wine Duties to the duty proposed on spirits and beer, but also by the support of those who objected altogether to any increase in the duties on beer and spirits. The House practically negatived the increased Beer and Spirit Tax; and, therefore, I have abandoned it. The right hon. Gentleman put forward some very remarkable theories as to the sort of Budget which might be expected in the future, perhaps even from himself; because, as I understood him, he said that a very large increase of Revenue might, in his opinion, be raised from those very articles of indirect taxation to which I have just alluded. He talked of raising £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 from intoxicating liquors; he spoke of increasing the Beer Duty by 50 per cent. If he thought it possible to make such a large increase in those duties, why did he not take more from that source in his own Budget? He may reply to me that he did not make these suggestions as proposals which could be practically carried out. I do not charge him with any intention of carrying them out; but I submit to the House that if he is to be exonerated from such an intention, I may be equally exonerated from having ever proposed an increased duty on tea — a charge against me which even in this debate has been repeated by no less an authority than the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock). The argument of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the possibility of an increase in the duties on beer, spirits, and wine, was this—that, as a Revenue question, such an increase would be possible; and he referred to it in connection with the statements which I ventured to make in my speech the other day when I said that, in my opinion, in such times as these I feared we had arrived, for the purpose of Revenue, at the limits of increased taxation on the most important taxed articles of consumption. The whole of that sentence was governed by the comparison which I drew as to the amount of indirect taxation which could be levied in times of prosperity and times of depression such as that through which we are now passing. I stated to the House that in times of prosperity such as this country had formerly experienced it was a very easy matter indeed for any Chancellor of the Exchequer to obtain from the annual increment in the consumption of such articles a very much larger increase in indirect taxation than the comparatively small amount of £1,350,000 which the right hon. Gentleman desired to raise. I did not in my remarks sound the knell of direct taxation; what I did was simply to endeavour to show the House that in such circumstances as those in which we were at present placed—in times of depressed trade and decreased consumption—you could not raise increased Revenue from articles of consumption already highly taxed. I will endeavour to prove my case from the argument of the right hon. Gentleman in opening his Budget to the House of Commons. As the House will remember, the right hon. Gentleman proposed to raise the duty on spirits from 10*s.* to 12*s.* per gallon on home-made spirits, and on foreign and Colonial spirits from 10*s.* 4*d.* to 12*s.* 4*d.* a-gallon. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "This we calculate will produce during the present year, under the head of Customs and Excise, about £900,000. Of course, this is based upon some reduction in consumption. At the present time the consumption is about 36,000,000 gallons, producing about £18,000,000 a-year. If the higher duty produces only £900,000 more, a simple sum in arithmetic will show that the consumption will have fallen below 32,000,000 gallons."—(3 *Hansard*, [297] 1155.)

What I argued was that increased taxation was not based upon sound financial principles when you could only obtain it by a process which would so seriously reduce the consumption of the article on which you levied it. Again, the same remarks will apply to beer. The right hon. Gentleman this evening told the House that the receipts from beer had increased to a small extent within the last three years. That, no doubt, was a fact; but what was the right hon. Gentleman's own estimate of the yield of the increased duty he proposed to put upon beer? He said—

> "By increasing the duty on beer from 6*s.* 3*d.* to 7*s.* 3*d.* per barrel of 36 gallons, he hoped to get during the year £750,000, or about 9 per cent more than the present Revenue."—[*Ibid.*]

The increase ought to have been more than that—it ought to have raised the receipts from beer from £8,500,000 to £9,860,000. Instead of that, the right hon. Gentleman only put the receipts at £9,250,000.

Mr. CHILDERS was understood to say that he had spoken only of the increase in the first year; but, of course, any addition to a tax would, no doubt, cause decreased consumption.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: But the House will remember that the right hon. Gentleman proposed that the duty on beer should only last for a year; and therefore, so far as the statement went, it applied to the whole time for which he proposed to increase the tax. The increase in the receipts from beer during the last three years has been very small, while the receipts from spirits are decreasing, so that the right hon. Gentleman would not have been too cautious if he had put his Estimate for the Beer Duty at a lower figure than he did. The right hon. Gentleman has alluded to one part of my remarks on the Budget in which I referred to an increased expenditure of £200,000, which had been included by the War Office in their revised Estimate of the Vote of Credit. That expenditure was understood to be for the defence of certain commercial harbours and military ports. The right hon. Gentleman complained that I had omitted to state that there was already included in the Army Estimates a certain sum for expenditure of the same kind. My statement was a quotation from the Budget Speech of the right hon. Gentleman himself. The item of £200,000 to which I referred was for expenditure of the same general kind, but for a different special purpose to that included in the Army Estimates. In his Budget Speech the right hon. Gentleman, speaking of this matter, said—

> "But I must also point out to the Committee that in the Army Estimates of this year there is no provision for the defence of our commercial harbours, or for the improvement of the seaward defences of our great military ports. As to these, statements were made in both Houses on the 2nd of December last, by Lord Northbrook in the House of Lords, and by my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey) in this House, and they pledged the Government to full consideration of the Report on these subjects, and to probable proposals for large expenditure in future years."

Mr. CHILDERS: What I said was that we had made, in the original Army Estimates, provision for our coaling stations to the extent of £200,000.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I was speaking of an expenditure for a different special purpose. I think I have now alluded to all the points to which the right hon. Gentleman referred. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk), who complained that I did not insert a clause in the Bill now under the consideration of the House enabling the Treasury to raise the limit of the 1*s.* duty on wines from 26 to 30 degrees, I may say that I deliberately excluded the clause, because the negotiations with the Spanish Government had come to an end. The House is acquainted with the manner in which those negotiations came to an end. I do not wish to apply any strong language to what occurred; but it amounted to a treatment of this country by the Spanish Ministers to which it can hardly be possible to apply anything but strong terms. Certain Treaty arrangements were entered into which this country loyally accepted, and which the Spanish Ministry failed to carry through. Under these circumstances, the position was entirely changed from what it was when the right hon. Gentleman opposite included this provision in his Budget Bill. I have excluded this power for two reasons—first, its presence in the Bill would have the effect of keeping the wine trade in a state of uncertainty, from which, I am advised, it has already suffered so much; and, secondly, I was anxious to intimate that, however much it may be to our interests to conclude commercial negotiations with Spain, yet it is of very much greater importance to Spain than to us. I do not wish, after the treatment we have received from Spain, to put a provision in the Act which would have seemed like weakness on the part of this country. Those are the reasons why I deliberately excluded such a power from the Bill; but I can assure the House that we desire a better commercial footing with Spain than we at present occupy, and that Her Majesty's Government will do their best, consistently with the interests of the country, to obtain it. The hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Shield) referred at length to the exemptions set forth in the clause of the Bill which deals with the new tax to be imposed on corporate property. That is a matter I do not think it desirable to discuss now—it is more fitted for the Committee stage; but this I will venture to say—that I was rather surprised to hear from the hon. Member a desire to increase the number of exemptions. They are sufficiently large at present. The hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (General Sir George Balfour) asked me some questions with regard to the Income Tax. I may say that there is nothing in the Bill relating to the Income Tax which is at all at variance with previous Acts of the same character; but I cannot undertake to make any change in the direction suggested by the hon. and gallant Member. I am a farmer myself, and I should be glad to be exempted from Schedule B; but I do not believe that the House would deliberately strike out that Schedule from the Bill, although it does not yield a very large revenue, without a very careful consideration of other matters affecting the general incidence of the tax. For myself, I must say that I think it would be better for the agricultural interest to keep Schedule B as it stands than to make the alteration in the system of assessment suggested by the hon. and gallant Member. I do not think that there is anything else with which I need trouble the House. I heard with great interest the remarks of my right hon. Friend the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth), which I shall take into consideration. The hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) and the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) said something about the iniquity of not paying off our debts, of appropriating the Sinking Fund, and of carrying over a large deficit to next year. I do not think that these doctrines, however much they may be preached by financial purists, are very popular at the present moment, for surely there are very few persons, either in the House or in the country, who consider that either the circumstances or the taxation of the present year are of a normal character. We certainly do not live in what can be called peaceful or prosperous times, and there could be no year in which it could be more thoroughly justifiable to pause in the system of repayment of our debts which we have adopted in times of more prosperity, and of expenditure on a more peaceful scale. I repudiate the desire which has been attributed to me by some speakers in this debate of doing anything which would be likely to put an end to our system of indirect taxation. I think that the right Gentleman said more than he actually intended in that respect, and I do not think that my words were open to such an interpretation. My only desire is to meet existing circumstances in the best way in my power; and if it is my lot—as I hope it may be—to deal with this matter next year, I trust that I may be able to deal with it in a way which will show that I adhere to, and endeavour to put into practice, the principles I have professed as to the relations between direct and indirect taxation.

MR. CHILDERS: For the sake of clearness, perhaps I may be permitted to say that I gather from the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman that he gives up for the present the clause raising the superior limit of the 1*s.* Wine Duty from 26 to 30 degrees; but that he proposes to renew the endeavour to secure improved commercial arrangements with Spain. If he does so I am satisfied. By abandoning all reference to the rate of the lower duty we shall be free, and the negotiations might be much more satisfactorily continued.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Yes; I quite understand that, and it is what I propose.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, that upon the understanding that the Government would require from the officials of the Inland Revenue and Local Government Departments a careful consideration of our present systems of local and Imperial taxation, and an honest Report upon the practicability of their adjustment, he withdrew his Motion.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. MACFARLANE said, that the Amendment which stood on the Paper in his name was to the effect—

> "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the excessive use of moisture in the manufacture of Tobacco, and to the mode in which Duties are now levied upon that article."

Seeing, however, that it was obviously useless at that period of the Session to ask for a Committee to inquire into anything, he did not seriously wish the House to appoint the Committee proposed in his Amendment. He desired, however, to make an appeal to the right hon. Baronet the Chancellor of the Exchequer to add this question to the many others which he had already promised to consider in the autumn. The question was well worthy of consideration; because the moisture used in the manufacture of tobacco was so excessive as to amount to adulteration on a wholesale scale, to the depreciation of tobacco, to the detriment of the Revenue, and to the great injury of the poorer classes of the country who indulged in it. The tobacco imported into this country in 1883 amounted to 49,500,000 lbs., and from that 84,000,000 lbs. of commercial tobacco were made and sold over the counter. About 34,500,000 lbs. were, therefore, sold over the counter without having paid duty. In fact, it consisted of water which had been used in the manufacture of the article.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that there is nothing in the Bill now before the House which deals with tobacco. He will, therefore, not be in Order in speaking upon this subject.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, he did not put down the Amendment on the Paper without consulting the authorities of the House, including the Speaker, as to his right to raise the question upon the second reading of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill; and he assumed that the Amendment having been placed on the Paper was an indication that he would be in Order in moving it.

Mr. SPEAKER: There must be some misconception on the point, as it never came under my notice. The hon. Member cannot be in Order, because the question which he has raised is not dealt with by the Bill.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, he wished to know how it would be possible to raise the question, if it could not be discussed on the Bill now before the House?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member can make a Motion to that effect on going into Committee of Supply.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

NATIONAL DEBT BILL.—[Bill 172.]

(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hibbert.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 and 2 *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Temporary reduction of permanent annual charge for National Debt in 1886-7).

On the Motion of Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Clause *struck out*, and the following new Clause inserted in lieu thereof:—

(Further temporary reduction of permanent annual charge for National Debt in 1885-6 by suspension of new Sinking Fund.)

"In the financial year ending the 31st day of March, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, the permanent annual charge for the National Debt shall be reduced below the amount at which it would otherwise be fixed by law by such sum as but for this section would, under section three of the Sinking Fund Act, 1875, form the new Sinking Fund."

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.—[Bill 232.]

(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Dalrymple.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Arthur Balfour.*)

Mr. PELL, in rising to move, as an Amendment—

"That, in the relief of destitute paupers out of any Poor Rate, this House declines to draw a distinction in favour of enfranchising those who obtain it in the form of medical treatment and those who are compelled to accept it in the form of bread,"

said, that on Monday last, or, rather, at about 3 o'clock on Tuesday morning, Her Majesty's Government asked leave to introduce this Bill, and a short statement was then made by the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill. That statement did not by any means satisfy general expectation on the introduction of so important a measure, so far as the information on which the Bill was founded was concerned. The number of Members in the House at the time was very few—he believed about 42—and they were given to understand that on the second reading the right hon. Gentleman would make a full statement, with reasons why the Government had introduced the measure. There was one point, the most important of all, as to which the House was in need of information, and that was the number of persons that would be affected by the measure. The right hon. Gentleman gave the House distinctly to understand that, before the Government proceeded with the measure, information would be given, at all events, upon this point.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, that he had not given that promise. All that he had promised was that information would be giveh at a later day, and it should be so given.

MR. PELL said, that then the right hon. Gentleman was making out a worse case for himself. The information ought to have been given on moving the second reading at the commencement of the debate. What possible use could it be in the end? The House was now going to consider one of the most important questions that had ever come before it during the time that he had had the honour of a seat in it—a question, too, that had been rushed upon it. Under these circumstances, it would have been more consistent with Parliamentary practice if the right hon. Gentleman had furnished the House and himself, a humble Member of it, with information essential to the adequate consideration of the Bill before the House. The result of the treatment of this important question was at once to drive hon. Members below the Gangway to resist its progress. No one could fairly object if hon. Members met the measure in such a way as to secure time for its consideration. He would again call attention to the extraordinary circumstances which surrounded the case. On Tuesday morning the Government took the first reading, and, with the greatest difficulty, were induced to concede to hon. Members time until to-day for the consideration of the measure. The report of what took place at that time in the morning, though accurate as far as it went, was, of course, very short. But now hon. Members had an opportunity of telling the country what the Government really did on Tuesday morning. All they had then submitted to them were the vaguest generalities; and he expressed the hope, therefore, that the House would assist him in checking the progress of this measure until a more suitable opportunity arrived for discussion. The Bill was brought in after 2 o'clock in the morning, and in bringing it in the right hon. Gentleman made a dry statement; but he gave the House to understand that he would make a full one on the second reading. The Government obtained the first reading, but not without some opposition. But for the division that was taken at 3 o'clock on the morning the Bill was introduced, and the apprehension of a "Count out," the Government would have proceeded with the second reading on the same day. For his part, he could not see the necessity for this haste. The hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) had got a Bill before the House aiming at precisely the same results, with this distinction—that the hon. Member for Ipswich, basing his reasons for his Bill upon the ground that a vast number of the new electorate would be taken by surprise, asked merely for a measure which, though retrospective, was temporary in its character. The President of the Local Government Board had taken the feather out of the hon. Member's cap, and introduced a Bill which was much stronger. The effect of the hon. Member for Ipswich's Bill would be that a number of poor persons who might have been unexpectedly deprived of the franchise would not be disfranchised before they had time to consider their position. The Government had taken the hon. Member's ewe lamb and amplified it, with mischievous and dangerous additions, simply to secure the popular vote? Then, as to the merits of the question, he wished to put fairly the state of the case dealt with by the Bill. Sickness alone was not a qualification for medical relief. For instance, he (Mr. Pell) himself, or his servant, might be sick, and yet they could get no assistance from the Guardians; the condition precedent was destitution, and his Amendment referred to the relief of destitute paupers. A person applying for medical relief was exactly on the same footing as a person applying for bread, except that his case was not so strong. One applicant was sick, another had not had food for 24 hours; and the Board of Guardians, dealing with both cases and admitting the destitution, made both paupers, and ordered food in one case and medicine in the other. It was now proposed to make a legal distinction between the two cases by giving the vote to the man who accepted medicine, and withholding it from the man who accepted food, by conferring it on the man who accepted that which 1*d.* a-week subscribed to a medical club or dispensary would have provided him with, and withholding it from the man who accepted the food which a subscription of 1*d.* a-week would not have provided for him. They had no right to make a distinction between the two paupers, and, as it were, to confer a sort of dignity on the pauperism that might have been most easily provided against. But the matter could not rest here. Why should they confine this exemption to medical relief? Before three years were over they would be having all paupers demanding the exemption; and the old and wholesome rule, which drew a distinction between paupers and free men, would be broken down. In the absence of information which should have been furnished by the Government, he had just examined a Return which was furnished to the House in 1870, on the Motion of the present Speaker, which showed the amount of outdoor and indoor medical relief given in that year. The population of England and Wales was 22,000,000; in that year the country was in a flourishing condition, and there were 1,000,000 paupers. It was remarkable, but true, that, when times were at their best, pauperism was at the highest. It was not so much want that made paupers, as an impulse on the part of the Guardians, who, when their own pockets were full, were disposed to be generous with other people's money, particularly when generous impulses coincided with the inclination to keep up the supply of cheap labour. The Return showed that 840,388 persons then were receiving outdoor relief, and only 106,323, or under 13 per cent, were also sick and in receipt of medical relief. It did not follow that all the 106,000 would come under the operation of such a Bill as this; for, as he understood, the Bill was intended to apply to outdoor paupers only, and not to indoor paupers. That supposition was confirmed by the President of the Local Government Board. The last Return of pauperism in England and Wales was for 1883, when the population was 26,500,000. Times were much worse; but the outdoor poor had sunk to 500,000, roughly speaking, or under 600,000. If the same percentage were taken of this number as he had taken of the 106,000, there would be found only 78,000 in 1883 who were in receipt of medical relief, some of whom had other relief also.

Mr. WALTER: Can the hon. Gentleman state the number of women and children?

Mr. PELL said, he should come to that presently. The Return of 1870 gave the sex and age in classes, and showed that there were 46,000 female paupers over 16 years of age. The pauperism of these persons did not pauperize any other adult. But if a woman was under 16 years of age the parent was pauperized. He would take away the 46,000 women over 16 as not affecting the calculation, with the exception of those who were married. If the married women became paupers, of course they pauperized their husbands. Thus, there were 60,000 persons left, whose sickness carried with it disqualification, in 1870, being 8 per cent of outdoor pauperism at that time. If they took 8 per cent of the 600,000 paupers of the later period, there were only 48,000 who pauperized those dependent on them. He would give every chance to the advocates of the Bill, and would assume that 22,000 female paupers over 16 were married; these he would add to the 48,000 he had already mentioned. Thus, there would be a total of about 70,000 who would be affected by this Bill. Of course, he was giving figures which related to a particular day, and not the number for the year, for which, no doubt, an addition would have to be made. But of this number how many were in receipt of medical relief only, and did not receive money or food or other assistance? Among this number were nurses. Was the allowance of nurses to disqualify? That was an important question, as orders for nurses were often given, which resulted occasionally in bringing a daughter from service into a pauper home, who might otherwise be earning her bread. He presumed that orders for brandy, gin, and mutton might come under the head of medical relief. It must also be remembered that no relief could be given except through the relieving officer. The Guardians might order on the doctor's recommendation; the relieving officer alone could give these extras. He hoped he should not be charged with taking an extravagant view of the case; but he had had great experience. He knew of one case, where the Guardians had given an order for 2 lbs. of mutton a-week for a man who, the doctor said, was in a low condition. The relieving officer refused to carry out the order, and, when remonstrated with, his answer was that if the man wanted mutton he had better have one of the 50 sheep killed which belonged to him. One of the chief uses to which medical orders were put was for what was technically known as "preparatory"—that was to say, an introduction to outdoor relief. The prohibitory order interdicted Guardians giving outdoor relief to able-bodied paupers. The order was, however, evaded by the grant, in the first instance, of a medical order to a "prepared" pauper, so as to place him in the class of not able-bodied; after which came the order for full and continuous outdoor relief, with beef and liquor, under the colour of medical assistance. But, after all, when the number of those who received only medicine was calculated, how many would the Bill really affect? Not 20,000—he dared say not more than 10,000. What was 10,000 out of the 2,000,000 who were to be enfranchised? This Bill afforded a curious instance of extremes meeting. When his Friends sat on the opposite Benches they used to refer to the Kilmainham Treaty. This, however, might be called the "Curemainham Treaty," and was something like a Treaty between the extreme Radicals and the Tory Government. They were urged by their present Leaders to vote against the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Davey). Hon. Members were also urged by the late Government to oppose that Amendment. Both Front Benches, after opposing that Amendment, and the moderate and consistent measure of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), were now thrusting him aside and pushing forward the Bill before the House, which he could not but characterize as a piece of ignorant and mischievous philanthropy. He believed that the day would come when, as one of the results of the present spread of education, the good and true men of England, the provident and thrifty men who were members of benefit societies, would condemn this legislation. The hon. Member for Ipswich argued that a very large number of persons would be disfranchised if some Bill of the kind was not passed, and only proposed a temporary measure, which would have given a warning to the recipients of medical relief, and relieved them of the consequences of a surprise at the coming General Election, so that their votes might not be lost to the Liberal Party. The Minister who had the administration of the Poor Law, bidding higher, now proposed, however, to remove for ever the disqualification, and thereby encouraged people to be thriftless and to mis-spend upon themselves money which ought to go to benefit societies and sick clubs. He would like to know why the Government thrust aside the moderate Bill of the hon. Member for Ipswich, and brought to the front this monstrous measure? He was astonished to find the hon. Member for Ipswich and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board racing together; the latter, he thought, quite as free-stepping as the former, and, in fact, a little faster. As a matter of fact, the number of persons who would be disqualified on account of the receipt of medical relief would be very small. For instance, in a rural Union of which he was a Guardian, there had, in the last three years, been only two cases in which medical relief alone had been received. No doubt, in some Unions, a more lax system had prevailed. In Bradfield Union, in Berkshire, during the years 1874, 1875, and 1876 there were no fewer than 2,124 cases of medical relief. This was so serious that the Chairman of the Board of Guardians took the matter in hand, and, by offering medical relief only as a loan, he reduced the number of cases in the years 1877, 1878, and 1879 to 116. The people, when told that they would only be given the medical relief on loan, and that they would have to repay the Board for it, mostly refused it, and said they might as well have their own doctor. It would be well if this system was adopted in other Unions throughout the country.

In these cases there would be no disqualification, as the payment of fees was only deferred. It had been said in the House that there was no great difference between the qualification for admission to a hospital and that for obtaining medical relief from the parochial doctor; but there was a vital difference. Whereas, in the first case, it was sickness pure and simple, in the second it was sickness combined with destitution. In regard to the registration of voters, the law provided that in the case of a poor person who had failed to pay the rates his registration might be objected to. The pauper who received relief in the shape of medical aid was to be allowed to vote; the other was to remain disfranchised. A Conservative Government, he presumed, would in time remove this disqualification. It would say that it was an unfair thing that this honest man, whose wife might have carried off the few shillings laid up to pay the rates to spend in the gin palace, should be disfranchised, and that payment of rate shall no longer be insisted upon in order to secure a man the franchise. Such unwise concessions were fraught with dangerous and mischievous results. The consequence of giving medical relief confirmed the persons who received it in improvident habits, and it led others to argue that as those who received such relief were allowed to remain on the Register they were as much entitled to similar relief without disqualification. He would ask leave to quote the words of a paper read by the Rector of Shotley, at a Poor Law Conference at Ipswich on this subject—

> "The immediate consequence of giving a sick man a medical order may be that he is sooner restored to health and enabled to resume the labours of his calling. But is this the only consequence? Are there no other results sure to follow which, as true friends of our fellow-men, we ought to take into account? Suppose the consequence of giving medical relief to a particular individual is that he is confirmed in improvident habits, and that his neighbours are discouraged in and deterred in future from efforts to secure medical attendance for themselves. Suppose the granting of medical relief to be a grievous obstacle and impediment to any general system by which the working classes might be enabled at a small cost to obtain medical attendance without submitting to the degradation of pauperism, and that they are thus induced to keep themselves always on the brink of destitution in order to qualify themselves for the relief provided for the destitute alone. Ought they not to make us think twice before we make easy the descent from independence into pauperism."

It was impossible to exaggerate the mischievous consequences to the poor which would inevitably result if this Bill became law, without the introduction in Committee of some softening Amendment. He trusted, however, the House would pause before passing such a measure; and he would, therefore, move the Amendment standing in his name on the Paper.

Mr. CLARE READ seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the relief of destitute paupers out of any Poor Rate, this House declines to draw a distinction in favour of enfranchising those who obtain it in the form of medical treatment and those who are compelled to accept it in the form of bread,"—(*Mr. Pell,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. Pell) had been somewhat unfair in the remarks which he had made to the Government. On Tuesday everyone knew that, if this measure had not been opposed by hon. Gentlemen opposite, it might have been got through in time for the voters to be placed on the regular lists. But the opposition offered to its passage, not only by hon. Members on the Government side, but by hon. Members on his (Mr. Jesse Collings') own side, had prevented that object from being attained. The hon. Member laid great stress on the information with respect to the number who were disqualified. For himself, he (Mr. Jesse Collings) did not take into consideration whether the number was 10 per cent or 50 per cent. The question was one of principle; and he held that when they passed a Reform Bill they should take care not to enfranchise with one hand, and then, with the other, to disfranchise a number of those whom they were supposed to enfranchise. He could not accept the compliment which had been offered to him, on the ground that his Bill was only for one year. It was made for one year against his will, and only to enable him to bring it before the House at all. It had been drawn by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. H. Davey), who was now unable to be present; and it was intended to be retrospective, and he believed it was so, although all doubt on that point might have been removed by inserting a few words in Committee. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) said that he preferred his (Mr. Jesse Collings') Bill to that of the Government; but for himself he would willingly give two of his own Bills for the one now before the House. As to the alleged appropriation of his "ewe lamb," he certainly asked for no sympathy on that account. The hon. Member further said that the measure was taken up in order to get the popular vote. That was a grave charge against the Government. In the long run the tools would fall to those who could use them. He and his Friends were true believers in the temple in which, for the moment, they were all worshippers; but hon. Members opposite were mere conformists to a creed which in their hearts they disliked. So long as the peasantry of this country remained in the condition to which they had been reduced, from the state of rude abundance in which they were at one time, to the position of mere hirelings, with a workhouse in return for what had been taken from them, it could not be expected that they would possess the virtues and excellences for which the hon. Member for South Leicestershire seemed to look. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) was himself no lawyer; but he believed that parochial relief of any kind did not disqualify a county voter till the Act of 1867 was passed, and the hon. Member opposite wished to make a new disqualification in making it affect a newly-enfranchised class. The overseer of a small parish in the West of England informed him that there were in that parish 29 agricultural labourers' families, and that 20 of those men would be disqualified, although they themselves belonged to clubs, on account of their wives or children receiving medical relief. Again, a medical officer of health in a borough in Lancashire informed him that, as there had been an epidemic of small-pox in the place, he had persuaded the people to send their suffering children to a hospital in which the Guardians of the Poor paid for the food and medical attendance; and the fathers of those children, who had been pressed into the hospital for the good of the community, would be deprived of their votes. He would give another instance—from Somersetshire. A gentleman of very good standing, who had canvassed a number of the Liberal voters, said that out of 20 he had waited upon 18 would be disfranchised. Surely that was a very considerable percentage. He had received a letter from a gentleman well known in that House; but he was not authorized to give the name, in which the writer spoke of a town which had 1,900 inhabited houses, and said the conclusion he had arrived at was that the receipt of medical relief would have disqualified rather under one-fourth of the voters in that town, and about one-third of those who resided in the villages scattered throughout the division. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire had talked a great deal about the "Guardians of the Poor." He (Mr. Jesse Collings) thought that was a misnomer altogether. It should be Guardians of the poor rate elected for the administration of the poor rate. He had come to the conclusion that the Guardians, instead of being elected, as the Poor Law intended they should be, to look after the interests of the poor, were elected by men of property to keep down the rates, which they succeeded in doing by the exercise of cruelty and oppression. ["Oh, oh!"] He knew very well what he was speaking about, and it was certainly from an opposite point of view from the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken. There was one thing which certainly required to be altered in connection with the administration of the Poor Law—namely, the giving of one vote for a particular rental, and then increasing the number of votes until they reached six for a £250 rental.

Mr. GRANTHAM rose to Order. He did not see that the remarks of the hon. Member had any reference to the provisions of the present Bill.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, he knew that his remarks might be distasteful to some hon. Gentlemen opposite; but he had been challenged by them in reference to this question of Guardians of the Poor, for whom they posed as the champions, and he said again that the Guardians were not elected to care for the poor, but to save the rates. The hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) opposed the Bill from the point of view of political economy, or what he was pleased to style political economy, the exactitude of which position, however, he (Mr. Jesse Collings) disputed. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) said that destitution ought to be the only ground on which relief was applied for or granted. In passing, he would remind the hon. Member of the responsibility he assumed for himself by his Amendment—that there should be no difference made between parochial aid when received in the form of medical relief, and when received in the shape of bread. It might be an open question whether the hon. Member wished to include that or not. It was a very suggestive Amendment. The hon. Member stated that destitution was always the ground on which this relief was demanded and given.

Mr. PELL: I said that that was the only ground upon which it could be legally given.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, he disputed that altogether. There were a large number of cases—one or two in every Union—in which medical relief was given, not for simple destitution, but because extra medical skill and help were required beyond what it was in the power of the ordinary wage-earner to command. Might he give an instance or two? He was afraid to appeal to the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) in regard to anything connected with the humanity of the situation. Let them take the case of confinements, for instance. Did the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Pell) know how the poor managed in such cases? [Mr. Pell: Perfectly.] Then the hon. Member would admit he was right when he said that they often gave some poor old woman 2*s*. 6*d*., or 3*s*., or 5*s*. ["No, no!"] Hon. Members might say "No, No!" but he said "Yes;" and he was glad to have the opportunity of enlightening them from the labourer's point of view. They had heard enough from the property and the Guardian point of view; but, as a matter of fact, in the case he had mentioned, the husband would give a few shillings to some poor old woman, who frequently got into a difficulty in regard to the case; for sometimes very difficult cases would occur even among the labouring classes, and then the parish doctor was called in. He would give the House some idea of the extent to which serious cases took place by referring to the Farnham Union, a place which the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) ought to know something about. In that Union there had been 60 cases of the kind in one half-year. [Mr. Onslow: What cases?] The cases to which he was referring were cases which did not come under the head of ordinary destitution, but which, from their gravity, demanded medical skill, which it was out of the power of the ordinary wage-earning class to provide cases such as broken thighs and arms, operations, and difficult confinements. Then, again, there were cases in which a certificate of lunacy was required. He had been unable to find out whether that came under the head of medical relief; but he believed it did. He had received a letter from one of the Visiting Justices of Surrey, in which the writer pointed out that a large number of poor men had their wives or children afflicted with lunacy. How was a poor man to pay £1 for a lunacy certificate, or £3 for attendance on his wife, in case of dangerous confinement? [*A laugh.*] An hon. Member laughed; but it seemed to him (Mr. Jesse Collings) that it was a disgraceful thing for a man, who was in a position to command every luxury and the highest medical skill, to laugh because, unfortunately, cases sometimes happened in which the poor agricultural labourer was obliged to call in the parish doctor in the attempt to save, in the case of a confinement, what sometimes, even by the exercise of the highest medical skill, it was found impossible to save—namely, two lives. In the list he held in his hand of the Farnham Union, 60 cases were mentioned which extended over half a-year; and the expenditure upon them, in that single Union, amounted to £86. He thought that was an answer to the hon. Member who talked of destitution being the only ground on which medical relief could be legally given. Was it destitution? Did not poor people pay rates? If they paid rates, they were entitled to a fair assurance against misfortune. Would the hon. Member propose in that House to relieve from rates all houses from £15 downwards which were inhabited by persons of the class the hon. Member sought to deprive of their privileges? He did not anticipate that the hon. Member would be prepared to do anything of the kind. The political economy of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) was not to be commended, nor was it necessary that he should discuss it. The hon. Member said that the receipt of medical relief was corrupting and degrading, and ought to be an absolute disqualification for the exercise of civil rights—that was to say, that poverty was to be regarded as a crime, punishable with the loss of all civil rights. If a labouring man had the misfortune to break his leg, and was unable to pay the doctor £3, his hon. Friend would therefore deprive him of his rights of political citizenship. It was political economy run mad. It was setting up an abstract principle, and dealing with it in the manner and to the extent with which they might deal with the North Pole and the Solar System, instead of remembering that they were dealing with human beings. Assuming the theory to be right, surely it was to be regulated by the common necessities of human life. He thought it was highly dangerous to teach that degradation was synonymous with poverty. Were free education and free libraries degrading in the hon. Member's opinion, because they certainly came within the same category? The poor were bitterly insulted by having their poverty described as degrading. The arguments which were employed were the abstract arguments of the schoolman and of the Professor; but all humanity was against them, and, in the end, humanity would prove victorious. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Pell) had spoken of hospitals and dispensaries. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) believed that the free relief given by charity was, or should be, more demoralizing than the relief given by the community in their corporate capacity, which was what he understood by the poor rate. The hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had cheered the declaration that a man should go into clubs. How could men go into clubs when they could hardly get a bit of bread for themselves and their children? He declined to treat the question as one of a mere set of opinions, with no reference to the varying needs of human beings. Poor relief, in his mind, should not imply degradation, although poor relief had necessarily had degradation attached to it, owing to the miserable administration of the Poor Law. Passing by that question, he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) to another matter, seeing that the right hon. Gentleman had been defeated on Tuesday by his own Party, in pressing forward a measure which he had evidently every desire to pass. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire seemed to look upon it as something marvellous that there should be anything like sincerity in a Leader of his own Party. To show how this question of medical relief might be made to operate, he would cite one or two cases which had been communicated to him. He had received a letter from a gentleman in Somersetshire, informing him that the doctor and the relieving officer of a particular parish were Members of the Conservative Party; and only the other night one of the Liberal voters was done out of his vote by the parish doctor pulling out one of his children's teeth, and reporting the case to his co-worker and relieving officer. He could read letters giving dozens of similar cases; but he would not trouble the House with them. He would only give the substance of them, which was to this effect—that unless a large number of voters who had received medical relief were placed on the list before the General Election, the Franchise Bill might as well not have been passed at all, because the lists must be published by the 1st of August, and there would be no time to reinstate the names of these voters. It was quite true that they would have until the 25th of August to make their claim; but it was well known that the bulk of the agricultural labourers were not in a position to send in a claim. Therefore, he pressed on the right hon. Gentleman to complete his measure by ordering the proper officers to make out supplementary lists, which should contain the names of all persons who had been left off the regular lists by reason of their disqualification, owing to the receipt of medical relief. There was a letter published the other day by the hon. Member for Kendal (Mr. Cropper), to which, if the House would allow him, he would refer. His hon. Friend said it had been represented to him that if the view of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire were adopted, many persons who were not paupers would be deprived of their civil rights, owing to the receipt of medical relief. His hon. Friend gave the instance of an engine driver, who went to a doctor because a spark had flown in his eye. It was said that the parish doctor could not put a man upon the list of paupers without an order from the relieving officer; but he (Mr. Jesse Collings) ventured to say that the majority of persons who received medical relief received it without any application on the part of the head of the family for an order. He had obtained evidence, in addition to his own knowledge, to bear out the contention that the medical officer had a *carte blanche*, as in the case of the child's teeth to which he had referred, to use his own discretion in cases in which relief was wanted. He had received letters describing the marvellous activity of the parochial medical officers in regard to the health of poor families within the last few weeks. Hon. Members would probably have noticed a case which occurred a few days ago. A woman was run over by a carriage and taken away to the workhouse, because there was no room for her in Charing Cross Hospital. The woman died, and the Coroner drew attention to the hardship of the fact that in consequence of the accident to the woman, and the taking of her to the workhouse, her husband would lose his electoral rights. If that were the case, would the hon. Member for South Leicestershire tell him that all these persons were not illegally made paupers? He (Mr. Jesse Collings) believed that they were. He believed that every man whose family received medical relief without an order from the relieving officer, and without an application for such relief, was illegally converted into a pauper, and in the majority of cases which occurred in many parts of the country it would be found that this was the case. He was quite aware that the medical officer would send in his report, in which the name of the man would be mentioned, and in some cases he would ask for an order after the report had been sent in; but he (Mr. Jesse Collings) contended that that was not an application for relief according to the Poor Law. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) would set the Local Government Board to work and insist upon the overseers putting all these men on the list who had been illegally disqualified. If that could be done, there would be a large number of those whose names had already been struck off who would be reinstated. And now with regard to clubs. Hon. Members opposite who knew anything about clubs would know that many of them were semi-charitable institutions supported by a large subscription list got up in the neighbourhood. It was quite true that the members generally paid a small sum per week, but they did not pay the value of the services they received; and, therefore, he contended that they received charity in the highest degree demoralizing. A system of demoralization was introduced which did not belong to medical relief given out of the rates. Private charity certainly did demoralize. It made the recipient a sort of dependent upon those who dispensed it. Medical relief had not that effect when dispensed from the rates. He had received a curious letter from an old labourer, and he would invite the attention of the advocates of domestic economy to these facts—for it certainly passed all understanding how persons in this rank of life could make both ends meet with the miserable means at their command. This labouring man said his wages were 11*s.* a-week, and out of them he paid 2*s.* for rent, 1*s.* 6*d.* for coals, 6*d.* for school fees, 4*s.* for bread, and the balance—3*s.*—was expended in butter, tea, sugar, meat, clothes, and so forth. He added—"Now, how can I pay for medical attendance?" The letter was very badly spelt, but the badness of the spelling was made up by the logic. He admired the ease with which hon. Gentlemen inside that House and outside, whose breakfasts and dinners came round with the regularity of the seasons, preached thrift and economy and every other virtue to these poor men who had to live on 12*s.* a-week. He particularly wished the right hon. Gentleman to do what he had asked him, because he had seen a letter from Mr. Edward Strachey—for as the letter had been published he could give the name—in which that gentleman said that, as a member of a Board of Guardians in North Somerset, he had moved that the relieving officer should be instructed to warn all applicants for medical and other relief that its receipt would disqualify them from voting at the next election, and to his surprise it was objected that such action on the part of the Board would be illegal. He had positive proof that there was a wonderful amount of activity just now among the overseers and those who were acting with them in obtaining the omission from the lists of those who were disqualified by the receipt of medical relief. The question resolved itself into this—They had passed last year a Reform Bill; were they now prepared to undo one-half of it, for it was a question whether they were going to disfranchise with one hand those whom they had enfranchised with the other? He hoped the House would wisely resolve not only to pass this Bill, but to make it effectual by adding to it the provisions he proposed. He admitted the desire of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire to protect the Poor Law; but he had a mistaken notion of the object and intention of the Poor Law. It was intended to be a beneficent helper, giving national aid to the deserving poor; but, in its administration, it had been converted into a weapon of degradation. An old man, who had worked hard through life, who ought to be respected as an old soldier, was degraded by the Poor Law into the position of the lowest of mankind. There would soon be a Party in this country who would demand that men who had served the community as good industrial soldiers should be treated, not as degraded beings, but as men who had deserved well of their country, who had fought the battle of life in a manner and under difficulties of which we had no conception, and who were entitled to receive very different treatment from that which had been shadowed forth by hon. Members on the other side of the House. He regretted that the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) should have considered it necessary to block the Bill, because he (Mr. Jesse Collings) should have thought that the hon. Member would have given way to the wishes of the large number of people who would lose the franchise if the views of the hon. Member were adopted. They had already passed an enfranchising Bill; and not to pass the present measure would be nothing more nor less than to disfranchise directly those whom they pretended to enfranchise.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD: Sir, the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Jesse Collings) has asked me one question of a business-like character, which I will answer at once. I propose, in Committee, to suggest a clause for the consideration of the House, which I believe will get over all the difficulty with regard to placing the voters which this Bill will enfranchise on the Register. I do not think there is anything else in the hon. Gentleman's remarks which calls for notice. In fact, his speech appeared to me to be more or less in the nature of a general discussion on poverty in general not very relevant to the question before the House; but I hope my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) will, when he considers the length of the speech which has just been delivered, acquit me of conspiring with the hon. Gentleman opposite to rush this Bill through the House. My hon. Friend complained very much that I had not given more statistical information. Some information of a statistical kind I shall have to give before I sit down; but I would ask the hon. Member whether his objections are really to be met by statistics at all; whether it is not with him simply a question of principle; and whether the number disfranchised, be it large or small, is a question which concerns his argument? The principle embodied in the Bill has a very curious Parliamentary history. It has been four times before the House of Commons, in the last Session and the present, and on each occasion it was opposed very strongly by the late Government, three times on its merits; and though I admit that when the measure was in the House of Lords, after it had left this House, the late Government changed their minds, yet up to the time that the Bill left the House of Commons the late Government were opposing on its merits the principle of the measure. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan), with a cynical disregard of facts, has said—

> "The Conservative majority in the House of Lords have only just now taken advantage of the difficulties we were in with regard to registration to disfranchise wholesale all those working men in rural districts who have had recourse to medical relief; and they do this without notice, at the same time that they are coupling

enfranchisement with medical relief in Ireland."

The repentance of the late Government upon this question was a death-bed repentance; and it was made so late that they could not give the House the benefit of a last dying speech and confession. The House has never heard from any Member of the late Ministry the slightest defence of the relaxation which this Bill proposes; but though such an explanation has not been given in the House, it has been given in an authentic form outside, for it appears that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), after consultation with his Colleagues, announced that the reason why the late Government had changed their minds upon this question was because they were convinced by the debate on the Report of the Registration Bill that the numbers to be disfranchised were so great that, in order to prevent the Reform Bill being a farce, the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. H. Davey) ought to be accepted. The exact words of the right hon. Gentleman were—

> "Now that the full effect of disqualification had been made clear by the discussion in the House of Commons, the Government had decided to accept the Amendment which was carried on the Motion of Mr. Davey."

There was not the slightest trace of that change of opinion shown in the debate; and it would have been very odd if there had been. As far as I can judge from a study of the debate, the only evidence of the large number to be disqualified was given by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch, on the authority of an anonymous correspondent, who asserted that probably one-fifth of the newly-constituted voters would be disfranchised if the Amendment now embodied in this Bill were not carried. The facts which I am about to give to the House will show that it would be more accurate to say one-fiftieth than one-fifth; so that the only reason given by the late Government for its change of opinion is purely imaginary. I may tell the House that there are no statistics in the possession of the Government that would clearly set forth what the House wants to know. Therefore, as soon as I had command of official machinery, I set to work to try and find out what I could on the subject. I wrote to the Inspectors of the Local Government Board in various parts of the Kingdom, asking them to ascertain from representative Unions — urban, semi-urban, and rural—how many male persons above 21 have received medical or surgical relief for themselves, their wives, or their children, in the year ending Lady Day, 1885. [Mr. JESSE COLLINGS: Are they all rural Unions?] I have already said that I asked the Inspectors to give Returns from representative Unions, comprising urban, semi-urban, and rural Unions. I obtained Returns from 124 Unions, with a population of 6,626,000; and in making out the average for these Unions I find that it is 2·5 per 1,000 who have received medical relief. [*A laugh.*] The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) seems to regard the proposition as ludicrous; and the reason may, perhaps, be that he is chiefly acquainted with Birmingham. Out of the 124 Unions from which I have received Returns, Birmingham stands eighth from the top for the amount of medical relief given; and whereas the average for the list was 2·5 per 1,000, for Birmingham it was 7·6. To return to the general question, I have separated, as far as possible, the Unions which are purely agricultural from the Unions which are purely urban; and I find that the rate per 1,000 for purely agricultural Unions is 2·2, and for Unions chiefly, if not wholly urban, it is 2·7, showing that the amount of medical relief given in towns is slightly more than that given in the agricultural districts. [Mr. CHILDERS: Medical relief only?] Medical relief only. Again, I have tried a different system of comparison; I have lumped the two classes together—the almost exclusively agricultural and the semi-urban, and compared these with the purely urban, and the rate in the former is 2·1, with 2·7 in the latter; so that, if we manipulate the figures in that way, we again find that the amount of relief given in the rural and semi-urban districts was slightly less than in the urban. I shall be glad to show the originals of these statistics to any hon. Member who may take an interest in them. I think that inferences of some interest may be drawn from these statistics. In the first place, the particular contention of those who object to the Bill on the ground that, if we take away the stimulus of the vote, people would more readily accept medical relief, is done away with. In the semi-urban districts the number per thousand is slightly higher than in the rural districts, and in the urban districts it is higher than in either. I also draw this conclusion—that there is no ground, on the face of these statistics, for supposing that this Bill would seriously injure friendly societies, because those institutions chiefly flourish in towns. ["No, no!"] I think that is so, where, as I have already stated, the amount of medical relief is higher than it is in the country districts. Nor do I think it would have any serious effect upon friendly societies; because, after all, most friendly societies do much more than give purely medical relief. They give wages during sickness, insurance against death, fees for burial, and so forth, and I do not think that any man would be prevented from joining a friendly society in consequence of the notion that the small fraction of the work of the friendly societies represented by medical relief is going to be done by the rates. I hope we may, therefore, infer from the figures I have given that this measure, in effect, is very much smaller than has been supposed. If that be true, it is also true that under the existing law there are inequalities which it is very difficult to maintain. Those inequalities are of two kinds. They are either natural or accidental, or they are the result of legislation. The natural and accidental inequalities are those which arise from the fact that, in certain boroughs and districts, there are large charities, from which the poorer classes may draw relief without losing their votes; whereas in other districts there are no such charities, and the poorer classes are there either reduced to take the medical relief and to lose their votes, or to sacrifice that relief. The legislative inequalities are of very recent origin, and were introduced by the late Government, not very long ago, in the case of Ireland. In Ireland, as the House is perfectly aware, medical relief does not disqualify; and, therefore, if this Bill does not pass, there can be no doubt whatever that you will have, among the poorer classes of England, a feeling that they are being treated with greater hardship and greater inequality than their Irish fellow-subjects. My right hon. Friend sitting near me the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) warned the late Government that if they gave to people in Ireland who accepted medical relief a vote, they would also have to give it to people who accepted medical relief in England. The late Government were very late, indeed, in learning that lesson themselves. Admitting, as I do, that the Bill removes certain inequalities very hard to defend and maintain, I yet most freely grant that the change which we ask the House to introduce into the Poor Law is one of a most grave and momentous kind, and I fully grant that it rests with the Government to justify the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) has given his views frankly as to why such a Bill is necessary. He has told us that the existing law is a monstrous injustice, an intolerable thing, and an iniquity, although his Friends defended this monstrous injustice, intolerable thing, and iniquity, three times in this House. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Hear, hear!] Those are the views of the right hon. Gentleman; but they are not the views of Her Majesty's Government. If Her Majesty's Government had thought it an intolerable wrong, we should not have tolerated it since 1867. If we had thought it an intolerable thing, we should not have opposed the alteration in the law at the end of this moribund Parliament; and if we had considered the present law to be an inquity, we should have proposed some wider scheme than that suggested, in the first instance, by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. H. Davey), and afterwards embodied in the Bill of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings). Sir, the reasons of the Government are of a different kind. What is the objection which, in the minds of the majority of this House, has so long prevented a relaxation of the law? It has been thought by the House that to disqualify those who are obliged to receive relief out of the rates is a method of teaching the lesson of thrift and self-dependence —a most valuable, if stern and austere lesson. That was the lesson which it was the intention of the law to teach the labouring classes of this country. Does any Member of this House think that, whether this Bill be passed or not, that lesson will continue to be taught?

Does not every Member in this House know that the recent action of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) has entirely altered the position of this question? The lesson tow hich I have referred is no longer taught to the labourers of this country. The labourers no longer say, when they have lost their rights as citizens, and have sunk in the scale of citizenship through want or misfortune—"We will struggle to the best of our ability to restore our position." They no longer say that, but they say a very different thing. They say—"A political Party or class desire to keep us out of our just rights for their own selfish and political ends;" and I hold that that is a lesson not worth teaching to any class of the community. Let me endeavour to make myself clearly understood. The right hon. Gentleman is perfectly aware that the whole strength of the Liberal organization throughout the country, from the Cabinet Ministers of high standing and the future Leaders of the Party down to the humblest wire-puller of the Caucus, has been occupied during the last month in impressing upon the agricultural constituencies of this country that they are kept out of their rights, and that the whole and the sole reason why a particular Party and a particular class are keeping them out of those rights is that purely selfish motives may be served. Instead of the disqualification teaching, as it was intended to do, a stern lesson of the necessity of industry, self-exertion, self-reliance, and self-respect, it now teaches nothing but class prejudice and bitter political feeling. That is the lesson which is being spread abroad by the exertions of the right hon. Gentleman and his followers from one end of the country to the other. The salt of the old law has lost its savour; it is trampled under foot by contending factions; it is fit only to be cast away. I am bound, before I sit down—and I hope it will be admitted that I have not been as long as either of my Predecessors—to say something respecting the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell). It alleges that there is no distinction between the different forms of destitution. My hon. Friend asserts that every kind of destitution, however caused, and however it is to be remedied, ought to be classed together. If my hon. Friend is of that opinion, he ought not only to object to this Bill, but to that provision of the Education Act which enables a child to get education. [Mr. Pell: I did object to it.] My hon. Friend will admit that I am not introducing, from that point of view, any innovation in legislation. I will go further; and I will not only say that the Legislature has drawn a distinction between one kind of destitution and another, but that it has also drawn the particular distinction which the Bill now seeks to enforce. This was done by the Municipal Corporation Acts, when it was enacted that a man who had received medical or surgical assistance from the trustees of some charity should not, on that account, be disqualified from being enrolled as a burgess. Not only have distinctions, therefore, been drawn between one kind of destitution and another, but distinctions have been made between one kind of relief and another long before this legislation was introduced. As a proof of that, I need go no further back than the Irish case. My hon. Friend asks the House to decline to draw a distinction in favour of enfranchising those who obtain relief in the form of medical treatment and those who are compelled to accept it in the form of bread. It is too late to ask the House to do that. The House has drawn such distinction in the most emphatic language. It has done so this very Session. Not only has the House drawn the distinction that my hon. Friend asks it not to draw, but the natural feelings of mankind have drawn a distinction between the case of a man put out of work by some unfortunate accident, but prepared and able to support himself, if helped, and that of a man who gives up the battle of life and asks to be supported out of the rates. I do not say that the distinction is as profound as I should like; but, as I have said, it is a distinction which has not only been recognized by the House, and it is one which is justified by the natural feelings of mankind. No greater proof of that could be shown than in a fact which has come to my knowledge—namely, the circumstance that in more than one constituency at the present time the agents of the two Parties have declined to make medical relief a ground for seeking to take a man's name from the list of voters. I object to my hon. Friend's Amendment, because it asks the House not to do that which it has done more than once in the most emphatic manner; and I also object to it because I think that by the Amendment my hon. Friend is allying himself with those from whom he differs most profoundly. I think the time might come when the hon. Member for Ipswich would say—"Why do not you extend this relief from disqualification on account of the receipt of medical aid to every other kind of aid from the rates, since you have to-night announced that, in your view, there is no distinction between the two cases at all?" If my hon. Friend's object is to defer such an event as long as possible, how can he consistently go into the Lobby and do the very thing that will promote it? The hon. Member for Ipswich contends that because my hon. Friend announces that there is no distinction, in his mind, between medical relief and outdoor relief, both should equally be made no ground for disqualifying voters; and, in his premises, he finds an ally in a Gentleman who differs most profoundly from his conclusion—I mean the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), who belongs to what may be called—I will not say the antiquated, but the ancient school of the Liberal Party The hon. Member draws his creed from the ancient traditions of the Liberal Party, at a time when the Liberal Party held very different opinions from those which they now hold. The hon. Member still believes in what is, perhaps, the most glorious page of Liberal history—he still believes in the Poor Law Act of 1834, and in that belief he stands, as far as I can see, very much alone among his Friends; but how can my hon. Friend, holding that belief, vote for the abolition of the only distinction which now divides us from the removal of all disqualification on account of outdoor relief? I hope that my hon. Friend will turn these things over in his mind before he gives his vote. For my part, I am quite clear as to the vote which I am going to give, and the grounds for it. I do not think that the House ought to be asked to accept any Bill on Party grounds. It is not on Party grounds that I appeal to hon. Members to support the Government in the Lobby to-night. The grounds we take are of a wider kind. We ask the House to throw away the husk now that the kernel has been destroyed. The spirit which has animated the Poor Law, with regard to this matter, has been destroyed by the action of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chamberlain) and his Friends, and all that the Government now wish is to cast away a useless and worn-out machinery.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I have listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman with the greatest possible interest, as I always do listen to his speeches, and I may say that there is no one in the House who is a more sincere admirer of the right hon. Gentleman's ability than I am; but I have listened to him with special interest on this occasion, because there was a mystery about his speech, and I was not able to discover, until the concluding sentences of it, whether the speech was inf avour of the Bill or against it. The right hon. Gentleman told us, in his concluding observations, that he is quite clear as to the way in which he is going to vote; and I think it will come as a revelation to the House, after a speech, the greater part of which has been against the principle of the Bill which the right hon. Gentleman has introduced. The right hon. Gentleman has certainly contrived most admirably to dissemble his love for the Bill, which has been introduced on the authority of the Government of which he is a Member. At the outset of his remarks the right hon. Gentleman said there was no necessity for him to reply to the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings). That appears to me to have been very natural on the part of the right hon. Gentleman, who evidently has very little sympathy with the views of my hon. Friend. Indeed, he has very little sympathy, I am afraid, with the clients of my hon. Friend. At any rate, if he has any sympathy with the agricultural labourers of this country, he has contrived, in a matter which closely concerns them, to keep that sympathy absolutely to himself. Not one word has the right hon. Gentleman said which showed any consideration for the difficulties of this class, the necessities of their condition, the sacrifices they are called upon to make, or the circumstances under which this medical relief becomes necessary; but he has supported the Bill wholly and entirely on the ground that a statement made by me, after the resignation of the late Government, has rendered it impossible for a Conservative Government any longer to offer opposition to it.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD: I referred, not to the late Government, but to the organization over which the right hon. Gentleman presides.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not think the right hon. Gentleman could have paid me, or the organization over which he has mistakenly said that I preside, a compliment for which we can be more grateful than that, in this question, and perhaps in many others, it may control the action of Her Majesty's present Government. Now, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has given us a portion of the history of this discussion, and he has told us, with perfect truth, that the matter has been more or less before the House of Commons on four separate occasions, and that on three of those occasions the continuance of the enforcement of this disqualification was supported from the then Treasury Bench. The right hon. Gentleman is perfectly entitled to whatever credit he can obtain from the fact that he has followed the late Advisers of the Crown. But the right hon. Gentleman has omitted to continue the history. He has omitted altogether to tell the House that when the effect and character of this disqualification became evident, and when a majority of the House of Commons decided that it should be removed, that decision was frankly accepted by the late Government, and when the matter was again raised in the House of Lords the Ministers present in that House supported the decision of the House of Commons, and it was only reversed by a majority of Tory Peers. But even if it be admitted that the Liberal Government were to blame for the view they took at the outset, at all events their repentance came a little earlier than that of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. Their repentance came from information given in the course of the discussion of the matter; but that discussion had no effect upon the right hon. Gentleman or his Friends.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD: We had subsequent information.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Then will the right hon. Gentleman tell us what the information was that subsequently brought him to a real repentant stage? We know what converted us on this side of the House. For my own part, I did not require much conversion, because I had never voted for this disqualification; but, speaking for the late Government as a whole, I may say deliberately that we had no idea that a provision which had existed so long in the boroughs, without serious objection, was open to so much objection when it was to be applied to the new constituencies in the counties. The effect, however, of this provision in the counties had become evident to us, at all events, in the course of the debates; and it was proved to our satisfaction, though not to that of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, that the circumstances of the rural population varied very much from those in the borough constituencies, and that this provision would have a most serious effect in disfranchising many of those whom we desired to enfranchise. Accordingly, these facts were brought to the knowledge of the House of Lords by the then Ministers; but, in spite of that, the House of Lords re-imposed the disqualification which the House of Commons had removed. That was the position of the late Government, and it was a satisfactory and a consistent one, which I am perfectly prepared to defend both here and in the country. But now let us see what is the position of hon. Members opposite and of the right hon. Gentleman himself. Up to the time when the House of Lords, on the Motion of Lord Balfour, re-imposed the disqualification, hon. Members opposite were all of opinion that no case had been made out for its removal. Has any case been made out since? Not a bit. Then, why does the right hon. Gentleman stand up in his place—evidently to show that he does not believe either in the propriety, the morality, or the necessity of the measure, and, nevertheless, to propose it? What does the right hon. Gentleman seek to do? The right hon. Gentleman has been kind enough to attribute the passing of this measure to the personal influence of the humble individual who is now addressing the House. I am very grateful to the right hon. Gentleman. I hope that my personal influence will continue, at all events, as long as a Conservative Government is in Office. But that does not altogether satisfy me. I want to know whether there is any other influence at work with the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends, and what other reason there is for the present Government bringing in this Bill, except my personal influence? What is the reason of the sudden conversion of the Conservative Party on this question? I believe that, as the Conservatives are now in power, they are anxious to show the future agricultural voters that "Codlin is their friend, and not Short." I have nothing more to say. [*Ironical cheers.*] I like to hear those ironical cheers. I take them as a compliment, because they show that hon. Members opposite do not wish me to say anything more, and that, therefore, I have said enough for my purpose as to the history of this matter. I will now turn to the merits of the case. The right hon. Gentleman has given to the House—I confess that I could not follow them very closely—some figures which, he said, were compounded from experience in the boroughs and rural districts. But the House has to look to the figures obtained from the rural districts alone, and not from the boroughs. In fact, this question affects boroughs in but a very slight degree; and, possibly, the boroughs might never have asked for a change of the law in this respect as far as they are concerned. In the counties, however, it is very different. I do not know from what sources the right hon. Gentleman has obtained his information; and, unless we are supplied with a Report from the whole of the country, I venture to think that statistics from selected constituencies will be altogether insufficient and unsatisfactory.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR): I did not select the constituencies from which the figures were obtained.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Possibly I am in error upon that point, and the constituencies have been selected, not by the right hon. Gentleman, but at his instance. There are many other cases besides those which have been cited by the right hon. Gentleman, which are known to me and my Friends, and the information which I have received, shows that, unless this Bill is passed, the disfranchisement, through the reception of medical relief, will be of the most serious character, amounting, in some cases, from 25 to 30, and in others to 50, per cent of the electors. [The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head; but if he reflects for a moment, he must see that that must necessarily be the case. The extent of the disfranchisement must vary in different places and at different times. It varies in respect of the circumstances of a particular character. I have heard of one instance, in which an epidemic of measles broke out in an agricultural district, and the labourers there were invited and pressed to receive medical relief for the purpose of preventing the infection from spreading, and is it to be said that because these people consented to receive that medical relief for the benefit of the community, they are unfit to exercise the franchise, and are to be deprived of all their civil rights? Probably they would have no choice between parish relief and incurring a debt which they could never pay. But, even without these exceptional cases, very strong grounds have been made out in favour of the Bill which the right hon. Gentleman has so unwillingly introduced. I do not care about the motives of the right hon. Gentleman—I am grateful to the Government for having adopted the Radical platform in this and in a good number of other instances. It is a great satisfaction to me, that although I do not admit that this Administration is likely to be very long-lived, yet, at all events, in the course of its brief existence, it has taken its stand upon the Radical platform. I am grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for having introduced this Bill against his will, and I am still more grateful to him for having adopted the clause of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) which makes it retrospective. [*Cries of* "No!"] No; it is not the clause of the hon. Member for Ipswich, neither is this Bill that of the hon. Member for Ipswich; but both the clause and the Bill are singularly like those of my hon. Friend's. Let the present Administration take all the credit they can get for the introduction and passing of Radical measures. I am content to have those measures, and so long as they continue to introduce and to pass them, I shall recognize, in that respect, the advantage of having a Conservative Government in Office.

Mr. FINCH-HATTON: The right hon. Gentleman who has just addressed the House concluded his remarks by congratulating the Government upon having raised Radical politics to a higher plane, and I certainly think that if they can succeed in doing that they will establish no mean claim upon the gratitude of the country. If any proof were wanted of the necessity for it, it will readily be found in the two speeches which have just been delivered on the other side of the House. In rising to make a few observations upon the Bill, I may explain that I do so for two reasons. First of all, that I have the honour to represent one of the largest agricultural constituencies in the Kingdom, and one which will still remain so under the provisions of the new Act; and, secondly, because I have, within the last fortnight or three weeks, addressed that constituency at no less than nine or ten public meetings, and I find that this question is one which commands their undivided attention. I am exceedingly glad, from conviction, to be able to support the Bill of Her Majesty's Government, and, in standing upon that platform, I rather think that I occupy a position which both Parties in the State are trying to attain, but which neither have occupied very long. I am not able to support the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), although, in matters connected with local taxation, I have generally agreed with the views he has expressed. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) seemed to consider the speech of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jessie Collings) as scarcely worthy of attention, and I so far agree with him that I think most of the arguments adduced by the hon. Member in that speech were not worthy of the attention of the House. Nevertheless, as they were not addressed so much to the House as to persons outside of it, and as the speech itself appeared to be intended not so much to convince the House of the merits of the Bill as to convince the country that the political opponents of the hon. Member are the enemies of the working classes, I certainly think that the observations of the hon. Member deserve some notice. I and many other hon. Members on this side of the House, who have lived all our lives among the agricultural labourers, listened with bowed heads to the homily addressed to us by the hon. Member who has lived all his life in towns, but who, nevertheless, takes so much pains to enlighten us from the labourers' point of view as to what they really want. The hon. Member spoke of the cruelty and oppression exercised by Poor Law Guardians, and I understood him to say that with a few honourable exceptions they make it their business to take care of the interests of the ratepayer only, whereas they ought to be the guardians of the poor. Has it ever occurred to the mind of the hon. Member that a person of ordinary intelligence, who desired to do his duty, might possibly be both, and that there is nothing inconsistent in his being the guardian of the ratepayers and also the guardian of the poor. Has it never struck him, when he talked of the poorer class of ratepayers, that these are poor persons who are required to pay rates, and who ought to have their interests guarded just as much as those who receive relief? Many persons who are very poor indeed are nevertheless called upon to contribute towards poor rates, and of my own knowledge I can say that, in the country districts, they form a class who have suffered more than any other during the late depression of agriculture. The fact that the hon. Member must have known of the existence of such persons ought to have convinced him that the guardians of the poor ought not only to study the interests of the pauper, but to watch carefully those of the ratepayer, and in so doing it will, I think, be found that the two duties are not inconsistent with each other. The hon. Member went into a very curious argument, and one which I should not have expected to hear from either side of the House, when he proceeded to describe friendly societies as demoralizing institutions.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS: I am sure that the hon. Member does not wish to misrepresent what I said, but he is absolutely doing so.

Mr. FINCH-HATTON: I wrote down the hon. Member's words at the time.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Will the House allow me to say that I never used the words "friendly societies" throughout the whole of my speech.

MR. FINCH-HATTON: The hon. Member may have said "clubs," which came to the same thing.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Nor "clubs."

MR. FINCH-HATTON: I hope the hon. Member will not draw a verbal distinction as to whether he meant "clubs" or "friendly societies."

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: I neither spoke of clubs, nor friendly societies.

MR. FINCH-HATTON: Friendly clubs, then. I have the words "friendly societies" on my notes, but it may possibly have been "clubs." The hon. Member spoke of clubs to which working men belonged, and I am quite prepared to argue the question out in the House; for I believe I can convince not only the House, but even the hon. Gentleman himself, that what he was talking of was what we generally call "friendly societies."

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Not at all.

MR. FINCH-HATTON: The hon. Gentleman talked about the institutions to which the working classes belonged, but to which they were not able to contribute sufficient themselves to enable them to secure the benefits insured for, and which, therefore, had to be further supported by the subscriptions of charitable individuals. Those were the institutions —call them "clubs" or "friendly societies," or what you will—of which the hon. Member spoke, and he said that they were demoralizing on this extraordinary ground—that, whereas it was demoralizing for a person to accept charity from a private individual, it was not demoralizing to accept what he was pleased to call public charity in the shape of out-door relief. Has it ever struck the hon. Gentleman that charity, to be charity at all, must in its very essence be voluntary? You cannot call the sum wrung from the ratepayers, perhaps against their will, charity; it is an abuse of terms to call it public charity. I understood the argument of the hon. Member to be that, while it is not degrading to accept Poor Law relief, which is public charity, it is degrading for a poor person to accept private charity. Now, I must say that my experience, and I think I am borne out by the experience of human nature, is altogether contrary to that. We constantly find, in the rural districts, persons of the higher and of the lower class who are on terms of perfect friendship, who entertain the greatest respect for each other, and yet the one is constantly in the habit of giving to the other, and the other readily accepts the gift. But we do not find the existence of such a feeling between the Poor Law Guardians and the poor persons who apply for relief. They know, although they may not be able to define the distinction, that in the one case it is charity, because it is given from the heart, but that in the other it is not, because it is wrung from an involuntary contributor. The hon. Member went further, and he charged hon. Members on this side of the House, as if it were a peculiar thing, with lying down at night in warm beds, with the luxury of comfortable pillows. I do not think that that luxury is confined to one side of the House; I should imagine that the beds we occupy are very similar to those occupied by hon. Members opposite, and I do not know that the bed which I myself occupy is warmer than that occupied by the hon. Member. If the hon. Gentleman will allow me to say so, such arguments as these are scarcely fair as between class and class; but they have the effect—I am sure unintentionally—of obscuring the real merits of the question. One word with regard to the merits of the question itself. For my part, although the right hon. Gentleman below me said that, logically, it might be very difficult to separate the two things—medical relief from other Poor Law relief—yet I am perfectly certain that we all of us do see the difference, and that we see it exemplified every day in the working of the Poor Law. We find that, constantly, the great difficulty we have in our agricultural villages is to get the poor to send for a doctor at all; and it is certainly not desirable, by any steps we may take in this House, to add to that difficulty. Then, again, there is a difference between the giving of ordinary Poor Law relief and the medical relief which must be given to persons who live in an infected district. For instance, an epidemic may be raging, or one of those cases may occasionally occur in a labourer's family which the hon. Member has pointed out, and which may be difficult to deal with. The calling in of medical aid from the parochial officer, in such a case, surely ought not to place the person who receives medical relief of that kind in the same category as those who receive it in the ordinary form of Poor Law relief. We must remember that, in all cases, disqualification, whether by the receipt of medical relief or otherwise, is intended to be a deterrent. In one case it is a deterrent to a person from keeping up the battle of life, when by going on he might be able, by his own exertions, to place himself in an independent position ; but in the other it is a deterrent to him from sending for a doctor when overtaken by a sudden visitation. If the hon. Member for Ipswich will allow me to say so, I think the weakest part of his speech was that in which he failed to recognize the great benefit derived by the working classes from an honest independence. A man may be deterred from making an effort to secure an honest independence when he obtains the ordinary Poor Law relief; but that is not the case when the question is simply one of obtaining medical assistance. Perhaps the House will allow me to call attention to a fact which only came to my knowledge within the last few days during my visit to Lincolnshire. It is, however, a fact of some significance, and one which I think the House will do well to bear in mind on future occasions. When a case of this sort comes before a constituency, and the electors of the country generally, it is most important that we should be able to discuss it on its merits, instead of being simply discussed, as has now become necessary, as a mere Party Election cry. I have found it extremely difficult in my constituency to discuss this matter calmly upon its merits with the electors of the division. Even although I am myself able to say that I never voted against this disqualification being removed, but, on the contrary, that before the present Government had given notice of their intention of bringing in a Bill I was in favour of it, the question put to me within the last few days was not—" What are the merits of the question ? " but—" Is it the Tory Party or the Liberal Party who want to deprive a poor man of his vote because he has received medical relief ? " I think that that is not a good example to set; and I am afraid that if I must charge any individual in this House with the responsibility for such a state of things having arisen it is the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain). The right hon. Gentleman has attempted, not, I think, with very much success, to defend the line of conduct which he has thought it right to adopt on this question ; but, curiously enough, he has brought the history of it down only to a certain point. I will venture to remind the House that there was a further stage which the right hon. Gentleman ought to have mentioned. He has carried the history of this question down to the time when it left the House of Lords; but it has since that time again been before the House of Commons. He has said that the conversion of the Members of the late Government was brought about after the previous discussions in the House of Commons, and while the measure was in the House of Lords. He says that that conversion was complete—that as soon as he found there were a number of voters in the counties who would be disqualified by the receipt of medical relief, and who would be greater than in the boroughs—a fact which I understand my right hon. Friend below me (Mr. A. J. Balfour) to deny—[Mr. A. J. BALFOUR : Hear, hear!]—as soon as the right hon. Member for Birmingham became convinced of that, although he has never condescended to explain upon what grounds—and my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board says there are no grounds at all —from that moment he dates the conversion, and the complete conversion, of himself and his Party. The assertion of the right hon. Gentleman is that it was after the Bill left the House of Commons, and while it was undergoing discussion in the House of Lords, that the change was brought about. But when the House of Lords restored the Bill to the condition in which the Government twice insisted upon placing it, the measure came before the House of Commons once more for consideration. The House must remember that this was after the complete conversion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite to the merits of the Bill. But how did the right hon. Gentleman act when the question of rejecting or accepting the Lords'

Amendments came before the House? A final attempt was made to alter the decision of the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, by a majority of 170 to 66, agreed with the Lords' Amendment retaining the disqualification; and among the Members who voted in favour of retaining it were the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) and 12 of the Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), whose complete conversion had been entirely and once for all accomplished on the previous discussion in the House of Commons, and was announced to the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor. Thus, on the first opportunity when that conversion ought to have borne forth the fruits of repentance, when the Lords' Amendment was before the House of Commons and might have been altered, instead of voting for altering it, and voting for what the right hon. Gentleman says was his conviction at that time, all the Members of the Government who were in the House at the time voted in favour of retaining the disqualification. In the light of that historic fact, I must say that the statement recently made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham outside this House appears to me to be one of the most extraordinary ever put forward by a responsible politician. The right hon. Gentleman is reported—and, I believe, correctly—to have said—

> "What the Tories have not dared to do in the House of Commons, they put up their confederates to do in the House of Lords, and by making medical relief a disqualification for the franchise, they took away with the one hand what they gave with the other. This is monstrous injustice. It is an iniquity which, if not set right in this Parliament, it will be the first duty of the new Parliament to correct; and I do not doubt the country will be able to judge between the two Parties in the State."

I do not doubt that they will. I put it to the House whether that speech, if it gave the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, ought not to have read in this manner—" What the Liberal Government have three times done in the House of Commons, the Tories have done in the House of Lords." That is how the speech, to have been a complete exposition of the facts of the case, ought to have read; but that would not have suited the purpose of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham. I think truth is one of the greatest, if not the prime, necessity of English politics, and it has always been held to be so. Of course, I have nothing to do with the reputation of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham. It is neither better, nor worse, as far as I know—except that he is in a more responsible position —than that of many who go about the country imposing upon the credulity of the people. But I do say that I believe that truth is still so valued in English politics that the people of this country will never allow a statesman to lead who has once been convicted of so gross an attempt to mislead. I have risen simply for the purpose of giving one or two reasons for my own wish to support the Bill, and also to lay before the House the significant fact that it has become impossible any longer to discuss the Bill upon its merits in the country, the reason of that impossibility being the perversion of facts—I can call it nothing else—which has been put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham. That has been my task. It will be the task of the right hon. Gentleman to reconcile the statement to which I have referred with the conduct of an honourable and a truthful politician. I cannot conceive a more difficult one.

LORD EDWARD CAVENDISH said, that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had stated in his speech that this question was one of a momentous character. Those were words which, from the subject itself, and from the speeches which followed that of the right hon. Gentleman, appeared to him to be well-advised; and it would have been almost impossible to listen to the three or four last speeches made without thinking that the question had not been discussed in a spirit adapted to the occasion. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Finch-Hatton) said that he would endeavour to give some reason in support of the vote which he would be prepared to give. He (Lord Edward Cavendish) confessed that that was a question which had received for a long time anxious attention on his part; and he had come down that evening to listen to the discussion that would take place, in order to hear the arguments which would be used by Her Majesty's Government to justify themselves in bringing this measure before the House. He should have been very glad indeed to have heard arguments adduced in that debate which would have enabled him to support the measure brought forward; but he regretted to say that that was not the case, and he felt that the Bill was not only not necessary, but that it was a Bill calculated to do a considerable amount of harm. It was calculated still further to increase the difficulties of those administering the Poor Law, who conceived it to be their duty, as far as possible, to relieve only those who were absolutely destitute, never forgetting that there were thousands of ratepayers who were themselves only one degree removed from pauperism. The Poor Law system was of the most delicate and sensitive character; and it seemed to him that if they once introduced the principle contained in the Bill of removing the disqualification for electoral rights of those who received medical relief, they would be destroying one of the great safeguards against pauperism. He had said that he considered this Bill an unnecessary Bill; and for that statement he would briefly give his reasons. For many years he had taken part in the affairs of two probably as large Unions as there were in England, with a large population for the area they covered; and in those two Unions, one of which had a population of 20,000, and the other a larger population, he found that there was not a single instance of medical relief having been given last year in the case of the former, and that in the other Union, with a population of 40,000, or nearly as large as the new constituencies that had been created, there had been only 17 cases of medical relief, and in many of those no vote would have been lost. It was the opinion of the vast majority at the conferences of the Poor Law Guardians, that medical relief was, in numbers of cases, only the beginning of pauperism, and that the spirit of independence being once sapped, resort to the Poor Law for general relief soon followed. The position of the two Unions with respect to medical relief, which he had just referred to, was due to the fact that everyone in them who took an interest in Poor Law affairs tried to induce the poorer population to join provident societies. He believed that the reason why medical relief in those Unions had been so slight was that this system had very extensively prevailed. If that was the case in those two Unions, he failed to see why it should not be so in other parts of the country; and he thought himself justified in saying that if the measure were passed as it would be passed by the two Front Benches, the discouragement that would be caused by reducing the number of persons who joined these provident societies would be most disastrous in its effect upon the country. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board the question how far he intended to go in this direction? Was he prepared to go farther than the Bill before the House? [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, no!] The right hon. Gentleman dissented. It was difficult to say how far the Government would be prepared to go; but they had shown themselves very apt pupils of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) by adopting the measures coming from that side of the House. Was the right hon. Gentleman prepared to carry out the hon. Gentleman's theory—that no Poor Law relief should be a disqualification? If so, he (Lord Edward Cavendish) would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he would have the courage to introduce a Bill to remove every disqualification of the kind? The right hon. Gentleman might be assured that this question would be pressed upon him still further, and that the time would come when he would be obliged to say whether or not he was prepared to extend the franchise to paupers. He regretted that the measure had been introduced at all, and he regretted far more the rivalry which there seemed to be between the two Front Benches to outbid each other in appealing to the prejudices of the people.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he did not wish to give a silent vote on this occasion. It appeared to him from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), as contrasted with what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), that there were still two opinions as to whether this measure would have a large or small operation. His (Mr. Sclater-Booth's) own opinion had always been that it would have a very small operation; and if his right hon. Friend could rely on this Bill as expressing the whole of that which he intended to do, and if he could rely on the existing machinery for carrying it out, he thought its operation would be very small indeed. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham had mentioned a case within his knowledge, where 50 per cent of the population would be disfranchised unless the Bill became law. He gathered that the right hon. Gentleman was alluding to a case in which, owing to an epidemic, a large number of persons were maintained in hospital at the cost of the rates. But he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) would point out that those were cases which would not be met by this Bill. The Bill did not touch them. They were very hard cases, and they were of frequent occurrence in London; and he had always desired to see a change in the law by which the hospitals in London and elsewhere should be treated not as pauper establishments. In reading the provisions of the Bill he was disappointed to find that so little security had been provided as to the mode in which relief would be administered. He entirely trusted the Report of the Inspectors of the Local Government Board, who were as energetic a body of men as it was possible to find, and when they said that only 2 per 1,000 of the population would be brought within the purview of the Bill, he was satisfied that they knew exactly what they meant—that was, that only 2 per 1,000 of the population took medical relief with the addition of medical comforts which supported life, and which, in nine case out of ten, in his experience, accompanied it. But how was the overseer to discriminate between the two cases? He should have thought that the Local Government Board, with its great machinery, would have afforded some assistance in this matter by introducing clauses into the Bill, or by some other means. When they came to consider the Bill further, he thought they ought to look into this part of the subject. When he had the honour to occupy the Office now filled by his right hon. Friend, he was constantly entreated by the advocates of private Poor Law administration to enforce upon Boards of Guardians throughout the country the desirableness of giving medical relief on loan. The subject had been very often discussed, and the doctrines relating to it were very well known. The Union referred to by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) was in his own neighbourhood, and he was aware of the careful administration and watchfulness with which the Guardians had been able to get rid of medical relief altogether. In other Unions, which were not so well administered, that had not been possible, and they had heard of instances referred to by the hon. Members for Devonshire and Somersetshire, where 19 or 20 per cent of the neighbouring population would be excluded from the franchise if this Bill did not pass. Here they had to balance between political considerations, when, at a moment like this, they were enfranchising vast numbers of the people, and the strict doctrines of political economy which, if pushed too far, would sometimes provoke reaction. He had always declined, in his own case, to advocate, by any pressure of General Orders, the enforcement upon the Guardians of the method of giving medical relief on loan, as he had distinctly pointed out that in London and in the large cities in the North there was so much hospital accommodation to be obtained gratuitously that it was absurd to expect a greater amount of political virtue from the inhabitants of villages than was required from the inhabitants of towns. So long as the great London hospitals failed to extract a small payment from persons using the hospitals who were very well able to pay, so long he would not be inclined to put medical relief on the same basis as workhouse relief. At the same time the distinction was a very slight one, and he thought it was for his right hon. Friend to take care that while the Bill went so far it should go no farther. No one in that House, with the exception of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), had advocated the extension of the franchise to out-door paupers. The out-door pauper had been described as a labourer who fell a victim to circumstances and became the recipent of out-door relief. There must be some of that class for whom they all had the utmost sympathy; but the instances were very rare of fathers of families being out-door paupers, and he did not believe that the description given of the outdoor pauper was, in many cases, at all accurate. He felt and believed that more harm would be done by rejecting the Bill than by pushing it forward. He thought that in many parts of the country, under ordinary circumstances, for disqualification in respect of receipt of medical relief, the individual voter would not be so much responsible as the Guardians, who had imperfectly administered the law. Therefore, provided that in case the Bill went on, they were assured that the Local Government Board were prepared, on their responsibility, to secure that the Bill should act in the way that had been described and within the limitations that had been laid down, he was, for his part, content that it should be read a second time.

Mr. COURTNEY: I beg, Sir, to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Courtney.*)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): I hope the hon. Member will not press this Motion. I am quite sure the House will listen to him with that attention that his remarks are certain to deserve, if he will but make them now; and, in that case, I think we might very well conclude the debate this evening. The Bill will be put down as first Order on Tuesday. I hope hon. Gentlemen who are opposed to the Bill—I think I might even appeal to them—will recollect that this matter ought to be decided at once. I think I may certainly appeal to the great majority of the House to allow the debate to be finished to-night.

Mr. PELL said, he hoped the Government would consent to the Motion for Adjournment. He wished to say that he supported it from no desire to defeat the passing of an enactment. It was perfectly well known by those who took an interest in the question that there were several hon. Members who were anxious to address the House on the merits of the Bill, not in any Party spirit, on the one side of the House or the other. As opinions were much more equal on both sides of this question, and as a large amount of support was likely to be given to his (Mr. Pell's) Amendment, he hoped the Government would consent to the adjournment of the debate to enable hon. Members to address the House at some later period.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I do hope the House will support the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in resisting the Motion for Adjournment. After all, although this is a reasonably important question, it is not a complicated one. It is one that lies within comparatively narrow limits, and that has not been discussed to-night for the first time. It has been before the House on several occasions; its bearings are thoroughly well understood. We have had some very able speeches on both sides of the question; we are in a very advanced stage of the Session; and I am quite sure that everybody in the House or out of it will understand the Motion for Adjournment as only meaning an attempt to shelve the Bill. ["No, no!"] No other interpretation can be placed on a Motion of the kind, and I hope that those who, like myself, are sincerely anxious that this Bill should be passed, will resist the Motion for Adjournment as far as ever they can.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, he begged to offer his support to his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his opposition to the Motion, but upon precisely opposite grounds. He was one of those who objected to the Bill, and who intended to vote against it; but he appealed to the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) and the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Courtney) not to give any colour to the belief that might be created that this was a factious opposition. His opposition — and, he believed, that of his hon. Friend (Mr. Pell)—was one of principle, and he did not desire to delay the measure from any improper motive. He was prepared to state why he could not support the Bill, and, when the next stage was reached, should certainly do so. The House would listen with great attention to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), if he liked to make his speech now; or he could make it on the Motion, "That Mr. Speaker do leave the Chair," and he would find the House equally attentive. He (Mr. J. G. Talbot) was sure the sense of the House was in favour of taking the second reading that night.

Mr. BRODRICK said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would accept the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Liskeard. The right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary had said the merits of the question were thoroughly understood; but he (Mr. Brodrick) begged most distinctly to say that, so far as he was personally concerned, he supported the Motion solely on the ground that the bearings of the question were not, so far as he could see, fairly understood at this moment. He did not desire to go into the merits of the Bill in the smallest degree. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Balfour) had stated, on the authority of statistics, that no more than 2 per 1,000 of the population would be disfranchised for receiving medical relief; but a right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chamberlain) had stated a proposition the reverse of that — that, in fact, 30 or 40 per cent of the voters would be disfranchised in some districts. That was a discrepancy which almost made it necessary that the House should have still further time to consider the matter. He was quite sure that nothing like factious opposition was intended by the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Liskeard, and if the hon. Gentleman went to a division, he should certainly support him.

MR. HENEAGE, who rose amid cries of "Divide!" said, it was all very well to cry "Divide!" but there were some of them who fought this question when it was not so popular as it was now, and who had fought it on every occasion they could — even when they had the two Front Benches against them. They had to thank neither of the two Front Benches for the position they were now in. He did hope the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would stand to his guns, and that even though it might be necessary to go on dividing until 4 o'clock, he would not allow this obstruction to succeed.

MR. ACKERS said, he rose to support the Motion for Adjournment. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] He did so on the ground— [*Loud and continuous cries of* "Divide!"] He thought that those Gentlemen who desired to make progress with the Bill had better hear him patiently, for he was determined to remain there until they were silent. This Motion for Adjournment was a right and proper one, because they had heard from the right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary that he was in favour of the Bill, and he thought the House ought to hear from so high an authority in the late Government the reasons which had induced him to change his opinion on this subject. There were many other hon. Members on the other side of the House as well as on that (the Ministerial) side who desired the adjournment. He earnestly hoped, therefore, that in the interests of those who desired to pass the Bill, as well as those who desired that justice should be consulted before expediency, the House would consent to the adjournment of the debate.

Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned," put, and *negatived.*

MR. HEALY said, he wished to say one word before the House divided. The Bill proposed a disqualification in connection with the Poor Law Guardians which had never existed before. He considered it unfair to introduce that disqualifying provision, and the Government, he thought, should take care that the Bill was a qualifying one, and did nothing of a disqualifying character. In Ireland, under the existing law, questions bearing upon Municipal and Poor Law elections were decided by the Court of Queen's Bench, and there was no disqualification before that Court on account of receipt of medical relief. They now said that this Bill should apply in all cases except to elections for Poor Law Guardians. So far as he knew there never had been such a disqualification, and it appeared to him to be a most absurd thing in a Bill of this character to pass such a law by reason of the construction of a Statute which had never existed before. In Committee, he should ask the Government to pass a provision declaring "that the Bill shall not disqualify in any case where no previous disqualification existed."

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 279; Noes 20: Majority 259.—(Div. List, No. 232.)

Main Question again proposed.

MR. COURTNEY said, he had lost his right to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice, and he did not wish to make a speech upon it now. He rose for the purpose of asking the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he would so arrange that the Motion to go into Committee on the Bill should be put down as the first Order, so that they might have a fair discussion on that occasion? He did not suppose that the Committee stage itself would occupy a very long time; and, under the circumstances, he did not think his request was unreasonable.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Yes, Sir; we will put the Bill first for Tuesday.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* next.

BANKRUPTCY (OFFICE ACCOMMODATION) [PAYMENT OF DEFICIENCY].

COMMITTEE. RESOLUTION.

Matter *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, of any deficiency which may arise in the Bankruptcy Estates Account, in consequence of the payment by the Treasury of sums for providing office accommodation for officers appointed under "The Bankruptcy Act, 1883."

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

BANKRUPTCY (OFFICE ACCOMMODATION) BILL.—[Bill 215.]

(*Sir Henry Holland, Baron Henry De Worms.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Mr. WHITLEY said, he desired some explanation of the Bill. He had understood that the object of the measure was to meet a possible deficiency in the working of the Bankruptcy Act. On reading the Bill, he found it was intended that the expense of providing office accommodation was to be met out of the funds of bankrupts estate. There was, however, the further provision that in case of an insufficiency in the funds of the bankrupt estates, the requisite amount was to be made up by the Consolidated Fund. Now, they had already taken a very heavy Vote for Bankruptcy, and he contended that there was no surplus until all the expenses had been provided for. A Bill, therefore, which proposed to provide for the expensive construction of Bankruptcy Courts out of the funds of bankrupt estates, and to charge on the Consolidated Fund any deficiency there might be, was one which ought to be very carefully watched by the House. Before they went into Committee, he would like to know what was the estimate of the cost of the buildings for Bankruptcy offices throughout the Kingdom? It was a very serious thing if, in addition to the very heavy Vote to supply the deficiency in connection with Bankruptcy, the taxpayers of the country were to be called upon to meet an indefinite expenditure for the erection of Bankruptcy offices. He did not think hon. Members would be doing their duty to the people of the country if they did not obtain some idea from the Government as to the probable amount which would be extended on buildings, and as to the sum the Consolidated Fund would have to supply.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Sir Henry Holland) said, it would be observed that, in the first place, there must be a surplus on the Bankrupt Estates Account, and that, in the second place, there was a large discretion given to the Treasury as to whether they would allow any of the surplus to be expended in the erection of buildings. The Treasury would also have ample discretion as to what sums should be expended in providing office accommodation. The amount of accommodation required was under the consideration of the Board of Trade, and the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Whitley) might rest assured that the Treasury would not grant any part of the surplus for a building which was not required, and that they would closely check the expenditure. If the surplus was not sufficient to meet the demand, the Consolidated Fund was to be made liable, and he must ask his hon. Friend to place some reliance upon the discretion of the Treasury, and upon their care that the money would not be wastefully expended.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Provision of office accommodation out of surplus funds payable to Treasury under 46 & 47 Vic. c. 52, s. 76).

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

POOR LAW UNIONS' OFFICERS (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

[BILL 214.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

COLONEL NOLAN said, he would like to know who had asked for the Bill? It was hardly possible to conceive a case in which the "a" portion of the 2nd clause could arise. He would really like to know what was the case contemplated by the clause? There was a most dangerous provision for shortening the notice. He (Colonel Nolan) was Chairman of two Unions, and he was proposed as Chairman of a third, but was beaten by two votes. The *ex officio* Guardians were in favour of the abolition of the Union, while the elected Guardians, who voted for him, were for keeping up the Union. It was possible that the Bill would be put in force in that case.

MR. HEALY said, that, some months ago, he was asked by the officers of the Newport Union, in County Mayo, to point out in the House the hardship of their position. Their Union had been amalgamated with the Westport Union; and they asked why they should not have some compensation on the abolition of office? It was not in the power of the Local Government Board, or the Guardians, to allow any payment out of the rates in such circumstances. As the Bill enabled Guardians to make some compensation, if they saw fit, he thought it marked a great advance upon the Bill brought in a couple of years ago to enable superannuations to be given to the Union officers. The previous Bill was one which put the power into the hands of the Local Government Board, and gave the local Guardians no power whatever in the matter. By this Bill, they had compelled the Government to come down from their high perch and give power to local Guardians.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had anticipated the explanation of the Bill he (Mr. Holmes) had intended to give. It would be observed that there was nothing in the Bill which enabled any Union to be abolished. That was done by different legislation, and when it was done, hardship was very often done to the officers. The object of the Bill, therefore, was to supply a superannuation. In those cases, as the House was aware, under ordinary circumstances, the holder of an office which was abolished was entitled to some kind of superannuation; he was also similarly entitled if he were obliged to resign on account of infirmity. Instead of giving the power, which was done, he believed, by the Bill to which the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Healy) had alluded, to the Local Government Board, it was left in the hands of the Guardians themselves. This was evidently a harmless Bill, but eminently a just Bill. He respectfully asked the House to allow it to pass.

MR. SEXTON said that the former Bill referred to by the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Holmes) gave compulsory powers to the Local Government Board; but this was a much narrower and different Bill. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had not made himself clear whether the process of amalgamation was intended to be carried out to any large extent. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had already mentioned the case of the amalgamation of the Newport and Westport Unions. He (Mr. Sexton) was aware that there was a very strong and indignant feeling amongst the ratepayers in the Oughterard district, because of a proposed amalgamation of their Union with an adjoining Union. It might be said that the Bill was one thing and the amalgamation of Unions another thing; but the introduction of this Bill might be regarded as a justification for many amalgamations. He thought the House was entitled to some explanation from the Government why the amalgamations referred to were thought desirable in the face of local opinion. He begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. MOLLOY seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Colonel NOLAN said, he thought the Government ought to give some answer in regard to the case of the Oughterard Union, with which he was well acquainted, and in regard to the Newport Union, with which he was not well acquainted. The Government ought to disclaim that the introduction of this Bill was supposed to amount to the sanction of the House of Commons to the proposed amalgamations.

Mr. HEALY said that Newport assented to the amalgamation. He was sent a copy of a resolution, asking not only that the amalgamation should take place, but declaring that, if it did not take place, they would cease to pay the poor rate.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Holmes) said, that, as far as he could gather, this Bill was introduced to meet the hardship to which the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had called attention. If the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) would allow the Bill to go through Committee, the third reading should be put down for some day next week, by which time his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland might be able to give some explanation on the subject.

Colonel NOLAN asked if the right hon. and learned Gentleman could not ascertain the facts by Monday, as he (Colonel Nolan) would like to refer to the matter on the Vote for the Local Government Board?

Mr. SEXTON said, he would ask for leave to withdraw the Motion; but he thought it would be well to report Progress at once.

Motion, by leave, *wihdrawn.*

Original Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee; Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

HONORARY FREEDOM OF BOROUGHS BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' REASON.

Lords' Reason for disagreeing to the Amendment made by the Commons *considered.*

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he rose to move that the House do insist upon its Amendment. This was a Bill brought forward to enable boroughs to confer honorary freedom upon distinguished persons. When the Bill came back, it was found that an Amendment had been put in it, that a majority of two-thirds should be required in order that the power might be exercised. Objection was taken to that, on the ground that such a principle was entirely novel; that there was no such regulation in any Corporation in the country, nor in the City of London. It was alleged that the power of conferring the honorary freedom upon persons of distinction, or any persons who had rendered eminent services to a borough, being of a purely complimentary character, ought not to be exercised by a bare majority, inasmuch as the conferring of the freedom of the borough, without the support of a largely preponderating force of opinion among the burgesses, would, by giving rise to frequent and unnecessary discussions upon personal merits, lower the character of the distinction which was contemplated by the Bill, and lead to an undue consumption of public time. It seemed to him that the proposal of the Lords was more likely than the Amendment of the Commons to lead to undue consumption of public time. He, therefore, moved that this House do insist on its Amendment.

Motion made, and Question put, "That this House doth insist upon the Amendment to which the Lords have disagreed."—(*Mr. H. H. Fowler.*)

The House *divided:*—Ayes 35; Noes 40: Majority 5.—(Div. List, No. 233.)

COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ferguson.*)

[BILL 26.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Waugh.*)

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he must ask to apologize to the House for rising to move the re-commitment of the Bill, in respect of a new clause. As a matter of fact, his attention had only just been called to a possible danger which might result from the operation of the Bill—namely, the inclosure of certain waste and common lands. Hon. Members would be aware that in many manors there existed a custom, with the consent of the copyholders, of inclosing the waste, and as long as the copyholders were unanimous, the danger was very small. But he understood that if the Bill passed in its present form, it would be possible for the lords of manors to continue to deal with the waste for the purpose of creating new copyholds; and there would be much greater danger of inclosing waste and commons under the Act, than there was at the present time. He proposed therefore to add a clause to the Bill, to the effect that after the passing of the Act it should not be lawful for a lord of the manor to create any new copyhold. That clause appeared to him to be in harmony with the Bill, the object of which was to convert copyholders into freeholders. The object he had in view was to prevent lords of manors, after the passing of the Bill, having any greater facilities than they had now for creating new copyholds.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the words "Bill be" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "re-committed in respect of a new Clause."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. ELTON said, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), having discovered a microscopic grievance in this case, proposed to apply a heroic and drastic remedy. If there was a real apprehension on the part of the right hon. Gentleman that this sort of inclosure would occur at a future time, he (Mr. Elton) was quite unable to imagine why the right hon. Gentleman could not take the usual course of amending one of the Inclosure Acts. It was true that, in one or two manors, there was the custom of the lord of the manor, with the consent of the copyholders and freeholders, inclosing little bits of waste, and that had been declared by the Master of the Rolls to be a valid custom. Being thus established, it was a valuable right, although it was a right which was very rarely used. But notwithstanding that the right existed, the right hon. Gentleman proposed to abolish it, without making any provision for compensation. He (Mr. Elton) thought that some proposal on this subject might be sought from the Inclosure Commissioners. While he admitted that the intention of the right hon. Gentleman was meritorious, he entirely disagreed with the manner in which his proposal was made. He did not want to put his objection on technical grounds; but he would point out that the House had before it a large measure for converting copyholds into freeholds; that the subject had been discussed for three or four years under different forms, and that the Motion which the House was asked to accept by the right hon. Gentleman would insure the rejection of the Bill in "another place." He hoped the House would not assent to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman to re-commit the Bill, and that they would hear from his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General some arguments in support of that view.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) said, he desired to supplement the remarks of the hon. and learned Member who had just spoken (Mr. Elton), and to point out to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) that there was really no practical danger of the kind he had suggested. He (the Attorney General) perfectly well understood the intention of the right hon. Gentleman, and he quite agreed that he was prompted in this matter by laudable motives in wishing that there should be no more inclosure of waste land; but he would point out that a person who was made a freeholder would have the same right to interfere then as he had before; and he could assure him that this Bill, which was for the purpose of enfranchising copyholds, could have no operation of the kind which he apprehended. He should say, from his own experience, that freeholders were more likely than copyholders to object to inclosure; and as he did not think the right hon. Gentleman would gain anything by the clause he proposed to move if the Bill were re-committed, he would suggest that it would be better that the Motion for re-commitment should be withdrawn.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Am I right in understanding the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that an enfranchised copyholder will have the same right as he had before he was enfranchised?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: Certainly, as I understand the law.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Am I to understand that the enfranchised copyholder will have the right to appear at homage and object to inclosure?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: I did not say "appear at homage" at all. I said he could object to the inclosure, and the decision of the homage would not be binding on him.

MR. GRANTHAM said, the language of the clause was "every inclosure by a copyholder." Now, where there was a small piece of waste land which had been added to the copyhold existing as it did, the copyholder should have that small piece entered. This Amendment would prevent that. It would not apparently touch the case of a new copyholder.

MR. BRYCE said, the hon. and learned Member for West Somerset (Mr. Elton) was an authority on the subject of copyholds; and, as he (Mr. Bryce) understood, the hon. and learned Member did not assent to what the Attorney General stated—namely, that the enfranchised copyholder would retain his right to oppose an inclosure. It was an important point, and the Amendment should be accepted in the interest of the preservation of commons near London. He did not think the House would be well advised if it were to allow even a small piece of common to be inclosed. They had reason to regret that they had awakened so late to the importance of stopping the inclosure of commons; and henceforth the inclosure of no part of a suburban common should be permitted. It had been suggested that a Bill should be brought in to amend the Inclosure Acts. Well, every Session of the present Parliament a Bill on that subject had been brought in by the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James), but it had never got to a second reading, having been persistently blocked by some reactionary Members. If he were told to wait for the passing of that measure, he would answer that he would prefer not to look to the two birds in the bush, but to keep the one in the hand, in the shape of the Amendment of the Bill of the hon. Gentleman beside him (Mr. Waugh).

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 42; Noes 24: Majority 18.—(Div. List, No. 234.)

MR. J. W. LOWTHER said, he desired to move the Amendment which stood on the Paper in his name.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman would not be in Order in moving it now. The Question that I have to put is, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 17th July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Copyhold Enfranchisement* (185); Public Health (Ships, &c.)* (186); Marriages (Saint John, Cowley)* (187); Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (No. 2)* (188); Land Purchase (Ireland) (184).

Second Reading—Local Government Provisional Order (Municipal Corporations)* (166); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3)* (167); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7)* (168); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9)* (169); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders* (170); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 5)* (173); Metropolis Management Acts Amendment* (162); Local Loans (Sinking Funds)* (175).

Committee — Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6)* (153).

Report—Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2), now Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (65); Archdeaconries, now Ecclesiastical Commissioners (No. 2)* (180); Tithe Rent Charge Redemption* (165).

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BOARD SCHOOLS (METROPOLIS).

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

LORD NORTON, in moving for a Return of secondary instruction, in day schools for boys, now being given in London—namely, Number of boys being taught any of the subjects called Specific in the Code; number over 10 years of age, and of the highest age, number of teachers engaged in such instruction, or teachers of special subjects; the maximum and minimum salaries of such teachers; number of elementary or higher schools in which such instruction is given; and how many of them have laboratories or apparatus for experimental lectures, said, that at this period of the Session he would not attempt to go into the whole question, but would merely call attention to the subject, which was of great importance, and which should be dealt with without delay. The Return moved for would show, from the sample of boys' schools in London, how the secondary education of England, the deficiency of which was reported by the Commissioners of 1868, was being wrongly undertaken by the public elementary schools, wastefully and injuriously competing, by an extravagant use of public money, with independent schools. They were superseding and overlapping much of the work better done from private resources, or self-supported, in schools for higher instruction, following after elementary preparation. That the public elementary schools, under the Act of 1870, were not intended for secondary instruction was clear from all debates on the subject. The author of the Act of 1870, Mr. W. E. Forster, lately re-asserted the first intention, and considered that departure from it involved a disregard of many parents' claims to their children's industry, and an unwarranted assumption of general taxation for education of all kinds in this country. The first explanatory Circular from the Department, after the passage of the Act, strictly limited the public undertaking to elementary teaching. The Code now showed a wide departure, offering instruction in three schedules of subjects, the first only being called elementary; a second called class subjects, which the revised instructions just issued declared ample to form those habits of observation and reasoning which were needed for the intelligent conduct of life; and a list besides called specific subjects, which were described as beyond the scheme of ordinary elementary instruction. But the London School Board were eager to go further, and had expressed regret at their delay in embracing secondary education altogether, and at Provincial towns having preceded them. They said they looked to the coming Election to force on this general undertaking. Might it not rather give a better promise, in foreshadowing schemes of county government, of a possible revision of our national education, relegating each portion of it to its proper province? Public Departments were naturally ambitious, and school boards had drifted into excess from their large command of public money and a magnificent idea that to do anything by halves was beneath their dignity. The Government seemed equally liberal in their view, offering to open the Treasury to make grants to Wales for three Colleges, besides intermediate schools between them and the elementary schools, on the score of Welsh poverty, and offering a duplicate establishment to Scotland on the score of Scotch educational superiority. Thus opposite reasons were assigned for the common object of Government undertaking. If the State was to undertake the secondary education of this country, it should not be done covertly, wastefully, and imperfectly, in elementary schools, but openly and completely by public secondary schools throughout the Kingdom. If this was not to be, the present attempt should be stopped in time from encroaching on independent undertakings. There were many reasons against a public provision for our secondary education in England. It would be repugnant to general feeling not yet seduced by offers of the the public purse. Parents of the middle classes preferred independent education for their children. The Commissioners of 1868 condemned a rate-paid system as injuriously weakening the sense of parental obligation. At a late inauguration of a Day School Company there were high authorities taking this view. Lord Aberdare joined this independent enterprize—

> "Because he felt sure this country would never submit to a system of middle-class schools supported by taxes and controlled by the State."

Mr. Forster added that—

> "We did not look to rate-paid or tax-helped education for children whose schooling went on beyond the age of 14."

Lord Carlingford, then President of the Council, said that—

> "What they were dealing with was not what the Education Department had to do with."

And others of great practical experience agreed that the ground they were on could not be effectively occupied otherwise than by such private undertakings in England, and that schemes such as this might be made wide enough for all the needs of the country. The Commissioners of 1868 gave another reason against Government undertaking—

> "That it was most undesirable, even if possible, to have such schools moulded in one type. Any attempt at securing the same subjects to be taught, the same method of organization to be followed, the same discipline to be adopted for all our middle-class schools would fail of the highest objects of education."

The want of freedom and elasticity and of adaptation to various situations and circumstances; the loss of all advantage from special aptitudes of teachers; the being tied to same standards and textbooks imperatively used to meet the Code, all belonged to an educational system foreign to our national requirements. The cost of such a Government undertaking, even in its present incipient state, whether applied to a few children in each elementary school, or to groups in super-elementary schools, was producing a ratepayers' outcry hazarding the whole cause of national education. Already the school rate of London had gone up from 3*d.* to over 9*d.* in the pound. If allowed to proceed, the present Estimate of £7,000,000 a-year would have to be doubled; and, if offered freely, which meant to all at public expense, trebled. Nor would this be all. When Mr. Mundella took credit to his Department for the decrease of crime in the country he forgot all the reformatory and industrial schools outside his Department to which it was more attributable. The multiplicity of institutions necessary to a complete State system was another objection of which they were amply warned by the example of the Continent, as described and recommended by the Technical Commission. But the greatest objection to the Government undertaking our secondary education was its adopted mode of payment on results. The London School Board had condemned this method as fatal to education. They took the Treasury payments to general account, and by fixed salaries saved their teachers from the temptation of earning a livelihood by prizes got out of their pupils. The overpressure, so absurdly tested by medical cases, was an inseparable feature of such a method of payment for education by an ascending scale of prizes earned through crammed-up scholars. The Board had Inspectors of their own to report on the whole school work. It was payment on results that excluded religious teaching, to which public grants could not be attached. To bring secondary education on to such a system would be a national disaster. But could it be otherwise better supplied? Would sufficient independent supply be forthcoming? The Technical Instruction Commissioners, who had just reported, and the Commissioners of 1868, agreed in showing how much was already provided by independent foundations and private establishments. Both also agreed in looking to much unused endowment being made further available. There was, then, only a residue of deficiency to be supplied. To meet this, both suggested that more power might be given to towns to rate themselves voluntarily for the purpose. But the Commissioners of 1868 proposed this only as a last resort, failing all further independent supply; the Technical Commissioners, as a part of an entire public educational undertaking, to which independent supply was only contributory. They assumed such a State system to be the object in view; and their main idea of national education altogether seemed to be to make our trade and manufactures meet foreign competition. They were commissioned to report on the instruction of industrial classes in foreign countries, for comparison with, and suggestions on, our own system. Their opening text was the formidable display of manufacturing improvements in the Paris Exhibition of 1878; and they took the foreign State system of education as their model. Yet it was remarkable that they traced the foundation of the Continental technical schools to a dread of British superiority, and concluded that, great as had been the progress and keen as was their rivalry, our people still maintained their position at the head of the industrial world. Secondary education they almost exclusively discussed as preparatory to technical instruction. It really was something much wider—namely, a general education of children from the age of 14 to 18, preparing them for industrial employment higher than the manual work for which others left school at 14. They seemed to think all manual work a degradation from which all children should be delivered. The special training for skilled employment was what the spirit of this country would not fail to supply. For this we should rather look to the State standing out of the way than interfering. It had already gone far in impeding much fitter institutions than its own for the purpose. At Liverpool a finely endowed College was being deserted for the cheaper offer of similar instruction in elementary schools at public expense. The Manchester Grammar School now dwindled under the competition of a rate-paid elementary rival. That any independent higher schools could compete with the unlimited resources of school boards for buildings, appliances, and salaries, proved the superior attraction of independent teaching. At Leeds the Grammar School adherents had baffled the ambition of the Board. In Birmingham large endownments had completely undertaken middle-class education. The Day School Companies, handicapped as they were at starting, had proved successful, popular, and even profitable. But the effort and skill required in the struggle was great. The Government deny that the board schools competed with the middle independent schools. As their scholars could not earn grants after passing their Standards once they were let go at the utmost age of 14. They therefore said that, at present, they had not got the children who continued schooling till 18. Some specific subjects also had been put down on the lower paid list, and were consequently dropped. Elementary examination had also been continued always in company with secondary examination, and much artificial display was so abandoned. There were shifts to meet the rising outcry. But all this was only to confess the sham of their undertaking the province of higher instruction; yet it none the less hindered better provision. It was also a covert advance towards the complete State system. Let the State provide free exhibitions for poor clever children from its elementary to the secondary schools, which were, and would be much more, if unimpeded, independently provided. If this Return gave the evidence he anticipated he would move a Resolution on it next Session. The noble Lord concluded by moving for the Return of which he had given Notice.

Moved for, Return of secondary instruction in day schools for boys, now being given in London:

	Public Elementary Schools.		Independent Schools.	
	Board	Voluntary	Endowed	Companies'.
Number of boys being taught any of the subjects called Specific in the Code				
Number over 10 years of age, and of the highest age				
Number of teachers engaged in such instruction, or teachers of special subjects				
The maximum and minimum salaries of such teachers				
Number of elementary or higher schools in which such instruction is given				
How many of them have laboratories or apparatus for experimental lectures				

—(*The Lord Norton.*)

The LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Viscount Cranbrook) said, that everybody was aware of the great interest which the noble Lord had for so long taken in education, both elementary and secondary; and, therefore, his remarks were listened to with the respect they deserved. His opinion, however, differed on this question from that of the noble Lord, and he spoke from experience gained from a general knowledge of the subject. He agreed with his noble Friend that the elementary system was not meant to give secondary education, and that at present all authorities on educational matters, and also all economical authorities, were equally opposed to giving secondary education at the expense of the country. He, however, failed to see how that fact advanced the object which the noble Lord had in view, which was, as he understood it, not to go now into the question of secondary education as a State system, but merely to show how the present system of elementary education was extended beyond the sphere allotted to it until it became secondary education on a large scale. As their Lordships knew, there were Seven Standards now instead of six, which were entirely confined to elementary education. But it was not to be supposed that reading, writing, and arithmetic were mere mechanical processes, and were not to imply reading of subjects giving information or writing something to improve the mind. The security that they had in the matter, however, was that when a child had once passed its Seventh Standard its further education was entirely at its own expense. If the noble Lord could show that the very small number indeed who endeavoured to get education which was beyond that included in the Standards injured the teaching in the schools, then he would, no doubt, have a strong argument to induce the Education Department to stop the system. But that was not the case; and if a child was able to advance beyond the school Standard, and at his own cost learn something beyond, he did not think that anyone could complain of that. The object of the Education Act was to carry into effect that which was supposed to be elementary education, and no child could be examined in specific subjects unless the school the year before had passed 70 per cent of its pupils. This, therefore, acted as a direct check in insuring that the mere formal elementary education was conducted upon right principles and in an effective manner. Besides that, they had merit grants, which further tended to insure the teaching of elementary education, of which an experienced Inspector said that they prevented waste of time in over-taxing memories by cramming text books on physiology, etc. The noble Lord's Return related to the Metropolis. He had not the figures relating to London; but he could give their Lordships figures with respect to the country generally. There were 28,000 departments in the country, and of those only 2,000 took specific subjects. Out of the 4,300,000 children on the books of the schools, there were only 33,226 who passed in one specific subject, and 12,804 who passed in two. There was no intention on the part of the Department to extend secondary education at the expense of the country, but rather to check any tendency to do so, and it remained to be proved that good secondary schools were required—indeed, it seemed evident that well-conducted ones had been an immense success, and some re-organized by the Charity Commission were most efficient. He could not conceive that these class subjects and specific subjects, of which English must always be one, could in any degree interfere with elementary education.

EARL FORTESCUE said, he thought there was some inconsistency in the account given by the noble Viscount, for if Latin, French, and algebra were taught, *inter alia*, in so-called elementary schools, surely there was some tendency to travel towards the education of middle schools. One remarkable feature about this State and rate-aided education was that it was extremely difficult to find out what it cost—the items were scattered over so many different Estimates. He objected to the present amount of secondary education given with rate and State aid, as unjust to the ratepayers and taxpayers, and as demoralizing to those who took advantage of it. He was very glad to hear that the Government had no intention of extending this system, especially as he remembered that Mr. Mundella had expressed a hope that public opinion would advance in this matter, and that secondary education would before long come under the action of the State.

Motion *agreed to*.

Return ordered to be laid before the House.

DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE—DEFENCE OF COMMERCIAL PORTS AND SEASIDE HARBOURS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

EARL COWPER in rising to call attention to the insufficiently defended condition of our commercial ports and seaside towns; and to ask Her Majesty's Government whether they did not think that this condition should be remedied; and, if so, what measures they were themselves prepared to take for the purpose, and also what measures they thought should be left to voluntary effort? said, that he had no intention at all of making any attack either upon the present or the late Government. The present Government had been much too short a time in Office to enable them to take any steps; and with regard to the late Government, he had not the necessary skill or knowledge of the subject to make such an attack, and if he had he should not be inclined to use it in that direction. They had all listened with great interest to the statement of the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) the other evening, and they must all come to the conclusion that he had made out a very good case for himself, and that he had done in his turn of Office more than most of his Predecessors in the way of improving our Navy. His only object in asking this Question was to obtain information from the Government as to what was likely to be done for the defence of those parts of our coasts which some people considered might be attacked by foreign aggressors. The information would be very useful to the public, and it would be very useful to those seafaring men who were willing to volunteer for the defence of our coasts, as well as to those of the public who were unable to give their time, but were willing to give money, for a similar purpose. It could hardly be denied that it was necessary that our chief ports and our seaside towns should be put in a state of defence. The only people who at all denied this were those who maintained that in time of war an unfortified town would be respected by the enemy, and that our seaside towns might, therefore, safely remain in their present defenceless condition. He would remind such that very eminent men had expressly warned them against any such idea, and they all saw in the Franco-Prussian War what large sums were levied upon unprotected towns by way of ransom. The more he looked into the question of International Law, the more he was convinced that it was the undisputed right of an enemy to levy contributions on unprotected towns. If an enemy's ships were anchored opposite a defenceless town there was no doubt they would levy such contributions as they could get. They, therefore, who were trusting for protection to International Law were relying upon a vain hope. Very probably he might be told that the Government had not had time to consider so great a subject as the defence of the coasts of these Islands and our Colonies in all its bearings, and that it was inexpedient for different reasons to divulge what it was intended to do. He should, therefore, confine his remarks to that part of the subject in which Volunteer aid might be largely employed. The defence of our coasts was divided between the War Office and the Admiralty. The War Office had charge of all the submarine mines and everything connected by wire with the mainland, however distant it might be, while everything in the shape of vessels and torpedo boats not connected with the shore was managed by the Admiralty. This divided authority might be found a serious difficulty in a sudden emergency. He believed, with respect to the mines, that under the auspices of Lord Hartington and the noble Earl a system of working them with volunteered assistance had already been instituted. Mines, however, were not sufficient in themselves; it was necessary to have torpedo boats in order to prevent the enemy from destroying these mines. In connection with the question of the Volunteer system, he wished first to call attention to the men. There were already a few corps of Naval Volunteers, which did not even receive a capitation grant, or any great encouragement. Everyone who knew anything about them knew the energy, courage, self-sacrifice, and intelligence which they showed. They were recruited in some cases from the valuable seafaring population of our ports. He would like to know from the noble Earl opposite whether there was any hope of these men receiving a capitation grant like other Volunteers; and, secondly, whether there was any hope that they would be increased in number as work was found for them to do? He hoped that the Government would see their way to employing these Volunteers without limiting them to any particular number. As regarded the material, torpedo boats would be necessary for use at all sea-coast towns, if they were to be properly defended. These boats might either be paid for by private subscriptions, or be provided by the Government, or else Government might assist in providing them. On this point, he would be glad of some information from the Government. A great deal was to be said in favour of voluntary enterprize, In these days they were all inclined to trust too much for everything to the Government and Government interference; and he believed that it was the recognition of this danger that had united both sides, both of their Lordships' House and of the House of Commons, in their wish to make some effort in favour of decentralization in the form of local government. But local government would not necessarily cure the evil. The real cure lay in the extension of the voluntary principle. With regard to the voluntary principle, as applied to the defence of the country, he did not think it necessary to say anything. The Volunteer Force had been in existence for 25 years now; and without much encouragement, and in spite of a great deal of coldness, opposition, and ridicule, it had attained immense proportions in the country, and everyone was now convinced of the reality of the movement. Some people had said, with regard to the movement, that the services should be given gratis; but that the public or the Government should find the money necessary. He could not see that this was well founded. These men gave their time—and they belonged to a class whose time was money—and they were as much giving their money to the service of the State as if they had put their hands into their pockets. If the poor gave what was virtually their money, he could not see why the rich should not give theirs. In the Volunteer Corps, when founded, there had been two classes—those who gave their time, and those who gave their money—and he thought that now, when the Admiralty had so much necessity for spending all that they could get, there was very little hope that they would spend money in the direction which he had specified. What he wanted to know was how they stood with regard to this matter. No one would give his money for any object if he thought that the state would provide it. He wanted to know whether or not the Government would be willing to find torpedo boats for the defence of our principal seaports, rivers, and commercial ports? He would also be glad if the noble Earl would give him any information as to the general action which the Government would assume upon the question, or if he would tell them anything of their intentions with regard to this Naval Volunteer movement, which had already grown to a certain extent in this country, and which, he hoped, would every day increase in strength.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Earl of HARROWBY): My Lords, I do not think that it is necessary for me to impress upon your Lordships my sense of the importance of this subject; and I can at once say to the noble Earl, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, that I am very grateful to him for the prominent part which he has taken in this matter. My noble Friend has wisely and patriotically put himself at the head of a movement which I believe will assume a very great and important character—the Naval Volunteer and Home Defence Association — an association which already numbers amongst its members a body of distinguished men, and, I am proud to say, several Members of your Lordships' House. I rejoice very much indeed that the noble Earl should have taken such a prominent part in this movement, and that he should have lent to it the benefit of his calm judgment and great ability. The matter which my noble Friend has brought forward is one which requires careful consideration. My noble Friend touches only one branch of a great subject—a matter upon which the safety of the country depends—namely, the naval condition of this country. I am one of those who do not believe that, in face of war, we should actually suffer terrible disasters in this direction, for this reason—that I have full confidence in the energy, courage, and money resources of the people; and I believe that if the threat of attack against our commercial harbours became serious, that such is the martial spirit in the country that there would be a tremendous rush of men to the front in defence of the sea coast, that we should save our towns from any very serious injury. But there would have to be almost superhuman efforts, very serious loss of life, and probably enormous waste of money. For my own part, I can speak on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. We are very strongly of opinion that our harbours and ports should not remain in their present defenceless condition, although in case of panic we are convinced that they would be successfully defended. However, we have made up our minds that the condition of these ports must be faced, and we believe that it is wiser to provide in times of peace against panic, and to see that the proposed remedies are wise, and sensible, and adequate. My noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty is not satisfied with the present condition of defence, and will shortly lay before his Naval Colleagues proposals for their consideration for the purpose of improving those defences. When I say consideration, I trust that your Lordships will not think that we mean to stop short there. In our opinion, the time has come when a prompt decision should be taken on this subject. It must be remembered that if war broke out our Fleet could not be employed solely in defending our ports. Every ship, small and large, would have to be occupied in shutting up the ships of the enemy in their ports, in conveying our merchant fleets, and in watching scattered Colonies all over the world, and this over and above any aggressive action. It is not sounding unduly a note of alarm to say that the great Fleet of this country would not be at the disposal of the commercial ports and harbours. We have to face this state of things. Your Lordships will not suppose that I am alarmed because I believe that a great disaster would be averted; but still I believe that the state of things is most grave and serious. Of course, we know where the danger would come from. The fastest unarmoured cruisers would endeavour to make descents on our wealthy commercial harbours. The danger is one that must be considered and faced, though without any feeling of panic. Would it be possible for Her Majesty's Government, with any idea of the most ordinary economy, or with any ordinary Estimates that could pass the House of Commons, to undertake the defence of all these commercial ports? I believe the expense would be so enormous that you could not expect the House of Commons to meet it, and the country would not expect the Government to undertake the serious operations which would be necessary for the defence of our ports and harbours. Although it is rather early for Her Majesty's Government to make any definite announcement, yet the view that is taken by the Admiralty under the present Government is that we must rely to a great extent upon the localities for the serious part of this work. Not only on the ground of expense do I say this, but we believe they would probably do the work better for themselves than a Government Department would do it. We also believe it will be done cheaper by the localities, and the facts of their being asked to bestir themselves in their own defence, and of some of their best men enrolling themselves in Naval Volunteer Corps, would tend to encourage a noble spirit in the locality, to keep up the national spirit, and to improve the tone of all who joined in the work of self-defence. I cordially endorse what has been said by my noble Friend, that the encouragement of the Volunteer spirit is a matter of national importance. The attitude of the Government would not be one of mere cold approval; but they would do all in their power to encourage such a movement, to back it up, and to co-operate with those who patriotically identified themselves with it. From a naval point of view, what would be wanted for the defence of these ports and harbours? There are three matters which do not come in the naval purview. Forts, batteries, and submarine mines from the land are under the War Department, and we put them aside for the moment. I have every reason to believe that the War Department and the Admiralty will act with the most friendly concert in this matter, and that every endeavour will be used to secure that Engineers, Artillery, and Navy will work together cordially in the furtherance of this great undertaking. The naval requirements for the defence of these commercial harbours and ports are two—materials and men. As to materials, ships are wanted. I mean rather torpedo boats and everything connected with torpedo defence and steam tugs of sufficient speed for gun-boats. As to the supply of materials, the First Lord of the Admiralty, having taken the best advice on the subject, is of opinion that we ought to rely, not upon the Government, but upon localities and patriotic associations, such as that with which my noble Friend has identified himself. Coming to the second head—that of men—of course, the great object will be to have trained men to work these torpedoes and gun-boats; and Her Majesty's Government are ready to give every possible encouragement to the creation of Naval Volunteer Corps. Everyone must have seen with satisfaction the start made in this matter in London, Liverpool, and Bristol. Her Majesty's Government feel that the best help they can give to this movement, independently of co-operation and assistance in smaller matters, will be to contribute in some way to the maintenance of the men of the Naval Volunteers. I am not authorized by the First Lord of the Admiralty to state the exact way in which he proposes to contribute to their maintenance; but he accepts the principle, and hopes to be able to make a statement next week as to how it may be applied. As to the supply of the materials, we hope that the patriotism of localities and of wealthy individuals connected with societies will come to the aid of the country. With regard to the men, we hope that the patriotism which we know prevails so largely in all ranks in the country, and particularly in naval districts, will lead men to come forward and to serve as Naval Volunteers, and we shall merely assist in the maintenance in some way to be afterwards disclosed. In the time of the great War from 1798 to 1810, the seafaring population contributed 12,000 men in England, headed by 92 captains, and 12,000 men in Ireland, who formed the Sea Fencibles, and helped to make the country sécure; and I am not without hope that the same spirit among the same population will render equal service in the future. But, after all, this is only part of a very great question—the naval position of this country. The nation is manifesting great anxiety as to its Fleet. It is asking whether the ships are numerous enough, strong enough, fast enough, well armed, and fitted with modern appliances, and whether our Navy could hold its own against all probable as well as possible combinations. The nation is also asking whether the Navy will be strong enough to guard our food supplies in case of war, to guard our treasure ships, to protect our merchandise, to protect our Colonies, to keep our merchant ships from being driven under a foreign flag, and to preserve this Island absolutely intact from fear and danger. Her Majesty's Government feel that these are questions the nation will have a right to demand an answer to before very long. We have pronounced no opinion on the subject; but we feel that no question is so important at the present time as the state of our Navy, and no question requires more careful thought and more continuous investigation, and, at the same time investigation free from anything like undue alarm or panic. Her Majesty's Government hope to be able before long, after careful examination, to satisfy the feelings of the nation on this subject. What the answer will be we know not. But we do feel one thing. Suppose we were able to say that our Navy is virtually, as of old, mistress of the sea, that our commercial ports are safe from all fear of attack, that our seaside towns are safe, that our Colonial towns are safe, through local energy and Government help, and that our coaling stations are safe—if we can say all this, the effect upon the prosperity of the country will be no slight matter. We believe that instead of having a warlike effect upon the nations of the world the effect would be exactly the contrary. We believe that if we can give the answer which we may be able to give, and which, at any rate, we ought to be able to give, we should promote the peace of the world more than we could in any other way. We believe that the effect upon our commerce would be seen at once in a resurrection of enterprize and in the return of prosperity to labour and industry. Instability and uncertainty as to the future seriously interfere with the national prosperity; stability and certainty give elasticity to our resources and the enterprize of our people. I hope and believe we shall be able to give that good account. We hope for the best, and if we do not find things as we hope we must do our best to set them right. The country will never forgive a Government who deceives them about our naval supremacy, and it will refuse no sacrifice that is necessary to preserve that supremacy, and to preserve the flag, commerce, and soil of England from insult and from injury.

THE EARL OF RAVENSWORTH said, that the commercial communities would thoroughly appreciate the tone of the speech that the noble Earl had made on behalf of the Government. It was with no intention of throwing cold water on the scheme that he urged the Government to look the difficulties full in the face, for there were grave difficulties to overcome. In the first place, there was the danger of friction between the War Office and the Admiralty, with both of which Departments the new force would have to do. It was necessary, therefore, to define clearly the relations which were to subsist in this matter between those two great authorities. Next, it it would be no easy matter to find and train a suitable body of men for the service. Neither seamen nor soldiers were wanted; but men possessing what might be called amphibious qualifications, and being, above all, good oarsmen. It was important in forming this force not to trench unduly on the recruiting grounds of the Navy and Engineers. A capitation grant would, be absolutely necessary if the force was to be of real value. Naval officers, probably lieutenants, would have to be placed in command at each port. Above all, it was essential that the scheme should form part of a great national policy of steady and persistent preparation, with absolute freedom from panic. He further thought that the Government should find the means of instruction and the gun-boats.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, he thought their Lordships must have heard with great satisfaction the announcement by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Harrowby) of the determination of Her Majesty's Government to maintain the strength of the Navy. He hoped, however, that their Lordships would, on this occasion, recollect that this was not mainly a naval question at all. The noble Lords who had joined in this discussion omitted to explain that the main defence of our commercial harbours must be by guns. Not one of those who had addressed their Lordships had mentioned one of the most valuable Forces now existing in this country—namely, the Artillery Volunteers. Those Volunteers when supplied with guns, which could be moved from place to place along the coast, would, in many cases, be able to render valuable assistance in the defence of our commercial ports and harbours. Their Lordships ought not to run away with the idea that torpedoes were going to be all powerful in the future. This was a matter of grave doubt, and, indeed, recent experiments were rather in the opposite direction. Therefore, if we relied upon torpedo boats alone, we might be living in a fool's paradise, and we might not be taking the right measures for the defence of our commercial harbours. They were all agreed that our commercial harbours ought to be adequately defended by arrangements made beforehand. Circumstances had prevented him from carrying his own views with respect to the assistance the Navy could give by organizing and supporting local Volunteer Forces into effect; but he was ready to give his most cordial support to any steps which Her Majesty's Government might take in that direction. He understood that Her Majesty's Government supported his noble Friend's patriotic movement with the object of supplying, by local efforts, supplemented by general subscriptions, certain classes of torpedo boats and other craft. In the next place, he understood the noble Earl to say that, in some way or other, by capitation grants or otherwise, Her Majesty's Government had decided to give active aid to the Naval Volunteers at the different ports. He thought Her Majesty's Government were perfectly right in coming to that decision. The number of men required to man the boats which would render assistance in the defence of these ports need not be very large; and he did not think the raising of this corps would act prejudicially on any other movement of the kind. In the opinion of naval officers, it would be possible to train seafaring men in the different ports in the management of that class of torpedo boats which would be used for the defence. The Reports received by the late Board of Admiralty of the public spirit and efficiency of the present Royal Naval Volunteers had been most satisfactory; and no one could be more glad than he was to hear that Her Majesty's Government were going to give increased development to that important form of the Volunteer movement. In conclusion, he wished to impress upon the House that it was not, and could not, be considered at all to be the duty of the Government to use the Fleet for the protection of ports and harbours. It had been the policy of successive Boards of Admiralty, announced in that House and elsewhere, that Her Majesty's Fleets must be used in attacking the enemy and the enemy's squadrons in all parts of the world. If that were the case, it was impossible at the same time to tell off Her Majesty's ships for the purpose of protecting our ports. That protection must be provided by means of batteries, mines, and the new system of torpedo defence. He might state, in certain recent contingencies, the Admiralty had no serious apprehension of an attack on the commercial harbours of this country; but there might be other contingencies in which more defences would be required.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS wished to express his thanks to his noble Friend for having brought this important subject under the notice of the House. From what he could learn from the speeches which had been made from both sides of the House, he was under the impression that the late as well as the present Government were prepared to lend the movement moral but not material support. He wished to know whether, supposing the localities provided the men and the batteries, the Government would be prepared to provide the necessary guns for the defence of the harbours? The old 40-pounder guns would be practically useless for that purpose, for, owing to the great improvements in artillery, they were only equal to the 12 and 16-pounders, and he trusted that a more efficient weapon would be provided. His only doubt was whether the Government had the necessary supply of guns fit for the purpose.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, he thought the noble Earl was under a delusion as to the 40-pounders, which for various purposes were very suitable and good guns. However, he admitted that if these forts were to be armed with the old 40-pounder guns the country would be relying on a broken reed. Much more formidable weapons than those would be required to efficiently defend the batteries, which ought to be armed with heavy, penetrating, and long-range guns. He agreed that everything should be done not merely to encourage that important body of men the Artillery Volunteers, but in the way of arrangements for the forts being manned by the force occasionally. Measures were being taken and had all but been completed by the late Government to this end when they left Office. He attached the greatest possible importance to facilities being given to make themselves well acquainted with military details, such as actual experience in the forts alone gave. The Engineer Volunteers likewise were a most valuable body of men, and opportunities should also be given them to become proficient in laying marine mines, for he believed that, assisted by a body of the Royal Engineers, they would play a most important part in home defences, particularly in the defence of the ports and commercial harbours in time of war.

EARL FORTESCUE wished to know whether the Government were in possession of a sufficient number of heavy guns for these various purposes?

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, LEASING PERPETUITY ACT, 1851.

WITHDRAWAL OF NOTICE.

THE EARL OF LEITRIM, who had placed a Notice upon the Paper of his intention

> "To move for a Select Committee to inquire into and to report upon the tenure of lands held by grantees in perpetuity under Trinity College, Dublin, and the Provost thereof in his corporate capacity, and on the working of the Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851, with respect to the variation of rent and its effect on the value of the interests respectively of the College, the perpetuity grantees, and the occupying perpetuity tenants of the lands,"

said, the Motion had been put down some time ago, and had been discussed, and ultimately adjourned for further information on the subject. This was the first day on which, with the consent of the Chancellor of the University of Dublin, he had been able to bring the Motion on. He was now advised that there were practical difficulties in the way of the appointment of a Select Committee, owing to the late period of the Session and the reluctance of Peers to attend. Even if Peers did attend on a Committee it would be difficult for them to complete their work before the Prorogation. That being the case, he would not move the Motion, and would content himself with giving Notice that he would take the earliest opportunity of bringing it forward next Session.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE): My Lords, in presenting to your Lordships the Bill which stands in my name, I think it right and convenient to make a short explanation of the circumstances under which it is my duty so to present it, and at the same time to give your Lordships some explanation of the provisions which are embodied in the Bill. It is obvious that there has been but a very short time indeed for Her Majesty's present Government to consider how they would frame their scheme for the adoption of Parliament, and how to embody their proposals in the Bill. Under these circumstances, although we had ample material in the shape of a vast number of suggestions, proposals, and schěmes, circulated in the Press and embodied in other Bills, and although I myself have been treated in no niggard manner and in no ungenerous fashion with suggestions that teemed in by every post and in every variety of methods of communication, still we had to apply ourselves to this question in a spirit practical, generous, and just, and with an anxious desire to introduce a Bill short and workable, and which would present as few points of contention as possible. We have adopted, as the governing principle of the scheme, that it is voluntary, and that the landlord and tenant are left free to act according to their own discretion, and, on the examination of their own interests, to do as they think right. This question of the creation of a peasant proprietary is no new one. It has been before Parliament for a long time. It has engaged the best energies and enlisted the warmest sympathies of the most eminent men in Parliament and in the country; and, therefore, it comes now before your Lordships accredited with this great recommendation—that it is a non-Party question; and I present it to your Lordships' favourable consideration, not from any Party standpoint, but believing that I shall receive from all sides and sections of this House a fair consideration of the proposals embodied in the Bill. Your Lordships are so familiar with the history of the question that I should not be justified in entering into any lengthened recapitulation of it. The Land Act of 1870 contained the germs of this Bill in the clauses honourably known as the Bright Clauses, which sanctioned the advance of two-thirds of the purchase money. They did not work so well as the proposer expected. I lay the blame on nobody, but in 11 years the Act only succeeded in calling into existence something like 870 peasant proprietors. Then there was the Land Act of 1881, which applied itself to the question in a broader and more generous spirit, and it proposed to increase the advance from two-thirds to three-fourths. For a variety of reasons, with which I will not trouble the House, that Act has not, so far as the Purchase Clauses are concerned, been attended with that success which its framers, and those who watched its career, most earnestly desired. I shall not enter into many figures; I will only give a few. Down to the present only 733 peasant proprietors have under that Bill been called into existence, and the whole sum expended has been £238,000. In the long and anxious discussions which took place on the passing of that most important measure of 1881, on all sides of the House, these Purchase Clauses were looked upon with the most earnest desire that they should work well. It was the desire of the Government who passed the Bill; it was the earnest desire of Mr. Gladstone, expressed in frequent speeches; and I well remember that Lord Hartington, in a speech obviously delivered after much consideration, said the Purchase Clauses were really the end and object that must be aimed at in all such legislation, and the Tenure Clauses were only to supply a *modus vivendi* until the establishment of peasant proprietors. Well, these clauses have only worked in the modified way I have indicated. There is a block in the land market which everyone must regret—a block so complete that, until it is re-opened, it is in vain to look for any increase in Irish prosperity. All parties, therefore, recognize the necessity of opening the land market and causing something like a circulation in this great national industry. I will give your Lordships a few facts which are elementary to anyone who has the smallest knowledge of this subject. The Landed Estates Court used to sell at a rate of something like £1,500,000 a-year. That was before the last five or six years. Now the average is, exclusive of urban properties, little, if at all, above £150,000. This is enough to indicate the position of landed property. I will now state the number of estates which are under the receivers, and subject to that expensive and costly machinery. In 1878 the number of receivers in Ireland was 437; in 1880 the number was 565; in 1882 the figure reached 816; and in 1884 it reached the great total of 1,081. These estates are administered under these receivers owing to circumstances and under conditions which might call for examination if there was time to go into them; but I may say that they are administered at a vast and regrettable expense. The attention of Parliament has been called to the urgency of these topics on numerous occasions. In 1882 a Committee of your Lordships' House reported on the question, and that Report is familiar reading. It contained many practical proposals; but I shall only trouble your Lordships with one extract. The Report declares that—

> "There is a concurrence of testimony that no scheme for converting tenants into proprietors which requires tenants to pay down a portion of the purchase money, or to pay a yearly instalment of it greater than the rent, is likely to be successful."

That was the Report of 1882, which has since acquired greater significance and obtained the acceptance of everyone who wishes to see this matter settled. That Report was presented to your Lordships in April, 1882. In the month following the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) stated in this House on two occasions that the matter of the revision of the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act was under the consideration of the Government. The matter substantially rested there until June, 1883, when Lord George Hamilton, in an important debate, which was joined in by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Trevelyan, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, carried the following Motion unanimously, without dissent from any section of Parliament—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the early revision of the Purchase Clauses of the Irish Land Act of 1881 is necessary in order to give effect to the intentions of Parliament contained therein."

In redemption of that, Mr. Trevelyan, in May, 1884, presented a Bill to the House of Commons in an important, able, and most interesting speech. My Lords, that Bill, the details of which I have examined most minutely, has been of great advantage in the framing of the present Bill since the present Government came into Office. Speaking roughly and broadly, that Bill proposed to give an increase on the previous advance made under the Land Act of 1881 to those who were willing to borrow only three-fourths—that is, that to those who were willing to work under the Act of 1881 it gave the money at a lower rate of interest, and gave a longer number of years in which to repay it. A greater change, and that on which attention, because of its importance, was necessarily concentrated, was the change for the first time presented to Parliament in actual legislation—although it had been dealt with in a former most important proposal in the Committee of your Lordships' House—the proposal was that we should advance the whole of the purchase money to the tenant to enable him to purchase his holding. Obviously the proposal attracted a vast amount of attention. To guard the nation against any loss, a most legitimate and laudable object, that proposal was accompanied with a proposal to have a local guarantee. I make no charge whatever as to the prudence or imprudence of that; and, until it was submitted to criticism, it could not be ascertained how such a proposal would work. Opinions at first were divided upon it. When, however, submitted to the test of public criticism, it was found that the attempt to safeguard the advance of the whole of the purchase money by requiring a guarantee was a proposal which had no chance of acceptance. Therefore, it may be boldly and broadly stated that the fact that the whole of the purchase money was to be so advanced was destructive of that Bill, and prevented it from going any further. That is the conclusion to which a full examination leads, though I make no charge with reference to it. The only other provision of the Bill to which I need refer was that to advance £20,000,000 for the purpose of the Purchase Clauses, provided that no more than £5,000,000 should be expended in one year. As a matter of fact, that Bill was not proceeded with. I myself endeavoured, at the close of the Session, to get a part of it proceeded with; but I cannot blame the late Government for not proceeding with it at that time. There were many difficulties in their way, and they were naturally not desirous of proceeding with certain clauses, but of leaving the question to be dealt with in a more complete form.

Your Lordships do not wish to be reminded of the way in which the question has been brought before the House of Commons this Session. The question was again and again brought before that House; and after a slight appearance of uncertainty as to what would be the ultimate decision to be arrived at, it was announced by Mr. Gladstone shortly before the change of Government that he intended to present a Bill in the House of Commons which, I think, he indicated, would, at all events, have the merit of shortness, and which he hoped would be workable and bring about a settlement of the question. It was in that state of facts that the present Government devoted themselves to the consideration of the question. Your Lordships will, I hope, bear in mind the necessary difficulties of dealing with a vast and complicated question in a short period of time, and the earnest efforts that have to be made to reach the qualifications which I laid down at the outset of my remarks—that of producing a measure that would be short, that, so far as we could judge, would be workable, and would, so far as might be possible, avoid contentious matter. The proposals embodied in this Bill are proposals which, I trust, will commend themselves to the favourable reception of your Lordships. As far as the proposals of the Land Act of 1881 are concerned, that of advancing three-fourths of the purchase money, arrangements are made in the Bill by which those who desire only to avail themselves of advances to that extent are at liberty to do so. But in the same spirit in which the late Government, by Mr. Trevelyan's Bill, proposed to give more generous encouragement, so we have given more generous encouragement to those who desired to take this limited advance. It is proposed to make advances to those tenants at the rate of 4 per cent, payable in a period of 49 years. Of course, I only refer to these matters for the convenience of exposition, for, as your Lordships are aware, the financial aspects of this Bill will have no validity until voted in the other House of Parliament. Applying ourselves to the other most important branch of this question, which was attempted to be grappled with completely in the Bill of last year—the conditions under which it would be reasonable and practicable to advance the whole purchase money to intending tenants—we adopt that proposal, that the State will advance the whole of the purchase money to the intending purchasers, on conditions which we believe will be just and generous to them, and will not expose the State to any risk of loss. Of course, from the exposition I have made of the Bill of last year, your Lordships will anticipate that we have not again presented the Guarantee Clause, but we have found a substitute, which I earnestly hope your Lordships will approve. We provide that one-fifth of the purchase money shall be retained at moderate interest in the hands of the Land Commission until the tenant, by equivalent payments, has paid off a sum equal to the amount so retained. That, I believe, will be an improvement and a sufficient protection to the State. It is more workable, more simple, more immediately available than any system of guarantee. We also supplement it by another provision, although I do not think the provision will ever really be required to be called in question. Your Lordships are aware that there is such a thing as the Irish Church surplus, and your Lordships may know that there is some of it left. We propose to avail ourselves in a clause which has been most carefully prepared of what remains of the Irish Church surplus, subject to all existing charges, in order to save the State from any ultimate possibility of loss. The Irish Church surplus will not be touched until the methods provided for the sale of holdings has been carried out, and until after the forfeiture of the one-fifth of the purchase money which I have indicated it is intended to retain as a safeguard to the State. Those are the general features of the advances, and those are the pecuniary aspects of the Bill. Of course, there is another matter of grave importance and deep interest, as to which I know there are differences of opinion even among those on this side of the House; and that is as to the tribunal to be entrusted with the working of these important functions. There are three courses open to the Government. We could have a new body if we pleased; we could call into existence new Commissioners and new machinery; but one must be of a very sanguine disposition and a very bold statesman to think that when within measurable distance of the end of the Session Parliament can be expected to regard such a matter as non-contentious, or who can expect officers and staff to be provided and got into working order within a reasonable time. The exigencies and necessity of the position—the reality of facts—prevented us from giving any favourable consideration to that proposal. I do not myself regard it as within the limits of practical consideration. Then there remains the Landed Estates Court. There are many of my friends in both Houses of Parliament and in Ireland who would be most favourable to this jurisdiction being attached to the Landed Estates Court; but again I have to consider the practical aspects of this question. This jurisdiction has been, after much consideration, vested by the late Government in the Land Commission; and if you now were to take it from them and shift it back to the Landed Estates Court, in the present state of that Court it would be to subject the Bill to further criticism, to further lengthy examination, and obviously to serious contention. Therefore, the Government have arrived at the conclusion, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, that it was wiser and more prudent to leave it where it was at present—namely, vested in the Land Commission Court, and to apply ourselves, as much as possible, to supplement and assist that Court in the new administration with which we are about to operate it. That we have done, and we have done so in a way which your Lordships, I trust, will not think paltry or petty. The Bill makes provision for the appointment of two additional Land Commissioners, who shall hold office for three years, not at the same salary as the other Land Commissioners, who receive a salary of £3,000 a-year, but at a salary of £2,000 a-year, at which we hope we shall be able to secure the services of gentlemen of energy, of capacity, of resource, and of loyal intentions to carry out the objects of the Bill. Power will be taken in the Bill for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by his order to vest in those additional, or such of the Land Commissioners as he may think proper, the special working of the special work of this Bill. That is a matter to which I myself look as a very important element in the successful working of this measure. There is another portion of the Bill, for which I am largely indebted for the suggestion and drafting to the Bill of the late Government, to which I have already referred. Among the matters most to be desired in reference to any system for the improvement of land purchase in Ireland is to encourage the application of the working of these provisions by having some short and simple method of conveyancing and legal machinery. Tenants are discouraged by dread of an indefinite bill of costs; they do not like solicitors, and, if I may say so, they have a suspicion of barristers. They would like some short and simple method of land transfer, which those who run may read. Power is, therefore, taken to enable the Land Commissioners, after due inquiry, to pronounce vesting orders. The Land Commission will investigate titles at their expense, and will make vesting orders which will not cost the tenant time or trouble. To assist the Land Commission in that important work power has been taken to transfer some of the able and capable officials of the Landed Estates Court, safeguarding their position by saying that it shall only be done by their own consent, at such increased salary as may be sanctioned by the Treasury. To this provision I shall look for the smooth and efficient working of the Conveyancing Clauses of this Bill. Power is also taken of appointing counsel and solicitors, examiners, and other officials of that kind, who can aid or assist the Commissioners or such other persons as may be assigned to discharge this duty. There are other provisions of the conveyancing part of the Bill with which I will not trouble your Lordships, not because they are unimportant—they are to my mind extremely important—but because I do not think I should be justified in trespassing upon your Lordships by going into such technical matters. There are other provisions of the Bill which I do not go into now, not because they are not important, for they are of extreme importance, but because I do not think that I should be justified in trespassing any longer upon the time of your Lordships. I have confined myself to bringing before your Lordships as shortly as I could the salient points and principles of the Bill, which I hope may pass into law with the sanction of your Lordships. If I may do so without presumption upon the first occasion on which I have spoken in this House, I would earnestly and most gravely urge upon your Lordships the great question of time in reference to this matter. I have endeavoured to take steps to have this Bill circulated among your Lordships to-morrow morning, and I hope that your Lordships may assent to its being put down for second reading on the earliest possible date. My Lords, there are many ways of killing a Bill. It may be killed by too much kindness, or it may be killed by too much unkindness. There may be those in this House who have formed schemes of their own; and it may be that I have not been able to meet the plans and schemes of all those whose abilities I thoroughly recognize; but if they find that those plans which they most regarded have no place in my Bill, and that it is not as perfect as they would have liked, let them criticize me to their heart's content, but let them spare the Bill. If they think that it is a fair and reasonable effort to accomplish a great object in a reasonable and—as far as may be—non-contentious manner, I hope that they will permit the Bill to pass through this House. With these remarks, I have now the honour to present the Bill to your Lordships, and I hope that your Lordships will now consent to its being read a first time.

Bill to provide greater facilities for the sale of land to occupying tenants in Ireland — *Presented* (The Lord ASHBOURNE).

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I shall not trouble your Lordships at any great length; but I cannot refrain from saying one or two words with reference to the speech we have just heard. First of all, I hope that my noble and learned Friend who introduced this Bill will allow me to congratulate him upon his first appearance in this House, and to express to him how gratified Members of this House on both sides are to see him a Member of this House. Not only will this House have the addition of a very capable statesman on that Front Bench, but on this side we shall also have in him, not only an able, but one of the fairest opponents that statesmen and politicians have ever had in England. This subject is one which I have had to study minutely during the last two or three years. I have not had the advantage of the legal learning of my noble Friend; but I have studied it with the assistance of many able men, and I know that nothing could have been more concise and clear than the explanation which my noble and learned Friend made, not only of the history of this question, but also of the proposals of Her Majesty's Government. I do not think that it would be right for me to go into any detail now; but I may say that I think it is of the utmost importance that, if possible, this question of land purchase in Ireland should be settled as soon as possible, and that the block in the land market should be removed, which is at present so serious a matter, not only to landlords, but to all interests connected with the land in Ireland. The Purchase Clauses of the Land Act of 1881 were of the utmost importance, and I quite agree with the noble and learned Lord who has introduced this measure that there has not been that number of purchases which it was hoped would be the case. I hope that the scheme embodied in the present Bill will be more successful. The noble and learned Lord has asked that this measure should receive just and reasonable consideration, and I can assure him that it will certainly receive such consideration, so far as the first Opposition Bench is concerned. There are very important matters connected with it, not only with regard to the advances to be made by the State, but also as to the bodies who are to deal with those clauses, which will have to be carefully considered when the Bill is before us. I agree with the noble and learned Lord that the safety of this Bill and the hope that it will be satisfactorily carried out depends upon having a satisfactory body to work it. Unless that body are loyal and anxious, and have time at their disposal to work the measure thoroughly, I fear there will be another failure like that which has attended previous legislation on this question. I will not at present say anything more, except that I look forward with great interest to seeing the clauses of the Bill, and that under the particular circumstances of the Session that we shall not offer any opposition to the Bill being read a second time upon an early occasion.

LORD FITZGERALD said, he had listened to the statement of the noble and learned Lord with great interest, and he could assure him that it had realized his expectations. The subject was most difficult and complicated, and the noble and learned Lord deserved credit for having, thus early in his official career, tried to grapple with it. The details of the Bill would, no doubt, have to be carefully considered; but as to the principle of the Bill he thought there would be very little difference of opinion. He could only say that the Bill would be criticized by those on that side of the House in no spirit of hostility, but in one of friendly sympathy, with a view of passing it, if practicable, into law.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN asked if the purchase money to be advanced would be unlimited?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND: The limit of this Bill is £5,000,000, and the additional Land Commissioners are appointed for three years.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: How much can be advanced in one year?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND: It is simply provided that the money to be advanced under this measure should be limited to £5,000,000. It may all be advanced in one year.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: How much of the Church surplus is available as a security?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND: I believe it is about £750,000.

Bill read 1ª. (No. 184.)

TRAMWAYS ORDER IN COUNCIL (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 65.)

REPORT.

Amendments *reported* (according to Order).

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Earl of REDESDALE) said, he must repeat the protest he had formally made against the way this Bill had been revived as a public measure after having been defeated as a Private Bill. The House, he maintained, would do great injustice to the opponents of the Bill by allowing it to pass. If their Lordships did their duty, they would refuse to pass this Bill, and support the decision of their own Committee.

EARL SPENCER said, he regretted that the mode of proceeding with this Bill had not been brought before him earlier, as it certainly ought to have been. As to the injustice which it was alleged would be done to the opponents of the Bill, he must say that he very much regretted the inconvenience to which they had been put in coming to London; but if they rejected the Bill, a much greater injustice would be done to the promoters of the Bill, who, before coming to London, had been at the trouble and expense of having an inquiry in Ireland. He did not intend to withdraw the Bill, and he hoped their Lordships would not reverse the decision at which they had already arrived.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES said, the Bill had been inquired into and reported against by a Committee of their Lordships' House; and if they were not guided by that Report no confidence could be felt in future in the decisions of their Committees. He felt so strongly on the point that he begged to give Notice that on the third reading he would move the rejection of this Bill.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, a great injustice had apparently been done both to the opponents and the promoters. He hoped that some definite rule would be laid down to prevent such misunderstanding in future.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he could not help feeling that it was very unfortunate that an Act of Parliament under which this misunderstanding had arisen had been read in a different sense from what they were now told was the right one. It seemed to him that they had simply a choice of injustice—injustice to the promoters, or injustice to the opponents of the Bill; but he thought that, in all the circumstances, the least injustice would be done by allowing the Bill to proceed. He found some consolation in the fact that the Select Committee's reason for replacing the Bill was not so much that the proposed line was a bad one, as that it was not likely to pay—a consideration that he thought weighed a good deal too much with their Committees.

Bill to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

House adjourned at Eight o'clock, till Monday next, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 17th July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — *Report* — School Board Elections (Voting) [No. 275].

PUBLIC BILLS—*Committee—Report* — Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) [180-236]; Artillery and Rifle Ranges * [217].

Committee — Report — Third Reading — Bankruptcy (Office Accommodation) * [215], and *passed.*

Considered as amended—National Debt * [172].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

RATHMINES AND RATHGAR TOWNSHIP BILL [*Lords*].

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

MR. HEALY said, it appeared now, from the fact of the Bill being again on the Paper, that the promoters were not going to drop the Bill, notwithstanding the terrible fate with which it was threatened, if the Amendments of the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) were accepted. He (Mr. Healy) presumed that their tactics would be to attempt, in the House of Lords, to put back the Bill to the shape in which it originally stood, striking out the Commons' Amendments. If that were attempted, if it were sought to do what was done last night with the Municipal Privileges Bill, then the House had need to be much more watchful than it was on the previous night, when, through the absence of hon. Members, a majority for the Lords' Amendments was secured.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed,* with Amendments.

QUESTIONS.

NATIONAL EDUCATION—A ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, considering the great importance of securing an efficient system of National Education, at at the same time of preventing as far as possible an undue pressure upon the ratepayers, Her Majesty's Government will recommend the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts, with a view to consider whether any and what improvements can be suggested?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I agree with my hon. Friend that it is of great importance to secure an efficient system of national education, and as far as possible to prevent pressure on the ratepayers. I hope we shall be able to do something to effect both those objects without a Royal Commission.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—PROMOTION.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that there were three cadets appointed in the Royal Irish Constabulary, in June last, to fill vacancies which occurred since the promise of the late Chief Secretary, made in April last, to the effect that, as soon as vacancies occurred, there would be three head constables promoted district inspectors; whether these appointments bring the number of cadets up to 42 since any head constable received promotion; and, whether the head constables may consider the position of district inspector closed against them; and, if not, will this serious inequality be removed by promoting a sufficient number to fill the first vacancies which will occur; and, if so, will they be qualified men from the seniority list, as was always the case, except the last time in 1882, when several juniors were promoted over their seniors?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The three cadets referred to are the officers' sons who were stated in my Predecessor's answer to the hon. Member's Question of the 20th of April last to have then passed the examination, and they make the total 39, not 42, since any head constable was promoted. The Inspector General informs me that, although, if the due proportions were strictly adhered to, those three cadets would have first claim to vacancies, yet for the general good of the service it is his intention to recommend a head constable for the next vacancy. The head constable to be promoted will be the man who is found to be best qualified, seniority being given its due weight.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—EXPLOSIVES ACTS—APPOINTMENT OF INSPECTORS.

Mr. P. J. POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will recommend that the duties of inspectors under the Explosives Act be performed by the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Sir William Hart Dyke): Inspectors under the Explosives Act are appointed by local authority, who have been informed by Government that it is open to them, if they choose, to select members of the Constabulary for the post. I do not see that the Government could go further than this; but I should point out that the Explosives Act is administered by the Home Department, and that Questions respecting it should properly be addressed to my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State.

GENERAL GORDON.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, To lay upon the Table Copies of the Telegrams and other communications sent to General Gordon at Khartoum, from England, Egypt, or elsewhere, from 12th March 1884 to his death? He desired to add that it was in consequence of a note appended by the editor of the journals of the late General Gordon, who desired that those documents should be produced for the better elucidation of the journals, that he asked the Question.

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. Bourke): I have seen the note to which my right hon. and gallant Friend alludes. Nearly all the communications on this subject which have reached the Foreign Office have already been presented to Parliament. They will, however, be examined again, with the view to ascertaining whether, with advantage to the Public Service, any which have been omitted can be produced.

NAVY—RANK OF CHIEF ENGINEERS.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If the promised concession to Chief Engineers of the Navy, enabling them to rank with Lieutenants, has been sufficiently considered to be announced?

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Ritchie), in reply, said, he thought the hon. Member was mistaken in speaking of promised concessions. He certainly made no promise of any concessions, nor did he find any record of such a promise by the late Government. All that was promised was an investigation. That investigation was taking place, and the result he would communicate as early as possible.

RAILWAY COMMISSION—DIFFERENTIAL RATES ON ENGLISH AS AGAINST FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

Mr. ATKINSON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will cause the fact that the produce of Foreign farms is carried by English Railway Companies, having monopolies, at less rates per ton per mile than the produce of English farms, to be referred to the Royal Commission to be appointed to inquire into the causes of agricultural depression; or, failing such reference, to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will cause a case on the subject of such undue preference to be stated for consideration by the Railway Commissioners?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): I think the subject of the hon. Member's Question is hardly one that will come within the scope of the proposed Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry, except, possibly, incidentally; and I am informed by my noble Friend the President of the Board of Trade that he cannot cause a case on the subject referred to to be stated for consideration by the Railway Commissioners.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—BLOCK IN THE APPEAL COURT.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in order to clear away the block of appeals to be heard before the Irish Land Commissioners, it is the intention of the Commissioners to send cases back to be reheard by Sub-Commissioners, as they have power to do, according to the opinion expressed by the Chief Baron in the cases of "Kieran v. Caruth," and "Lewis and others v. Lord Darnley," reported in

Irish Law Times Reports of 10th January 1885?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): I am advised that the Chief Baron, although he stated that the Land Commissioners had power to send cases back to be reheard by Sub-Commissioners, did not convey that such a course should be adopted save in very exceptional circumstances. The matter is one in which the Land Commission must exercise judicial discretion according to the facts of the particular cases that come before them.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND).

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in view of the substantial increase this year in the amount of the Vote for Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Ireland), the Government will now accede to the application made some time ago by the Most Rev. Dr. M'Cormack, Catholic Bishop of Achony, to obtain a certificate for an Industrial School for girls at Ballaghaderreen, county Mayo, to be conducted under his superintendence; and, whether the Government, in considering this matter, will have regard to the circumstance that there is only one school of the kind in the province of Connaught?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The increase in the Estimates for the current year is intended to meet cases in which increased certificates have already been granted, and no provision has been made for the school to which the hon. Member refers. I should point out that the hon. Member is under a mistake as to the number of industrial schools in the Province of Connaught, there being 10 for girls, and one for boys.

MR. SEXTON: In considering this matter will the right hon. Baronet bear in mind that the number of children in the other schools is in excess of their certificates?

THE "PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF IRELAND."

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Can he state the result of the correspondence between his official predecessor and Dublin Castle as to the title to be given to the Disestablished Church in Ireland?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): The title which was settled by my Predecessor, after consultation with Lord Spencer was the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland.

THE BANKRUPTCY COURT (IRELAND) —INSUFFICENCY OF STAFF.

MR. FINDLATER asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he has seen the observations made by the Honourable Judge Miller, while presiding in the Irish Court of Bankruptcy on the 5th June, with regard to the delay of business, by reason of the official staff, as at present constituted, being insufficient to discharge the duties of the offices attached to the Court; and, whether, having regard to the consequent inconvenience and loss to suitors and the public arising from such a state of things, the Treasury are prepared to sanction the appointment of an additional clerk, as recommended by the Judges of the Court.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): My attention has been called to a report of certain statements alleged to have been made by this Judge, and a full and correct statement of the facts has been placed before me. The work of this Office having decreased about 40 per cent since its staff was last fixed, the Treasury have insisted on the very moderate reduction of two clerks in a staff of 14. The delay referred to by the Judge arose from the temporary absence of one of the staff through sickness, and in order to meet it the choice of two alternatives was offered to the Bankruptcy Judges, after full local inquiry, neither of which they saw fit to accept. The clerk has, I believed, now returned to his duties, and it is not expected that there will be any more delays. In these circumstances the Treasury are not prepared to sanction the appointment of an additional clerk.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1884—DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE CARRICKFERGUS FREEMEN.

MR. SINCLAIR asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If the freemen of the county of the town of Carrickfergus, which is now disfranchised, are entitled to be placed on the list of voters in East Antrim (the division of the county of Antrim in which Carrickfergus is situated), or if the action of the Redistribution of Seats Bill is to disfranchise such freemen?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES): The borough of Carrickfergus having been disfranchised, the freeman franchise of the borough is no longer in existence, and the freemen, as such, are not entitled to be placed on the list of voters in East Antrim.

LAW AND POLICE—POLICE CONSTABLE DAVIS.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he will consider the claim of Police Constable Owen Davis to official recognition on account of the intelligence and courage he displayed in attacking armed burglars upon a house in Kensington Park Gardens; and, whether he will call the attention of the Chief Commissioner of Police to the desirability of the police having keys of such large gardens as that, one and a-half acres in extent, through which the burglars escaped, an escape which would have been impossible if Davis, before mounting the ladder, had placed another policeman in the garden?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): With reference to the first paragraph of the Question, I have to say that the Commissioners of Police have fully considered the claims of Police Constable Owen Davis to recognition, as they invariably do in all such cases. The subject of the second part of the Question was very carefully considered by the Secretary of State in 1882, and instructions were then given to the police that they were not to patrol private grounds without special authority, because such patrolling took the police away from the ground on which their presence was primarily required, and was likely to lead to many irregularities.

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS, in whose name the following Question stood upon the Paper:—

"To ask the President of the Local Government Board, whether he is aware that medical relief is in a large number, if not in the majority, of cases given without an order from the relieving officer, and without the application, and often without the knowledge of the head of the family, and that orders are made out after the relief is given, or are not made out at all, the voters being thus illegally made paupers; and, whether he will immediately issue instructions to the overseers directing them to include in the present voting lists all those who have not applied for or received orders from the relieving officer prior to the receipt of such relief?"

said, that as the right hon. Gentleman had promised to introduce a clause into his Bill to meet the cases contemplated in the Question, it was not necessary that he should put it.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, he would do his best, as he had told the hon. Member both in debate and in answer to a Question, to insert a clause into the Bill which would, as far as was practicable, put the voters described in the Question in exactly the same position as other voters who had not received medical relief. He hoped the clause would be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow.

EGYPT—THE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT—THE LOAN OF £9,000,000.

MR. RUSTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can inform the House why the Agreement between the Great Powers of Europe for the purpose of guaranteeing a loan of nine millions sterling has not yet been completed; which of the Powers have at the present date failed to ratify the Agreement; what is the cause of the delay in obtaining such ratification; is it the fact that very grave inconvenience is caused to the Egyptian Treasury, and much suffering to those entitled to receive the Alexandrian indemnities in consequence of the non-completion of the said Agreement; and, will he use his best endeavours to secure the early completion of the Agreement in order that the loan contemplated by it may be obtained.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BOURKE): The best endeavours of Her Majesty's Government are being directed to procure the early issue of the loan; but I do not think it would be desirable to enter into details with respect to pending negotiations.

JAPAN—MR. HARTLEY.

MR. GRANTHAM asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If Her Majesty's Government will use their best endeavours to obtain compensation for Mr. Hartley from the Japanese Government before the new Treaties are signed, for the losses he has sustained through their illegal interference with import of lawful merchandise into Japan, after payment of Import Duties, in 1873, 1874, 1877, 1878, and 1879?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BOURKE): I beg leave to refer the hon. Member to the replies returned to his Question on the subject by my Predecessor on the 22nd of February and 27th of March of last year. It has been frequently brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government, both when Lord Salisbury was last Foreign Secretary and during Lord Granville's tenure of Office, and Lord Salisbury sees no reason to change the decision already arrived at—that Mr. Hartley's complaints are not such as to justify diplomatic interference.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—ACCESS TO THIS HOUSE—MR. JENKINSON.

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Under what circumstances is Mr. Jenkinson allowed unescorted to pass through the lobbies and private corridors of this House to which members of the Press and the public are denied admission; and, will the Government give an assurance that no members of the Police Force out of uniform will be allowed to enter on those portions of the House set apart for Members?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): By one of the last Regulations which were issued with regard to persons within the walls of the House, the Members' Lobbies are strictly restricted to Peers and Members of Parliament with such list of permanent officials, secretaries, and others as the Speaker may see fit to include on that list. Members of the Metropolitan Police Force are bound to be in the House for the safety of Members, and they are in the same position as the other officials.

MR. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman state what is the precise position which Mr. Jenkinson occupies at this moment?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): He is one of my officials at the Home Office.

LAW AND POLICE—PUNISHMENT OF BURGLARS—FLOGGING.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the brutal outrage by an armed burglar on a police constable at Notting Hill; whether it is the case that flogging has had a most beneficial effect in reducing garotting and other crimes of violence; and, if he will facilitate the introduction of a short Bill awarding the punishment of flogging to burglars caught in possession of or using deadly weapons?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): I have already stated that it might be desirable that some Bill of this kind should become law, but that, as it would involve contentious matter, it could not be passed this Session.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked whether it was true that this constable's truncheon broke in pieces, and that he was without a whistle, which would have been of great use to him?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS) was understood to reply in the affirmative.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked whether it was not the fact that a late Home Secretary had stated in the House that the cessation of garrotting was not attributable to the Flogging Act, and that garrotting had almost ceased before the punishment was introduced?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): I am afraid that I cannot recall everything that previous Secretaries of State have said in this House.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—VICTORIA PARK CRICKET GROUND.

MR. BRYCE asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether his attention has been called to the condition of the cricket match ground in Victoria Park, which is alleged by many of the members of the East London Cricket Clubs who are accustomed to play there to be far from satisfactory; and, whether he will direct inquiries to be made as to the state of the ground; and, in the event of its being found to be out of order, will give directions to improve it before next cricket season?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET): There are 16 separate cricket grounds in Victoria Park set apart for matches; but there is an average of 54 applications every week on the part of various clubs to ballot for the use of them. The House will easily understand that the wear and tear of these grounds in consequence of such uninterrupted play is very severe, and I fear that it is impossible to keep a ground so constantly used in very perfect condition. I have been inquiring into the subject; and I can assure the hon. Member that we will do the best we can to get these cricket grounds into good order for the enjoyment of the people before next season.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. JAMES STUART asked, Whether, in view of the fact that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and the Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill were both down for Committee on Tuesday, it was intended to proceed with the former on that day?

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked, Whether, having regard to the fact that several hon. and learned Members were now absent on Circuit, and would not be back before Wednesday, would it not be well to postpone the consideration of the clauses of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill until Thursday?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I am not quite sure that it is necessary for the House to wait for the opinions of those Gentlemen to whom the hon. Member referred. But in reply to the hon. Member opposite, I will say that the Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill must be the first Order on Thursday; but that we hope the Committee on the Bill will be completed by a reasonably early hour, in which case the Criminal Law Amendment Bill will immediately follow. Of course, it will not be taken up at a very late hour.

MR. J. LOWTHER asked if the right hon. Gentleman would fix an hour after which the Bill would not be taken?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he could not do that. The Government would like to get the Bill formally into Committee on Tuesday, if possible.

In answer to Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER was afraid he was not in a position to name any day for taking Committee on the Budget Bill.

CENTRAL ASIA—AFGHANISTAN—THE REPORTED RUSSIAN ADVANCE.

MR. SALT asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether there was any further information from Afghanistan?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): No, Sir; there is no further information.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—PROTECTION AT CLADYMORE.

MR. SMALL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a Constabulary station has recently been formed at Cladymore, county Armagh, in a district perfectly free from crime or disorder of any kind; whether such station has been formed at the instance of or for the protection of a person now known by the name of Dent, who has recently come to the locality, and to whom no threat or violence has been offered, and upon what grounds has this person based his request, or for what other reason has the station been formed; and, upon what fund or area will the expenses of the station be charged?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): On the recommendation of the County and District Inspectors of Constabulary, and with the concurrence of the Resident Magistrate, a temporary police station was formed at Cladymore, in May last, for the protection of a man named John Dent. The protection was considered necessary in consequence of information in possession of the police. The district is peaceable, and the cost of the station will not be charged against the county.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MAAMTRASNA, &c. MURDERS.

RESOLUTION.

MR. PARNELL, in rising to call attention to the maladministration of the Criminal Law in Ireland, and more especially certain provisions of the Crimes Prevention Act during the Viceroyalty of Earl Spencer, whereby persons have in some cases been condemned to death and executed, and in others sentenced to penal servitude for life or for long terms of years, which sentences are now in operation; and to move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the Government to institute strict inquiry into the evidence and convictions in the Maamtrasna, Barbavilla, Crossmaglen, and Castleisland cases, the case of the brothers Delahunty, and, generally, all cases in which witnesses examined in the trials now declare that they committed perjury, or in which proof of the innocence of the accused is tendered by credible persons, and that such inquiries, with a view to the full discovery of truth and the relief of innocent persons, should be held in the manner most favourable to the reception of all available evidence,"

said: In my judgment, if the ordinary practice of the Home Office in England had been followed by the Viceroy in Ireland, this Motion would not have been necessary, and all the persons whose innocence we assert would have been long since released without the necessity of resorting to the very unusual and difficult course of bringing matters connected with the administration of justice before the attention of such an Assembly as the House of Commons. The late Home Secretary, in a speech shortly before his Government left Office, stated that it was the practice of his Department, whenever a *primâ facie* case had been made out for inquiry, whenever there was reason to suppose that it might be possible that any person had been unjustly convicted, to institute an inquiry into the matter on the spot. If we could have had such an inquiry into the cases mentioned in my Motion, I am convinced there would have been no necessity whatever for the Motion. I believe that even the Irish officials, prejudiced as they are, if they had been compelled to hold an open and fair inquiry into these cases, would have been forced by public opinion both in Ireland and England to release the prisoners of whose innocence I think I shall make out at least a *primâ facie* case. This, however, has not been the course that has been pursued in Ireland. For supposed reasons connected with the administration of what is termed "law and order" in that country, for the sake, as I contend, of upholding Earl Spencer as a sort of Pope who can do no wrong, the late Administration refused an inquiry, although, I think, in the judgment of the great majority of this House, not only a *primâ facie* case, but a strong absolute case was made out with regard to the innocence of several persons convicted in the Maamtrasna case. Now that there is a change of Government, there is some hope—I believe good hope—that justice will be done in this matter, and that such an inquiry will be granted as the result of this debate as will insure that the prison doors shall be opened to those unfortunate men who are now suffering for crimes of which they had absolutely no knowledge. Even if it had been possible for me, within the limits which I can fairly claim, to go particularly and thoroughly into any of these cases, it is obvious that the House of Commons is not a tribunal for the purpose of deciding the innocence or guilt of convicted persons. All the House of Commons is asked to do upon this occasion is to listen to what I believe I shall show to be more than a strong *primâ facie* case in the direction of doubt in regard to the guilt of certain persons now suffering imprisonment in Ireland, and other persons who have died upon the scaffold. If the House of Commons considers that I have made out that case upon the very partial examination of it which I shall be able to give, then, I think, the House should remit the matter, in default of a Court of Appeal, which we, unfortunately, do not possess in criminal administration, to an inquiry by some person of authority to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant or by the Executive in Ireland. In the only case in which we have succeeded in obtaining such an inquiry from the Lord Lieutenant—an inquiry carried out on the spot by an eminent counsel appointed by Earl Spencer in the case of Kilmartin, who had been sentenced to penal servitude for life for attempt to murder—the result was that new evidence having turned up, the Legal Commissioner reported to the Lord Lieutenant in such a way that Kilmartin received a free pardon. I think that precedent should have encouraged the then Irish Executive to go further; and I think it should encourage the present Irish Executive to go further in the way of inquiries in reference to these doubtful cases for which we are obliged and shall be obliged to continue to ask attention. I shall devote the bulk of my attention to an examination of the Maamtrasna trials; but before proceeding to that I shall explain generally the nature of our case with regard to the Barbavilla trial in Westmeath. In the winter of 1881-2 a very cruel murder was committed. An attempt was made to assassinate a local gentleman, a landlord, when he was returning from church. The assassin missed his aim; but a lady sitting near him was unfortunately and most lamentably murdered. After the lapse of a year or so a number of persons in the district were arrested. They were not, however, put upon their trial for the murder of Mrs. Smythe, the lady in question, but were put upon trial for conspiracy to murder Mr. Smythe, whose life it was supposed with good reason had been sought, and a conviction was obtained, after repeated trials, in almost every case. The prisoners were tried in two batches, and convictions were obtained with the aid of three informers, two of whom I should term the original informers, and the third informer, named Patrick Cole, was a very respectable man, a Poor Law Guardian and large farmer, who was arrested and accused of the offence, and who on the eve of one of the trials turned Queen's evidence in order to save himself. The original informers were notoriously men of very bad character, and it was felt that their evidence could not be relied upon without the evidence of this more respectable informer, who only came in at the very last moment, and with whose help the conviction was obtained. The prisoners were sentenced to long terms of penal servitude, with the exception of one, who was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment, owing to the extenuating circumstance that during the time of the No-Rent Manifesto he had paid his rent. Some time after the trials in September, 1884, a week was set aside for special devotions by the Roman Catholics in the district, and when these devotions were over Mrs. Cole, the wife of the Poor Law Guardian whom I have described, came to the priest who was conducting the special devotions and also to another clergyman. She threw herself, or endeavoured to throw herself, on her knees before them, and acknowledged that she knew her husband's evidence was concocted, and that she induced and helped him to concoct it; and that, feeling miserable at the result in the sentence of penal servitude upon so many innocent persons, she could not rest till she told her guilt. She signed a written declaration to that effect, and subsequently Patrick Cole himself also signed a declaration to the effect that he had been induced to give his evidence by the police, and that his evidence at the trial was untrue, except that part of it which had reference to his past connection with Fenianism. Father Currey forwarded those declarations to the Lord Lieutenant, and asked for an inquiry; but the Lord Lieutenant in two replies positively declined to make any inquiry, or to re-open the case in any way whatever. I now pass from this case to the far more important case of the Maamtrasna trials. The general circumstances in connection with this terrible event are familiar to the House, seeing that we have had an opportunity of discussing the question in full within the past five or six weeks. It will be remembered that on the night of the 17th of August, 1882, a party of men broke into a house in the village of Maamtrasna occupied by John Joyce. They attacked this man and his family, and murdered him and his mother, wife, and young daughter, and inflicted upon his two sons such serious injuries that in the one case they were fatal, and in the other case the young boy only recovered after a long illness. Two days after the murders were committed, two brothers, named Anthony and John Joyce, came forward with a most extraordinary statement in regard to their having tracked 10 persons, whom they accused of the murders, for a long distance over the hills on the very dark night in question. They positively identified and swore to these 10 persons as having been the persons who committed the murders. These 10 men were arrested, and the Crimes Act being in force at the time, the venue was changed, and the prisoners, none of whom could speak English, were brought away a distance from their homes and from everybody who knew their characters and the circumstances of the locality, and they were tried in Dublin by a packed jury of Dublin shopkeepers, who were mostly dependent upon the patronage of the Castle for their means of living. That was the time when excitement in regard to the Land League ran very high, and when an attack had been made upon jurors in Dublin by the Invincible Society. Every Protestant juryman in the country considered his life was in danger, and the result was that it was perfectly impossible for the class from whom these jurors were chosen to approach the consideration of a case like this with any sort of impartiality or judicial freedom of mind. The prisoners then were tried before a special jury. The Crown largely exercised its right of challenge, with the result that an almost exclusively Protestant jury were empannelled. Just a week or 10 days before the trial came on an informer named Philbin, who absolutely knew nothing of the circumstances of the murders, but was one of those who had been sworn against by the two original so-called independent witnesses, came forward in order to save his own life, and by the inducement of the notorious George Bolton, who had the conduct of these trials, and who has been since superseded by the late Government in the working of the Crimes Act, he offered to corroborate the testimony of the original witnesses. The day before the trials came on another informer named Casey, who admits his own guilt, came forward and likewise offered to corroborate their evidence. His first story was not accepted by George Bolton, because, being guilty, he told the truth and he gave information which did not tally with the case sought to be proved by the Government. He was now compelled to make a second statement which tallied with the evidence of the two original witnesses, which he had heard six times over, and which also tallied in most respects—though differing in some important points—with the evidence of his brother informer, Philbin. An application on the part of the prisoners' counsel for a postponement of the trial in order that some fuller investigation might be made into the local circumstances, and also an application for a jury who would go over the ground traversed by the alleged assassins, were both refused. The first man, Patrick Joyce, whose guilt we admit, was tried and condemned to death after eight minutes' deliberation by the jury. Patrick Casey, another guilty man, was also put on trial and was found guilty after a few minutes' deliberation. The Judge, in sentencing Casey, expressed his satisfaction with the verdict, and added that upon the evidence, which there was no ground for disbelieving, no other verdict than one of guilty could be returned. These words were spoken in open Court and in the presence of many of the jurors who were to try the remaining cases. I must say that I consider it most injudicious and unjudicial—I suppose I cannot say more—of a Judge to express when sentencing one prisoner a strong opinion as to the truthfulness of the evidence given against that prisoner when exactly the same evidence is to be adduced against other prisoners to be immediately arraigned. Such conduct, however innocent the prisoners might be—and it turned out that five of the remaining seven were absolutely innocent—rendered a fair trial impossible. Myles Joyce, one of the innocent men, was the next person on the list, and, with the words of the Judge in the previous case ringing in their ears, the jury convicted him after six minutes' deliberation. Of course, the remaining prisoners had to consider what they should do. Six now remained to be tried, and of these five were innocent; Michael Casey, now suffering penal servitude in Mountjoy Gaol, was alone guilty. This man offered to plead guilty; but the five innocent prisoners declined to plead guilty, and spoke out against it. The plea of guilty by Michael Casey was brought before George Bolton, but Bolton declined to receive that plea unless it was accompanied by the plea of guilty by the five innocent men. I am making a statement of facts, all of which we can prove. I can prove the statement I have just made out of the mouths of the solicitor and legal advisers of the six men. A statement of Michael Casey with regard to the main circumstances of this matter, exonerating the five innocent men who had still to undergo their trial, admitting his own guilt and the guilt of two of the three who had already been sentenced, and alleging the innocence of Myles Joyce, whose execution was to take place in few days, was put before George Bolton, and he refused to accept Michael Casey's plea of guilty; and he insisted with this knowledge—which was known to nobody but himself and the legal advisers of the prisoners—he insisted upon forcing these five innocent men to stand their trial unless they pleaded guilty and accepted the ignominy of a conviction for murder and the penalty of penal servitude for life. Speaking as coolly as I can in reference to this matter, I believe if ever a murderer deserved to be put upon his trial and sentenced to death that man is George Bolton. What were these poor men to do? They were at a distance from their homes and their friends, and they were strongly urged by their priest to plead guilty. The priest in question has been very much criticized for his action, but he explains his reasons for advising these innocent men to plead guilty very fairly. The House must bear in mind that the Judge who tried the preceding three prisoners, who had been already convicted, had expressed publicly an absolute belief in the correctness of the verdict, and in the truth of the evidence, and that the remaining five men were to be tried on absolutely the same evidence. What hope had they of anything but death in these circumstances. They had the same Judge, they had, practically speaking, the same jurors, at all events jurors chosen in exactly the same way, and from the same class of men—jurors who had been listening to the evidence in the preceding cases, and who had undoubtedly formed their opinion on it, and who had been listening to the declaration of the Judge. Remember, the prisoners had wives and large families depending upon them at home for their means of subsistence. They were ignorant, and could not speak a word of English, and they had to consider that while there was life there was hope. I do not think any of us ought to condemn either the men themselves, who, being innocent, pleaded guilty, or the priest who advised them to plead guilty, without, so far as we can, putting ourselves absolutely in their place; and I must say he would be a bold man who would stand up and say that, if you or I had been in their place, we would not have done exactly as they did. The priest says—

> "I argued with myself thus—if the men are guilty, their plea of guilty would do them no harm; if they are innocent, the truth will leak out. I was by no means a believer in their guilt; on the contrary, I rather believed they were innocent."

That was a candid statement; and although, no doubt, the priest will be found fault with by Members of the late Government for the course he took, as he was found fault with on the previous occasion, yet I should believe that the disposition to attack this clergyman is rather due to the fact that some chance of disclosing the truth and vindicating justice in reference to this matter has resulted from his action. Well, the prisoners pleaded guilty—one guilty man and four innocent men—and were sentenced to penal servitude for life. The execution of the two guilty men previously convicted, and of the innocent man, Miles Joyce, came on. An extraordinary scene took place at these executions, which first directed public attention to the probabilities of this case. Before describing that scene, I should like to say that the two guilty men lying under sentence of death, and awaiting execution with no hope before them, on the advice of their priest, sent for a magistrate a couple of days before their execution, and made dying declarations, which we have never been able to obtain. We know the nature of these declarations; but no thanks to the late Government. They used all the resources of subtlety which lay at their command in their replies to the Questions which were put by my hon. Friends in regard to this matter. They attempted to drag a red herring across the path, and throw dust in our eyes. Fortunately they have not succeeded, and we now know, as a matter of fact—although the present Government have followed the wretched and evil example of their Predecessors, and have refused to produce the declarations—that the dying declarations of these two guilty men contained an admission of their own guilt, and an avowal of the innocence of Myles Joyce, who was executed. Not only so, but they contained an admission of the guilt of all the men whose guilt we acknowledge, and an avowal of the innocence of all the men whose innocence we assert. That you deny; but you can only deny it at the cost of producing the declarations. We have thus considerable corroboration; but we have more—we have Miles Joyce's corroboration of his own innocence while being led to execution, and while on the verge of death. We have the fact that the two guilty men who were executed walked firmly to the scaffold without a murmur, acknowledging tacitly the justice of their sentence; while Miles

Joyce, on the other hand, constantly protested his innocence during the short and last walk which he made upon earth from his prison cell to the scaffold. The scene—which has been described in striking language by my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington)—of the execution was a painful and shocking one. Myles Joyce turned to the gaol officials as he passed to the scaffold, and, with the fiery vehemence of the Celt, declared he was innocent, but feared not to die. He called upon God to witness that he knew no more of the murder than the child unborn. The case so far is a strong one; but there is a great deal more strength yet. It would be unprofitable for me to weary the House with a detailed examination of the evidence given at the trial. Such an examination could only be made by a Commission, or some person or persons appointed under the authority of the Government; but there are certain broad and salient facts which I may fairly bring out. In the first place, we have the fact that some months after the execution, during religious observances which were being held by the Archbishop of Tuam, one of the informers, Casey, who corroborated the so-called independent testimony, came forward before the Archbishop and before some thousands of people who were assembled at their devotions in the church, and admitted not only his guilt of the murder itself, but also his guilt of having sworn away the lives of innocent men in order to save his own. His Grace, to say the least of it, is not an advanced politician—he is not the same as Dr. Croke or Dr. M'Nulty. He has a very high opinion of the rights of the British Government in Ireland, and of how much they ought to be allowed to do for the purpose of maintaining law and order; but he could not go as far as Lord Spencer wanted to hurry him. He was, however, very much struck with the circumstances of the confession of the informer Casey, and he wrote to the Lord Lieutenant informing him of the circumstances, asking the Lord Lieutenant to order an inquiry into the matter. Lord Spencer refused the inquiry; and although the Archbishop of Tuam reiterated his request, Lord Spencer finally and definitely refused to re-open the case in any way whatever. If hon. Members care to examine the pamphlet written by my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath in this case, they will find that the character of the story of the so-called independent witnesses was a most extraordinary and impossible one. If it were possible for them to go down and traverse the ground which those two witnesses alleged they traversed, it would be found that the facts as deposed to by them at the trials could not possibly have occurred. That matter is subsidiary; but it is a matter of some importance which will have to be investigated hereafter whenever this inquiry is granted. Then, again, an important fact connected with those trials was that the Crown alleged no motive against the 10 accused persons for the murder. This is a most unusual circumstance in a criminal case of the gravity of murder. But if the Crown were unable to supply a motive, we are able to supply abundant motives to influence the persons whom we accuse, and who have also been accused by the informer Casey, and by the guilty prisoner Michael Casey, who is suffering penal servitude, and who acknowledged his own guilt. Not only are we able to show motives for the commission of murder against the persons whom we charge, but we are also able to show motives against the two independent witnesses which, from our knowledge of Irish life, we think reasonably might have induced them to, and did induce them to, accuse innocent persons, who happened to be private enemies of their own, of the offence in question. We are able to show that the two independent witnesses who originated the accusation against the 10 prisoners lived in a state of constant war and in constant litigation with most of the prisoners whom they accused, and especially those of the accused who turned out to be innocent. For instance, Myles Joyce lived within 200 yards of Anthony Joyce, one of the independent witnesses, while Patrick Joyce and his son Thomas, both at present suffering penal servitude, and who are also innocent, lived still nearer to the house of the independent witnesses. Hon. Members who are familiar with the situation of Ireland in regard to mountain holdings will readily follow what I say when I explain that their little holdings are mixed up amongst each other in a state of inextricable confusion, that there are hardly any fences between the holdings, and the fences where they do exist are mostly tumble-down, and that there are constant disputes going on in regard to the trespass of stock and so forth. The chief cause of dispute between these different families was the trespassing of stock upon the common or undivided mountain pasture. We know there have been many murders committed in Ireland by reason of family disputes arising from such trespass. There were disputes between the families of the deceased and the families of what were called the independent witnesses. There had been prosecutions from time to time between them, and a short time before the murders at Maamtrasna there had been a pitched battle between Pat Joyce and Anthony Joyce, and Pat Joyce got six months' imprisonment at Galway Assizes. Anthony Joyce also got one month's imprisonment for an attack on Myles Joyce. Between Pat Joyce and Anthony Joyce there were perpetual disputes about trespass and assaults, which were heard at almost every Petty Sessions. On one occasion while returning home at night Pat Joyce was severely beaten by men alleged to have been employed by Anthony Joyce for the purpose. There was also a dispute with regard to a mare in foal belonging to John Joyce. In fact, the state of affairs was such as to render it exceedingly probable that either of the independent witnesses, as they were called, would have been inclined to take away the lives of any of the innocent persons whom they caused to be sent to prison and the scaffold. In addition there were the promised rewards. The Irish Executive had been in the habit of offering large rewards for the conviction of murderers in agrarian crimes. Until the time of the cases of the Joyces that precedent had never been broken. They had, therefore, every inducement to look forward to receiving a large sum as blood-money to be paid to them in this case. I now come to the most important part of this matter. The case for the Crown depended entirely upon the alleged fact that the 10 men who had been followed by the two independent witnesses on the night of the murder across a country several miles in extent, a very difficult country to traverse, wore no disguise, and were attired in their ordinary apparel, without blackening their faces or otherwise attempting to conceal their identity. I can show that there was overwhelming evidence then — which, however, the Crown suppressed — as there is evidence now, to the effect that the seven men who committed the murder had their faces blackened and wore the disguise which was very much in vogue amongst peasants in Ireland about to engage in some unlawful enterprize—white jackets. In other words, they were disguised as "White Boys." I will quote one of the passages from the evidence of the two independent witnesses who alleged that these men were not disguised. One of them, Anthony Joyce, said—

> "He had gone to bed and was awakened by his dogs barking. He went to the door and saw these men. He did not know them at first. He then went round to the back of his house, and then observed these men going to the house of Michael Casey. They went into Casey's house, the number of men at this time being ten, and he named the other four men and identified them fully. They wore no disguise."

Now, to identify them on the night when the moon was only in her fourth day in such a place would have been utterly impossible. Then, further on, he says in reference to this question of the absence of disguise, when asked as to the dress of one them—"They all wore dark clothes." Now, we can prove that they were all disgused in white jackets, and the Government will not attempt to deny it. Now, Sir, I have spoken of the absence of motive on the part of the prisoners. I have shown that the "independent witnesses," so called, had very strong motive—a motive which at all times has been found sufficient in Irish history to embitter ignorant peasants against each other; and now I come to the motive of the persons whom we accuse of having actually committed the murder. The case for the Crown was that 10 men committed the murder, and our case is that seven men committed the murder. That of the 10 men accused of committing this murder and convicted by the Crown four of them were numbered amongst this set of originally accused persons; four were guilty, and that the remaining six were innocent; that one of the seven men, John Casey, called "big John Casey," who was the leader and originator of the murder in question, had a motive which I shall show by-and-bye, and is at present at large in the district of Maamtrasna—not only at large, but absolutely under the protection of the police; that John Casey, junior, another of the seven men, is also at large; and that another murderer named Pat Leyden is in England, and that the Government can lay their hands on him at once. And now for the motive which influenced the seven murderers. This is an account of an interview which took place between Casey, the repentant informer, who confessed his double guilt to the Archbishop of Tuam and the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), who took a great deal of interest in this particular case—

> "And when you all met to arrange this murder the motive was that of stealing of sheep?—One of the motives was that Joyce, the murdered man, was in the habit of stealing sheep. He was a notorious sheep-stealer, and used to steal the sheep of his neighbour.
>
> "And was there any other motive except sheep-stealing?—Big John Casey and Joyce, the murdered man, had a quarrel about sheep, and were at law with one another. He had also threatened about ten times to shoot him. Pat Joyce was in the society of which Casey was the treasurer. I do not know much about it, as I was only three months home from England. This society has no connection with any society in Ireland."

It is notorious that the remnants of the old Ribbon societies in Ireland are directed and organized from England, and Pat Joyce has said so. John Casey said that if Pat Joyce attempted his life he would hand over their names to the police as members of the society. Joyce was constantly in the habit of stealing sheep; and not only so, but he belonged to the local Ribbon society, of which Casey was treasurer, and whose funds Joyce had appropriated for his own purposes. His appropriating money of that association, and threatening the life of big John Casey, who was also a member of that society, was, of course, amply sufficient motive in this ignorant part of Ireland. Well, Sir, I now come to the question of blackened faces. I have read to you extracts from the evidence of the two independent witnesses to show that practically the case for the Crown, so far as it was obtained, rested on the evidence of the independent witnesses, which could not be supported had it been known that the murderers had their faces blackened, and were disguised in white jackets. Now, I will first take the statement of the informer Casey, made to my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath on this point of the blackened faces. The man was asked why, as he was the greatest stranger, he did not go himself. He answered—"Surely we were all strangers, sir." They were all "strangers," for they had blackened faces. The local meaning of the term "stranger" is that the person is disguised. He continued—

> "I had no disguise but a soft hat tied down over my face. It was young John Casey blackened their faces in his father's house. Some of them had 'bawneens,' which mean white jackets, on them. Pat Joyce had his hat tied down over both his cheeks to cover his beard. Five men went into the house. Big John Casey held the light while the other four men were killing them. I asked that nothing should be done to the women or children, and big John Casey said it would not be safe to spare them if they were only the size of a 'top-coat button.'"

This was the sort of a man who was under the protection of the Constabulary. This man is well off, and lends money to the neighbours. Well, Sir, we have proof of another kind that the faces of the seven men were blackened and that they were disguised in white. We have proved it from the statement of the informer Casey, which I have just read to you. You may say—"I refuse to believe that informer now." If you refuse to believe the informer Casey, we have abundant indirect or secondary evidence which could not technically have been brought forward in the Court at the trial. In addition to that secondary evidence we also have further direct evidence in the dying declarations of the two boys, which declarations were suppressed by the Crown at the trial, and also in the depositions which were made at the inquest, and which were not brought under the notice of the prisoners' defenders, or to the knowledge of the Judge at the trial. This conversation took place between one of the constables of the district and the hon. Member for Westmeath some time after the murder was committed—

> "You are aware, I presume, constable, who it was that Casey says planned and paid for the murder?—Indeed I am, sir, it is no secret. I know it for a long time.
>
> "Do you think that this man was in it?—I know well he was in it, sir, and so does Sergeant Johnston."

This was the same Sergeant Johnston

who gave evidence against the 10 men who were convicted, most of them unjustly, and Sergeant Johnston, at the time he was getting up this false evidence, knew of the matters of fact which I am now going to relate. Big John Casey was the first man arrested, because he knew that big John Casey had a motive for killing them. The hon. Member for Westmeath further asked—

> "Is it not strange that these men went to commit the murder without having any disguise?—Indeed, they were disguised. They all had blackened faces, for the little boy that was alive after the murder told Sergeant Johnston and the police when they went to the house in the morning. He said that the people that killed his father and mother, and beat himself had blackened faces."

This is secondary evidence—that is, it could not have been produced at the trial. It should, however, have had influence with George Bolton, who must have known the facts, and have caused the Crown to stay their hands from committing a judicial murder. Father M'Hugh was called in to these boys, and one of them made his statement to him that the men's faces were blackened, and that they wore bawneens, or white jackets. John Collins, the first of the villagers who found the murdered family at 6 o'clock in the morning, and who was examined at the trial, said that Michael Joyce told him that he did not know the men who came into the house, as they had their faces dirty. In addition to this evidence, which was only indirect, and which was not available for the prisoners' advisers, we have direct evidence of a most important character in a copy of the Crown brief held by the Crown Prosecutor, which came into the hands of his hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath. In that brief appeared the name of George Bolton, and it appeared that that brief was prepared by him as Crown Solicitor. Within it was absolutely irrefutable internal evidence that George Bolton knew of the blackened faces and disguise. No less than four depositions in the brief, prepared by Mr. George Bolton, state that the actual assassins had blackened faces, and no copies of these depositions were furnished to counsel for the prisoners, who remained in absolute ignorance of this most important item of information. Here was a copy of one of the depositions made within the house by the deceased John Joyce, and by Collins, at the inquest. The following was a passage in the evidence of Collins:—

> "I then returned to the house of the deceased, John Joyce, and we then found John Joyce, Margaret Joyce, senior, Margaret Joyce, junior, and Bridget Joyce all quite dead. We then saw Pat Joyce and Michael Joyce. They were in bed. We spoke to them; we asked them what had happened them. Michael Joyce then told us he saw three men in the house. We then asked Michael Joyce if he knew the men. He said he did not know them, as they had their faces dirty. I did not speak to Pat Joyce."

Constable Johnston was also examined, and he made depositions at the preliminary investigation. His depositions were also withheld by the Crown. He says in his evidence at the magisterial investigation—

> "I went into the house. I asked Michael Joyce, through Sub-constable Lenihan, who spoke Irish, what happened last night. Michael Joyce said, in reply, that two or three men came into the room and shot him in bed. I asked him how many men did he see, and if he knew them. He said no, that their faces were black, and that there were three or four men. I then asked Pat Joyce did he know them, amd he said no, that their faces were black. I asked him if they had a light, and he said yes, a piece of bog deal."

Well, now, it might be fairly said that the evidence of Constable Johnston and the evidence of John Collins, being only evidence of what they heard, could not have been used by the prisoners' counsel at the trial, and that therefore it would have been useless to supply copies of these depositions to the defendants; but it would have given very important information to the prisoners' defenders, and which Mr. George Bolton, counsel for the Crown, must have known was important and actually vital—namely, the fact that the murderers had their faces blackened and were disguised. We have also evidence which was in the hands of the Crown at the time of the trial. They had the two dying declarations of the little boys. One of them was more than a little boy, for he was 17 years of age. They were made before Mr. Brady, R.M. Michael Joyce said—

> "There were two or three men came in. They had black on their faces."

This was sworn before Mr. Brady. The younger of the two boys, Patrick Joyce, survived his injuries, and the Crown paraded him in the witness chair at the trial. Through the interpreter he said that he did not know his catechism, and that he was not aware what would happen to him if he told a lie. Under these circumstances the Crown did not examine him. This boy, however, had been in the hands of the Crown officials for three months, and it would have been very easy in that time to have instructed him with regard to the existence of a Deity and the nature of an oath. When it was discovered that the declarations as to the disguise of the men would not fit in with the case of the Crown, they were suppressed and carefully kept from the knowledge of the prisoners' defenders, and the judicial murders were thereby committed by this suppression. In the brief which came into the possession of my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath there is this sentence, printed in italics, under Patrick Joyce's declaration—"Patrick Joyce has recovered, but his evidence is worthless." So said George Bolton. The evidence was worthless, no doubt, for the purpose of convicting innocent men; but it would not have been worthless for the purpose of convicting the murderers. The dying declarations entirely acquitted the persons who, I submit, were innocent. I assert that it is open to the Government to obtain from Michael Casey, now in Mountjoy Prison, a statement to the same effect; but Mr. George Bolton has refused to accept it. Well, Sir, I have shown the absence of motive as regards the persons charged by the Crown with a terrible crime of which they were convicted; I have shown the motives of the murderers; I have shown that the jury was packed; I have shown that Casey, the chief informer, and also Philbin have confessed their guilt. I have shown that, although the case for the prosecution could not be maintained for a single moment, so far as regarded the testimony of two independent witnesses, there was abundant evidence, both secondary and direct, in the possession of the Crown, which they deliberately kept back, to show that the murderers had their faces blackened and were disguised. I will say, therefore, that if this be not a case for inquiry, and more than a case for inquiry—absolute liberation, then never in the history of the criminal judicature of this or any country has there been an innocent man convicted; never was there a case which called more loudly for immediate and searching investigation by the Government of the day. The late Government had their own reasons for denying justice. I do not wish to throw water on a drowned rat. I do not wish to speak too harshly or too unkindly of the present occupants of the Front Opposition Bench; but if it be to take upon themselves guilt for the crime of others, if it be possible, by denial of justice and by screening the offenders to share in the responsibility in reference to crimes and offences committed by others, then I say that some of the guilt for the judicial murder of Myles Joyce and for the imprisonment of four other innocent men rests with the present occupants of the Front Opposition Bench. We brought this case forward and appealed for inquiry while they were in Office; but I suppose that they considered that as they had done so much to outrage public feeling and public opinion in Ireland, they might do a little more. I am thankful for the turn of events, and what I believe to be retributive justice, and I am now able to appeal to another tribunal against the offences of the late Government against justice in Ireland. It may be possible for the Irish people to forgive the conduct of Lord Spencer; but I feel sure that they never will forget it. We have, however, now to appeal to a different body of men who are not soiled with the injustice attaching to their Predecessors for the conviction unjustly of Myles Joyce. Certainly they have had nothing of the ignominy with which the late Government must always be regarded in Ireland. I have considerable confidence in appealing to them and appealing to a House of Commons constituted under their direction. I have some feeling that I am appealing to a better, as undoubtedly it is, in many respects, a different tribunal, and one having more claims to equity and justice than their Predecessors. We have had considerable experience of the present Government in the last Parliament. The present Home Secretary was then Home Secretary, and we always found that he listened with attention and examined carefully into the representations which we had to make in regard to matters of this description. In 1877, when the right hon. Gentleman held the high Office which he now worthily holds, he signed orders for the release of Michael Davitt, of O'Brien, of Sergeant M'Carthy, and of several others, whose release had been refused by the Liberal Government. We had nothing to complain of on the part of the Government to which the right hon. Gentleman belongs with regard to the personal treatment of prisoners and their release. I cannot but look upon that treatment as a hopeful augury for the future. I have also something further to go upon. In the debate of last year, the hon. and learned Gentleman who is now Solicitor General (Mr. Gorst) said that he could not understand why the Government should refuse inquiry altogether, and he desired most earnestly to impress on the Government that the administration of justice in Ireland should be above suspicion. He further suggested that some independent person, such as Lord Bramwell, should conduct an inquiry. And the noble Lord the present Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) said that, after an impartial examination of the evidence, the conclusion he had come to was that the officials charged with the vindication of the law had hardly shrunk from any process to obtain convictions in respect of the guilt or innocence of the prisoners. The noble Lord also said—

> "This was a case for an Imperial investigation of the administration of the late Government, and that he had come to the conclusion that in this case an inquiry was necessary. Such a step would give the Irish people increased confidence in the administration of the law. Any considerations like those which weighed with the Government were fatal to the interests of good government in that country."

These are great and noble words, and I look to this circumstance as giving me good hope and encouragement that Irish Members will be met by the present Government in a fair spirit, and that the result of the debate and of the inquiry which I hope will follow will be that in the cases of many suffering unfair imprisonment in Ireland, the prison doors will be opened, and in the case of those who have suffered the extreme penalties of the scaffold, their memories may be vindicated. The hon. Member concluded by moving the Amendment which stood in his name.

MR. W. J. CORBET said, that in seconding the Motion of the hon. Gentlemen the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), he wished to enter his protest against the abominable system by which so-called "law and order" had been maintained in Ireland, and to make an observation or two with respect to the way in which the Coercion Act had been enforced in the county with which he was connected. There was, perhaps, no county in Ireland which had more reason to complain on that head than the county of Wicklow. That county had been proclaimed at a time when profound peace and tranquillity prevailed within it. He brought the proclamation of the county under the notice of the late Chief Secretary, and the very extraordinary reason which that right hon. Gentleman gave for what had been done was, not because crime and outrage prevailed in the county, but because of its geographical position. That reason, he thought, would hardly commend itself to the minds of hon. Members. To show how the Government had acted in carrying out the Crimes Act, he would refer to the Return of crime and outrage in Wicklow. For 1880, 1881, and the five months ending the 31st of May of the year following, murders were *nil;* homicide, *nil;* assaults on the police, *nil;* incendiary fires, four; injury to property, seven; intimidation by threatening letters, 74. However, it was quite enough for any person to have the name of a Nationalist, who was accused, to draw down upon his head the vengeance of the Government, and to put in motion against him all those tricks and stratagems of the police and unscrupulous Crown Prosecutors, bent upon obtaining convictions at all hazards—such officials as French and Bolton, those arch-miscreants, whose names had been rendered infamous in connection with Castle rule in Ireland. On the other hand, anyone who had anti-National sympathies was screened from the consequences of his crimes. Why was it that the late Government did not grant an inquiry into the Maamtrasna case? Because the inquiry would result in their own discomfiture and disgrace. He hoped the present Government would take a lesson from the fate of the late Government, who were turned out of Office by the vote of the Irish Party, and not attempt, by official tergiversation, to prove that black was white.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the Government to institute strict inquiry into the evidence and convictions in the Maamtrasna, Barbavilla, Crossmaglen, and Castleisland cases, the case of the brothers Delahunty, and, generally, all cases in which witnesses examined in the trials now declare that they committed perjury, or in which proof of the innocence of the accused is tendered by credible persons, and that such inquiries, with a view to the full discovery of truth and the relief of innocent persons, should be held in the manner most favourable to the reception of all available evidence,"—(*Mr. Parnell,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I think it will be for the convenience of the House if I at once state the views and intentions of the Government with reference to the Motion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and I shall make the less apology for doing so now because the remarks I have to make will be very brief. The speech of the hon. Member appears to me to be divided into two parts. Most of it was devoted to an endeavour to establish the merits of the case which he presented to the House, and to criticism of the action of the late Government and their officers. A very much smaller part was devoted to the precise nature of the inquiry which the hon. Member asked the House to institute. I have nothing to say to the House upon the merits of the case which has been presented by the hon. Member, because, as I shall presently show, it would in my judgment be quite premature for me to enter upon that subject; neither is it for me in any way to defend, if it be in need of defence, the action of the late Government or their officials. Not only are hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite perfectly competent to defend themselves; but I must say very frankly that there is much in the Irish policy of the late Government which, though in the absence of complete information I do not condemn, I should be very sorry to make myself responsible for. There is one observation that I should like to make with reference to speeches which I have heard more than once in the debates upon Irish matters. During the last three years statements have been made in that quarter of the House in which the hon. Member for the City of Cork sits as to the personal character rather than the political action of Lord Spencer, which I have very deeply regretted to hear, and which, in my judgment, have disfigured our debates. Lord Spencer is not solely responsible for the Irish policy of the late Government, and I believe him absolutely to be incapable of such conduct as has been imputed to him, not, I am glad to say, by the hon. Member for the City of Cork to-day, but by hon. Members who have spoken on similar subjects on previous occasions. I believe Lord Spencer to be an honourable gentleman. He undertook at a very grave crisis with great courage and self-sacrifice a difficult and dangerous task. In my opinion, Lord Spencer and his Colleagues have made many mistakes; but I am convinced that in all he did he acted according to what he believed to be his bounden duty, and for all his actions the whole of his Colleagues are equally responsible, even that right hon. Gentleman who is absent to-day, but who did not wait to be out of Office before he denounced what he called the absurd and irritating anachronism of Castle government in Dublin and the whole system in which he had quietly and comfortably acquiesced, while Lord Spencer was incurring the odium and running the danger. That is all I wish to say with reference to the action of the late Government. I am not about to express an opinion as to whether their action in this particular matter which the hon. Member for the City of Cork has brought before the House was right or wrong. My reason for expressing no such opinion is that it is impossible for the present Government in such a matter to shelter themselves behind the action of their Predecessors. I hold that it would be Constitutionally wrong for us to take any such course, and I make that observation as a general proposition, and not merely with reference to the particular cases which have been brought before the House. It is a simple fact that every prisoner in Ireland, whoever he be, has the right of appealing to the Lord Lieutenant of the day for reconsideration or remission of his sentence, and no

Lord Lieutenant could do his duty who closed the door to any such appeal, or endeavoured to relieve himself of the responsibility of making the most careful and searching inquiry into it in deference to the decision or opinion of his Predecessors. The present Lord Lieutenant is the last man, I will venture to say, who would endeavour in such a way to shield himself from his Constitutional responsibility, and he has authorized me to state that if Memorials should be presented or statements made to him on behalf of those persons who are referred to in this Motion, they will be considered by him with the same personal attention which he would feel bound to give to all cases, whether great or small, ordinary or exceptional, coming before him, with an earnest desire to ascertain and carry into effect the requirements of justice. That is the statement I have to make on this subject. I think I may say that there is no man in political life who would be more certain to discharge such a duty conscientiously and with greater freedom from prejudice than my noble Friend who is now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In its discharge he would be able to obtain, and he would naturally seek, the advice and assistance of legal authorities and others, and for the adequate discharge of such a duty he and his Colleagues would be responsible to Parliament. The hon. Member for the City of Cork asks that we should institute an inquiry of a nature which I do not quite understand, but which appears to be an inquiry which would not be undertaken by the Lord Lieutenant, who is Constitutionally responsible for such matters, but by some person or other to whom his authority should be relegated. It appears to me that such a proposal is in absolute derogation of the Constitutional powers and duties of the Lord Lieutenant, and it is one to which I am unable to accede. I would ask the support of the House in resisting it, not by any means as inviting hon. Members to express approval of anything that we have done, but in order to retain to the Executive Government its responsibilty in this case, which is stated, and I think rightly, to be of grave importance, in the full assurance that after the matter has been considered, and after those responsibilities have been discharged to the best of our power, we shall be prepared to account for our actions in the House of Commons.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that he entirely concurred with the right hon. Gentleman in the practical conclusion to which he had come that this Motion could not be accepted by the House. The subject which had been brought before them was no new one; it had at a former time been discussed for four days, and it could hardly be alleged that one single new fact or suggestion had been brought forward since the matter was argued and determined by the House of Commons in the month of November or December last. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, now said that he had not been able to make up his mind upon this case. How was it that the right hon. Gentleman and hon. Gentlemen with whom he acted last November did not find the same difficulty? He said he wanted time before he would undertake to defend the Judiciary of Ireland. But it was his (Sir William Harcourt's) duty, at all events, not to allow the Judges and juries of Ireland to be thrown overboard by the responsible Government of the Queen. They were not speaking, nor did the Motion speak, of the conduct of the Executive in Ireland. Those who were attacked and who were abandoned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer were the juries and Judges of Ireland. For them there was not a word of defence. A Member of the existing Government, who in November last sat upon the Opposition Bench and who was now in "another place"—he meant the Lord Chancellor of Ireland—was the Adviser of the Lord Lieutenant. He had no difficulty in making up his mind last November on the case. But he expressed his opinion in the House. Had the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who had to advise on this case, no opinion on it now? To say that Her Majesty's Government had no knowledge of the case, and had not had time to inquire into it, was a proposition which was absolutely absurd. He did not think it right that the juries of Ireland who had done their duty should be thrown overboard by the responsible Government. What was the charge, upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not a word to say, made by the hon. Member for the City of Cork against the juries? He said that these men were found guilty by packed juries.

At the time when those juries had done their duty in Ireland an opinion on the subject was expressed by a Prelate who the hon. Member for the City of Cork said was not a person of advanced opinions. But he should imagine that the editor of *United Ireland* might be described as a person of advanced opinion; and what did he say about these packed juries? He said, on the trial of the first prisoner charged—

> "We may venture for once to point out that there were at least five Roman Catholics on the jury, and we believe these Catholic jurors did their duty no less fearlessly, and their verdict will be approved and scrupulously respected."

That was what the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) said when the jury had just found their verdict; and now hon. Gentlemen from Ireland turned round and said that it was a packed jury. And yet the responsible Minister of the Crown had not a word to say in defence of this packed jury, who had done their duty to society in Ireland. The three trials went on, and when the rest of the prisoners pleaded guilty the same paper said—

> "The Maamtrasna trials are over, and such of the miserable creatures as did not turn approvers have been sentenced to be hanged. We believe the public are satisfied that a disgraceful butchery has been avenged upon convincing evidence by juries comparatively fairly chosen."

And yet hon. Gentlemen from Ireland turned round and said these were packed juries. That was the manner in which this case was now presented to the House. Last November, so impossible was it to pretend that these juries were packed that the points were abandoned entirely in the course of the arguments; and yet now, some seven months afterwards, this charge was reproduced. He would now come to the Judges who had been attacked that day, and who had not been defended by the Government of the Queen. What did the hon. Member for the City of Cork say about these Judges? He denounced the Judge who presided at the second trial. [MR. PARNELL: I denounced his speech to the jury.] That was what he was going to refer to, and the hon. Member for the City of Cork said it was not only an injudicious, but an unjudicial speech. Now, everybody knew that a Judge who presided at a trial on an important criminal matter, when he himself was perfectly satisfied with the evidence, gave the jury his support, and ought to do so. The observations of the Judge were most proper observations, and were such as were made on almost all occasions in important criminal trials. Then, again, the men in the second trial and in the first were guilty. Then, why should not the Judge say the jury had done their duty upon conclusive evidence in convicting guilty men? And yet it was charged against the Judge that he had unfairly and improperly prejudiced the jury against the prisoners. Such a proposition was monstrous. He declared, therefore, that this attack upon the Judges of Ireland, as well as upon the juries of Ireland, was one totally unfounded, and which ought not to have been made. He would not go over in detail the whole of the case of the Maamtrasna murders. They entered upon that in very great detail last November. The speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork was exactly the same as that of last November, and his arguments they had also heard before. But as the hon. Member had laid the whole stress of his argument on the Maamtrasna case, and had referred very lightly to the others, he would just very briefly note the points to which he had referred. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the Colleagues of Lord Spencer were responsible for his actions. Yes, they were responsible for them, and were proud of it.

MR. HEALY: Where is Dilke and Chamberlain? [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: You are proud of Cornwall and French. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he had hoped that some decency had been restored to the proceedings of that House.

MR. SEXTON: Set the example, then.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: What were the facts of the Maamtrasna case? A horrible murder, which everybody knew too well, took place, and three men came forward and said that they saw 10 men go to the house. The evidence and the character of those three persons had never been impugned, and he did not know that there was any reason why they should. There was nothing in the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork which he thought more terrible than the part in which he described the motives for the crime to be the stealing of sheep belonging to a Ribbon Society. These three men, whose evidence had not been and, in his opinion, could not be impugned, came forward and said that they saw the 10 men, and that they knew them. As to Myles Joyce, they could not be mistaken, as he lived close to them, and was a relative of their own. Two of the men identified all the 10 prisoners, and the third, Patrick Joyce, identified all except Philbin, who afterwards admitted his guilt. That in itself was certainly very strong evidence. Three men who had the means of knowing swore to the fact of the prisoners going to the house. He pointed out last November that this was not a case where you had approvers only, and wanted corroboration; but they had three independent witnesses, and the approvers were only corroborators of them. Neither was it a case in which one jury might have gone wrong; but there were three separate trials by three separate juries. Three independent witnesses were corroborated by two approvers; three men were convicted, and five pleaded guilty. In all, nine out of the 10 men admitted their guilt; and if they were guilty, the allegation of Myles Joyce's innocence fell to the ground. The hon. Member for the City of Cork admitted that four of the men were guilty; but he said that the other men were innocent. This assertion was based on the statements of the informer Casey; but why should reliance be placed on the statements of a man who asserted that he perjured himself? It was also a remarkable fact that if the six men were innocent not one of them could prove an *alibi*, or attempted to prove an *alibi*.

Mr. PARNELL: Their wives were not admissible witnesses.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he thought that was an idle remark, because wives were not the only witnesses who knew where persons were. The men had children and friends who might have proved that some of the prisoners were elsewhere at the time that the murders were committed. The hon. Member for the City of Cork had made a great point of the dying declaration of one of the boys not having been produced; but the solicitor to the prisoners knew of the depositions, and obtained copies of the depositions in which the dying boy's statement as to the blackened faces was set out.

Mr. PARNELL said, the solicitor had not the dying declaration, which was the only legal evidence.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, it was idle to go into all these charges again, which had all been already disposed of. The hon. Member for the City of Cork accepted the present statement of Casey as true, that six of the prisoners whom he swore were of the murderous party were not of the party. But what foundation was there for such an hypothesis? Why should Casey's present story be believed in opposition to the statement of the three Joyces, especially when he had stuck to his first story for 18 months? The trial at which it was alleged the informer was coerced by Mr. Bolton was not the only occasion when the informers made their statement. Casey and Philbin returned to the Maamtrasna district, and received police protection there, and in the course of an investigation, when they were examined on May 20, adhered on oath to their statements; and on a later occasion, July 28, Casey stated that Myles Joyce was of the party. Then, 18 months later, he turned round and said the whole story was untrue—that it was another set of men. What ground had they for believing him against the evidence of other witnesses, and the opinion of Judge and jury? Were they to upset the verdict of three juries on the mere statement of a man who was admittedly a murderer, and who, according to his present statement, was also a perjurer? No doubt, the whole case was one that ought to be inquired into; but Lord Spencer did inquire into it fully, and with just such legal assistance as Lord Carnarvon would now have to rely on. It was idle to say that Lord Spencer refused an inquiry. He made all the inquiry it was possible for him to make. If the extraordinary accumulation of evidence, such as he had never known in any criminal case, with several approvers themselves admitting their guilt, were to be set aside by allegations, the most improbable he had ever heard set up by a man who for months had sworn to a totally different story, and now set up an entirely different theory on the subject, he ventured to say that no conviction could ever stand in England or Ireland. If they chose to treat the Judges and the juries, and if they chose to treat the evidence in the way which was proposed now in the face of a case which he thought as overwhelming as any which had been laid before him, then, indeed, the experiment which the Government professed they were going to make to try and enforce the ordinary law was doomed beforehand to certain failure, because when the experiment of trying to govern Ireland by the ordinary law was begun by a covert attack, or rather an open attack covertly supported, on the juries and the Judges of Ireland, they might depend upon it that the experiment of governing Ireland by the ordinary law was an experiment which had failed. He wished to know how they were going to administer the ordinary law except through those juries which were first denounced as being packed, and which were subsequently admitted to be fair, and by means of those Judges who had been denounced for carrying out their duty in executing the law? The attack had been principally against the Judges and the juries who came to this conclusion and found this verdict. If they were packed juries and unjust Judges, what right had they to exercise or administer the law by such machinery? It was not the business of a Government to re-try a case. It was the business of the Government, in dealing with these painful criminal cases, to see whether there were circumstances which had subsequently arisen to throw so much doubt upon the sentence passed by the Judge and the verdict given by the jury as would justify the intervention of the mercy of the Crown. He hoped it would never be established in this country what the hon. Member for the City of Cork openly avowed was his expectation—he did not see the Chancellor of the Exchequer much discountenance the notion—that a change of Government was to open the prison doors. He could say honestly that if this had not been an Irish case but an English case coming before him for consideration he should have come unhesitatingly to the same conclusion as he had done—that it was not a case in which there were any circumstances of sufficient gravity or sufficient force to overcome the evidence of the witnesses whether independent, whether they were informers, or whether the confession of the parties themselves, to justify an interference with the verdict or the sentence. The hon. Member for the City of Cork had condemned the manner in which the prosecution had been conducted. No man would more strongly condemn than he would the withholding of anything, direct or indirect, from the prisoners in circumstances which could tell in their favour. If he thought that any of the documents had been kept away from the prisoners or from the defence which they ought to have had he should have condemned it; but he was bound to say that he believed the solicitor for the defence had all the knowledge available. ["No, no!"] He had the documents from which the hon. Member for the City of Cork read —the depositions of Collins and Johnston. Having had an opportunity of considering the case and the consequences of the Motion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, he could not say that his view of the matter was in the least degree altered. It seemed to him that the verdict of the jury was a right one on the evidence; and that the sentence of the Judge was a right one, no one, he thought, would dispute. The only material fact that he could see in the case was the statement of the informer Casey. He was bound, however, to say that after the consideration he had given to the statement it seemed to him to be entirely unworthy of credence. There was another point in the alleged confessions of the men themselves. According to his experience this was very unreliable evidence. They might be guided to a right conclusion by the dying declaration of a prisoner; but they might also be greatly misled, and it required the most careful consideration to arrive at a right judgment. He had come to the conclusion that any statement of that kind was not sufficient to overcome what he must call the overwhelming evidence which led to the conviction of these unhappy men. It was not true that the Executive Government had refused inquiry. They made all the inquiry that could be made. They did it upon their own responsibility. As long as a man remained under sentence he had a right to appeal to the Executive to reconsider his case. He had never refused that consideration himself; he had considered cases several times over. So far as that Motion was intended to cast blame on the Judiciary or on the late Executive Government of Ireland he thought it was an unfounded censure, and one that would not be ratified by the vote of the House.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): Sir, if the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down had commenced his remarks in the same tone as he has concluded them there would have been very little for me to comment upon. But I own that I think that the tone in which he began his observations on this most difficult and anxious question is one which the House cannot too strongly deprecate. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), whether he was right or wrong in the case which he has laid before the House, at any rate has introduced the subject with perfect calmness of demeanour and argument; and he was followed by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a speech of equal calmness, and which was animated by all the dignity acquired by a sense of heavy responsibility. But the right hon. Gentleman opposite bounded to his feet and commenced his speech in tones of the greatest excitement, flinging the wildest and most unjustifiable charges at my right hon. Friend—charges which were not supported by a single sentence that fell from him, and which displayed his perfect incapacity to arrive at a judgment on this case. We are informed that if the late Government had remained in Office the right hon. Gentleman, it was generally supposed, would have been exalted to the high dignity of the Woolsack. All I can say is that if the judicial qualities which he has exhibited to-night would have marked his administration of the highest Office of the law, then the fall of the late Government is not quite so great a calamity as perhaps he supposes. The right hon. Gentleman set himself up as the defender of the Irish Judges, and he attacked the hon. Member for the City of Cork; he also attacked my right hon. Friend, and charged my right hon. Friend with almost being an accomplice with the hon. Member for the City of Cork in an attack upon the Irish Judges. The charge is a ridiculous and absurd one on the face of it. But with what grace does it come from the right hon. Gentleman? I recollect that when the right hon. Gentleman filled the Office of Home Secretary he made what was felt to be the strongest and by some to be the wildest attack upon the old English Judiciary. It was when the conduct of certain trials were called in question. And what did the right hon. Gentleman say of the English Judges, of whom he should have been the principal defender? He said that hon. Members seemed to think that cases of improper conviction were so rare that he should be easily able to recall the circumstances; that, on the contrary, they occurred every week, and that he had them constantly before him.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Will the noble Lord allow me for one moment? I did not say so, but it was said at the time I made the observation, and I explained and said that I had said nothing of the kind, but that appeals were occurring every week. But I did not specifically state that wrongous convictions took place every day.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): I am quoting from the report of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks. Whether the report is strictly accurate or not I cannot say, after what has fallen from him. But being in the House at the time, and knowing also the effect of his statement on the minds of those among my Colleagues who heard them, I do insist that the right hon. Gentleman at that time said that there were constant miscarriages of justice at English trials. Then I say that it does not lie with the right hon. Gentleman, having himself cast such a slur on the English Judicial Bench in a Ministerial position, to bring charges against my right hon. Friend for not having defended the Irish Judges. The right hon. Gentleman has quoted in reference to this case the opinion of my noble and learned Friend Lord Ashbourne, who, he said, if he had been in this House still, would have taken a different line, and would have had no difficulty whatever in making up his mind on this particular case. Well, I can tell the right hon. Gentleman that in that statement, as in most of his statements, he is perfectly wrong. I remember well what took place in the former debate on this case; and in talking over the matter with my noble and learned Friend I recollect that he thought it was a case of very great difficulty, and although he decided to vote for the then Government in the line which they took up, he made a most calm, moderate, and impartial speech. And if the right hon. Gentleman thinks that Lord Ashbourne, in arriving at that conclusion, arrived at it with great consideration and great difficulty, he is making a grievous mistake. And as to the action of any Member of the then Opposition at that time in the matter, it should be remembered that we had not then full official information before us. We have not got it even now. The time has not yet arrived when the full official information on this case has been before all the Members of the Government. But, certainly, when the previous debate took place, we were not in possession of the sources of information and opinion which guided Earl Spencer's action on this question. There was a whole heap of information that we had not at that time, and the absence of which might lead to a wrong conclusion on the matter. I do not say for a moment that the Members of the late Government then came to a wrong conclusion upon it. Upon that I pronounce no opinion. The right hon. Gentleman said that the Judge and the jury were thrown overboard by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That is an entire delusion. My right hon. Friend never alluded for a moment to the Judge or the jury. My right hon. Friend, who was Chief Secretary for Ireland for three years under Lord Beaconsfield's Government, knows that Lord Justice Barry, who presided at this trial, is the last man in the world who would be guided in the conduct of a criminal trial by any other consideration than a desire to use all his great ability to arrive at a just conclusion. But assume for a moment that circumstances were to turn up in regard to any case under the Crimes Act, and where sentence had been passed, in which information came to light that went to throw doubts upon the conviction, would the right hon. Gentleman assert that the Judge and the jury in that particular case would be thrown overboard if the Lord Lieutenant were to advise the exercise of the prerogative of mercy or the grant of a free pardon by the Crown? Why, then, should the right hon. Gentleman bring that charge against my right hon. Friend? Even if he had pronounced an opinion on this particular case, the charge of throwing overboard the Judge and jury could not be sustained. Then the right hon. Gentleman spoke of the responsibility of the late Government for all the actions of Lord Spencer; and that was quite right. But more than that, the right hon. Gentleman was chivalrous and noble to the last degree. He said —"We were proud of the administration of Lord Spencer." I should like the right hon. Gentleman kindly to tell us whom he includes in the particle "we." The right hon. Gentleman made a speech some years ago, by which he electrified the country, and in which he claimed Royal descent. We know it is the prerogative of Royalty to speak in the plural number. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether we are to understand that he used the "we" in that exalted character, or did he mean to convey to the House that the whole of the late Government, as a body, are very proud of the administration of Lord Spencer? And does he think that the Division List of to-night will show that his expression of the pride of the late Government in Lord Spencer's administration was warranted or correct? That is a matter which the Division List will decide. The right hon. Gentleman said that our experiment of governing Ireland by the ordinary law is foredoomed to failure if we so much as hint at the idea that our mind on this Maamtrasna case is not as absolutely and conclusively made up as is his own. I will tell you how the present Government will be foredoomed to failure. They will be foredoomed to failure if they go out of their way unnecessarily to assume one jot or tittle of the responsibility for the acts of the late Administration. It is only by divesting ourselves of all responsibility for the action of the late Government and by taking the full responsibility for our own action that we can hope to arrive at a successful issue in the task on which we have entered. The right hon. Gentleman also went on to say that the Judges were attacked and were undefended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I would point out that if my right hon. Friend had chosen, as the right hon. Gentleman seems to think he ought to have done, to declare in the strongest terms that every circumstance connected with this particular trial was perfectly correct and as infallible as possible, what, I ask, would be the value of any inquiry into it that might subsequently be opened? My right hon. Friend has said that it is the duty of the Lord Lieutenant, on a Memorial being presented, to inquire carefully and impartially into the case of every prisoner who so memorializes. What, then, would be the value of that inquiry? What weight would it have with the Members of this House or in Ireland if my right hon. Friend had taken up the extraordinary attitude which the right hon. Gentleman suggests? We pronounce now no opinion on this case. It is not before the Irish Government. When any Memorial comes before the Lord Lieutenant in the ordinary course with regard to this case or any other case he will, I am certain, make inquiry into the circumstances of that Memorial. Now, I might be asked why I voted in the year 1884 for the Motion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, which asked for full and public inquiry, and why I do not support the Motion to-night, which asks for a strict inquiry. This is the reason. I voted in 1884 with the hon. Member for the City of Cork because I had no confidence in the administration of Lord Spencer. I shall vote against the hon. Member for the City of Cork to-night, in case he should take a division, because I have full confidence in the administration of Lord Carnarvon. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] I know that that is a ridiculous proposition for a Member of the Government to make in the eyes of hon. Gentlemen opposite. A part of the Party opposite never possesses confidence in the other part, or in their own Government. The right hon. Member for Birmingham has no confidence in the noble Lord who sits with him, and the noble Lord has no confidence in the right hon. Gentleman. This is not the policy of the Tory Government; we do not proceed on these lines. The inquiry instituted by Lord Spencer, which I had no confidence in, must be judged by the whole course of his administration in Ireland. That administration gave me no confidence whatever that the inquiry would in any degree bind the Members of the House of Commons. But with my knowledge of the character of Lord Carnarvon, of his high sense of justice and honour, of his cultured intellect, and of the determination which he has formed, so far as in him lies, to do justice in the administration of Ireland, I feel convinced that if by any chance there has been a miscarriage of justice in this case—and on that I will pronounce no opinion whatever—I say I feel convinced that that miscarriage will be brought to light, and that justice, so far as may be, will be done. That being so, I would put it to the hon. Member for the City of Cork whether he would be altogether wise or fair in proceeding with his Motion. If he means by his Motion to ask for an inquiry into this case which a prisoner by the Constitution has a right to demand, that he will get if Memorials are presented in the proper manner. If he means, on the other hand, a special inquiry carried on by some other persons unconnected with the Irish Government, then he is asking us to vote a special, distinct, and unmistakable want of confidence in the personal acts of Lord Carnarvon. That, of course, is a proceeding which we cannot for a moment contemplate. The Motion of the hon. Member, if carried, would limit, to a great extent, the action of the Irish Government. I do not imagine that the proceedings which took place under the Crimes Act will be exempt from any investigation, except only the proceedings he mentioned. All convicts in Ireland who may think themselves unjustly convicted have a right to appeal for a consideration of their cases, and they will be considered by a Nobleman who approaches the investigation without bias and with a desire to ascertain the truth. I should like to point out that there never was a more difficult question than this which the late Home Secretary has disposed of so cavalierly. I decline to pronounce a single opinion upon the question; but to show the House and the public how difficult a one the case is I will say this—that it occupied the attention of the House for four consecutive nights. In the debate which took place upon it all Parties took part. Some of the best lawyers in the House, including the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell), who has a legal reputation at least as high as the right hon. Gentleman the late

Home Secretary, the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke), and my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General (Mr. Gorst) took part in the debate, and arrived at an opinion on the case rather different from that of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. For four nights the House debated the question, and in the middle of the debate a Cabinet Council was held. Not until the last night of the debate was it known which way the Government would go. It is a notorious and well-known fact that the Cabinet Council was held on this question in the middle of this debate. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT was understood to say that that statement was not correct.] I am surprised that the late Home Secretary should have contradicted that statement. It is a notorious fact, though it may not be known to the right hon. Gentleman. It is notorious that not until the last night of the debate, when the Prime Minister spoke, was it known which way he would vote. That is one of the cases which, according to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, presents no difficulty at all, and one on which, he says, we ought not to have the smallest difficulty in making up our minds. I do not regret the tone which the late Home Secretary has adopted in this matter. He has shown what was the spirit and animus which regulated the policy of the late Administration in a manner than which the House can desire no brighter example. He has taken upon himself to prejudge the acts of the Government without the slightest foundation. I congratulate him upon the success which he has scored for the policy of the late Administration; and, differing altogether from him and at the same time declining to pronounce any opinion upon the case before the House, I shall still record a vote against the Motion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork.

MR. PARNELL: I desire to ask the leave of the House to withdraw my Motion; and in doing so I may, perhaps, be permitted to explain why I make this request. The suggestion made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a very reasonable one. The fact that the present Government has only just come into Office, and that the proper and usual course is to memorialize the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland with regard to the case of these prisoners, ought to be considered. The late Lord Lieutenant was memorialized before I brought my last Motion on in this House. An opportunity for doing so was not afforded in the present case; and I think under the circumstances, and in answer to the appeal of the noble Lord, that it would not be prudent for me to go to a division after the two speeches which the House has heard from the Government. I have every confidence that Lord Carnarvon, the present very able administrator and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, will hold a fair and impartial inquiry into the matter, and that the result will be that justice will be done.

MR. BRODRICK said, he hoped the Motion would not be allowed to be withdrawn by the Government. The speeches made from the Government Bench were, to his mind, calculated to break the whole continuity of the administration of law and justice in Ireland. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for India had in the strongest manner expressed the absolute want of confidence which he entertained in the policy of the late Government, which, at its inception, the whole of the Treasury Bench heartily approved of, and which, had they accepted Office at the time Lord Spencer did, they would have been forced to carry out. He (Mr. Brodrick) had not been one of those who during Lord Spencer's period of Office went about abusing him for truckling to rebellion, nor was he going to be one of those who now jeered at him as the foiled advocate of coercion. He confessed he felt it impossible to understand the purely negative position which the Government had taken up in this matter of the Maamtrasna massacres. But, interpreted as it would be by their statements on Lord Spencer's policy, it would have a very damaging effect. The expressions of opinion from the Ministerial Bench might, in fact, stand side by side with the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham as to the absurd and irritating system of Castle government in Ireland; for if they meant anything, they meant an imputation, not only on Lord Spencer, but on all the officials who advised and assisted him in the carrying out of his policy; and with that imputation upon them how could anyone expect them to gain the confidence of the Irish people? This was not a matter in which landlord and tenant were concerned, and in which Lord Spencer might have been influenced by class interests; nor was it a political murder; but it was one in which peasants only were concerned. There could, therefore, be no question of Lord Spencer's impartiality. Under these circumstances, he appealed to the Government to say whether they believed that those convictions could be obtained without change of venue, and the prior inquisition, the use of which was so severely deprecated by the Secretary for India (Lord Randolph Churchill). He appealed to hon. Gentlemen opposite to say whether they did not regard the conduct of the Government to-night as a practical overthrow of all those safeguards which had existed in Ireland; and he appealed to the House of Commons whether they were not asked to condemn the administration of justice in Ireland? The decision arrived at by Lord Spencer ought either to be reconsidered by a direct inquiry, or to be deemed sufficient. He did not deny that there were very serious matters of doubt. He could not but admit that the special points brought forward to-night by the hon. Member for the City of Cork—he meant the depositions of the two boys not handed to the counsel, and the depositions of the two men with regard to Myles Joyce's innocence—deserved consideration. But all these points were tried by the House of Commons nine months ago. How, then, when no new facts had been brought forward to-night, were they to re-open the question by a public investigation? In this matter, at all events, the late Government were of one mind, or, if they were not, it was the only instance in which the one dissenting Member had not gone down to the country, explained his vote, and abused his Colleagues. He would ask this one question—Were they to consider that this Government absolutely declined to accept any responsibility for the actions of the late Government under an Act which they had so heartily approved? If they took that position, a considerable triumph would be obtained by hon. Gentlemen opposite, who would have so manipulated the matter that by pitting one Party in the House against another they had become masters of the whole. While the Irish Members had made the re-introduction of the Crimes Act almost a physical impossibility, it had been reserved for Her Majesty's Government to make it morally impossible by the stigma they had passed upon their Predecessors. He did not himself believe in perpetual government by coercion; but he believed there were certain safeguards without which Her Majesty's Government could not expect to rule Ireland successfully, unless by the favour of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He did not mean that any corrupt arrangement had been entered into between the Government and the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He regretted the speech of the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) the other night, when he seemed to insinuate something of the kind. He could not forget that in October, 1880, when the whole country was crying out for coercion, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was the only person who on that side stood up to declare that he rejoiced the Government were going to adopt all the means which the law of the land gave them before asking Parliament for extraordinary powers. He believed the right hon. Gentleman was honestly carrying out the policy which he then foreshadowed. But he could not but remember the results which followed the adoption of that policy. Considering the events which convulsed Ireland during the winter of 1880, the defiance of the law, and the utter disruption of society which followed, he could not but ask the right hon. Gentleman was he wise in trusting his Government to the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and allowing the policy which had alone saved Ireland from complete anarchy to be denounced by the Secretary of State for India? He hoped the Government would be successful in their policy of conciliation; but it would be by showing that, the continuity of policy having been broken, the continuity of purpose remained the same. If the hon. Member for the City of Cork, after the triumph that had been won, should see that his advantage lay in preserving order, well and good; but if he should decide to exercise his power by again showing the impotence of juries, and again setting on foot the practice of "Boycotting" and intimidation——if he should, even in the approaching election, make it his duty to "Boycott" candidates who were offensive to the National Party, and those who attended their meetings, all the powers of the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary would not be able to stem the torrent of agitation; and the right hon. Gentleman might wish that he had not so hastily discarded safeguards which had only been adopted after a winter in which the assizes had resulted in acquittal in every case of agrarian crime. The present position of the Government seemed anomalous and inconsistent. They were taking a part of the responsibility where they ought, undoubtedly, to assume the whole. They ought either to give a full inquiry, or to take the responsibility of refusing it. If his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry should move his Amendment, in which he condemned the inquiry as to verdicts returned by properly constituted juries, he would support him, becaused he believed that any other course would only perpetuate evils which had been time after time denounced by the present Ministers, and lead to mischievous results, which had been clearly foreseen.

MR. HARRINGTON said, that after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the late Secretary of State for the Home Department, he wished to put the House in possession of some facts which had not been mentioned. If he were rightly informed, the inconsistency with which the hon. Member who had just sat down had charged others might be charged against himself, for, on the last occasion, he had voted in favour of an inquiry. One might almost fancy, judging from the speech of the late Secretary of State for the Home Department, that there were no difficulties connected with this extraordinary case. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill), in a speech which did him infinite credit, and which would do a great deal to win for him the sympathy and generous support of a large section of the people of Ireland, pointed out that even the Members of the late Government themselves were in the greatest doubt as to the course they ought to take when the question was before the House at the commencement of last Session. The late Secretary of State for the Home Department would lead the House to suppose that the case before the jury was perfectly clear, and that nothing had since arisen to cast the slightest doubt upon it. But the fact was that not a single newspaper or person in or out of the House who had investigated the matter would agree with him. The right hon. Gentleman said that the case rested upon three independent witnesses; but, practically, the three independent witnesses were reduced to one. Much stress had been laid on the fact that, at one time or another, nine out of the 10 men charged with the murder had pleaded guilty. Their confessions, however, were worth nothing, because they were the result of the pressure brought to bear upon them by the officials; and it should be borne in mind that the men with regard to whom an inquiry was demanded protested that they were innocent as they were being hurried out of Court. It appeared from the depositions of Thomas Casey that there were constant feuds between the people with respect to sheep-stealing and the trespass of cattle, and that was shown by a statement of Casey to the effect that—"I did not go to the wake or the funeral." He would point out that that statement had been underlined by the counsel, and that the following marginal note in the handwriting of Sergeant O'Brien was made:—"Suspect got him murdered." He (Mr. Harrington) maintained that in these facts they had the clearest and most undoubted truth of the veracity of the statement of Thomas Casey, clearly attested in the handwriting of the counsel. He would next point out that the route taken by the murderers was different from that stated by the independent witnesses, from which it clearly resulted that, if that statement was true, the murderers would not have passed within a mile of the house occupied by the independent witnesses; and, therefore, their statements were absolutely without foundation. If a fair inquiry were granted, he should be perfectly willing to ground the whole issue of the case upon the single point whether the story told by the approver Casey as to the interviews with Mr. George Bolton was not better borne out than the Memorandum of Sir Robert Hamilton. Then, again, there were the depositions of the two boys with reference to the fact that the alleged murderers had their faces blackened, whereas the priest had sworn that the men's faces were white. There were also some new and startling facts which had not been made public. On the day of the conviction of Myles Joyce, at a conference of counsel and solicitors, it was promised that if the others pleaded guilty their lives would be saved. Four men refused, saying they were innocent. Michael Casey said he was the only guilty man, and Joyce was innocent; but three men at large were implicated. The solicitor made an entry of that at the time. The three men were those who had been named by others, and against whom all the facts seemed to point. The gravest complaint against the Crown was the suppression of evidence; this evidence was in the brief of the counsel of the prosecution, but it was withheld from the counsel for the defence. It was a whole sheaf of evidence that was kept back. Ordinarily, it was the practice to communicate all material facts to the counsel for the defence of a man charged with murder, and it was only in these prosecutions that the practice was abandoned. The former depositions of witnesses were also kept back; but if the defending counsel had been provided with them, they could have shaken the evidence of material witnesses. Another remarkable fact was that the information made by Casey before the trial differed altogether, in most material points, from the information given at the trial. The dying declarations of the two boys Joyce had been suppressed, and not only that, but even the fact that these declarations had been made had been suppressed. The Crown, again, had made no endeavour to clear up the point as to the blackened faces of the men whom the informers alleged that they had seen, and no independent witnesses had been asked any questions on this point. From all this, he submitted that the trial of this case showed a grave conspiracy against justice in Ireland; and it was the imperative duty of the authorities to clear the character of high officials in this country if they could be cleared. In any case, justice would not suffer by the proposed inquiry, but would, on the other hand, be promoted by it.

Mr. LEWIS said, he should not have thought it necessary to trouble the House with any observations at all if it had not been for the language which proceeded, he was sorry to say, from the Front Ministerial Bench. It was most unpleasant, indeed, to find himself, within a week or two of the formation of a Government with which he would like to be in accord, compelled to protest against the course they were pursuing. But he felt that he should not truly represent the views of those who sat near him, and certainly the opinion which he himself most strongly held, if he did not attempt, as far as he possibly could, to dissociate himself altogether from the general tenour and language of the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and still more so from that of his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill). What had they been doing that night? For the second time that Session they were going through the whole of the circumstances of the horrible murder at Maamtrasna, and they had been treated to nothing more nor less than a *réchauffé* of the discussion of last autumn; and although on the last occasion when the question was before the House, when the Members of the present Government were sitting on the Opposition side of the House, the most notable person who took part in the debate was the noble and learned Lord who now so worthily filled the position of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, that noble Lord, then Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), did not hesitate to express a clear and definite opinion on the Motion then submitted to the House by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) that there was no cause to interfere with the decision to which Earl Spencer had then recently come, after an elaborate and careful investigation of the subject. Before proceeding to dwell upon anything else, he would refer for a moment to what were said to be some new facts; but there was only one solitary new fact presented to the House and the public for the first time by the hon. Member who had just sat down. What was that new fact? It was that immediately after the trial of the prisoners, in the winter of 1882, their counsel had an interview with them, three persons who were not prisoners were inculpated, and some of those who were prisoners were exonerated. It was now said that that fact had just been disclosed, and that it was of a most important character.

Mr. HARRINGTON said, that the fact was conveyed to the Crown counsel and the Lord Lieutenant, but they did not act upon it.

Mr. LEWIS said, the explanation of the hon. Member did not touch the matter in the slightest degree. This fresh fact, which was said to have come out since the discussion last autumn, was a fact which had been in the knowledge of the prisoners' counsel and solicitor during the last two years and a-half. He asked hon. Members to consider with him what was the real question before them. After all that had happened, he lamented most deeply that the Forms of the House would not allow him to take a division on the Amendment he had put upon the Paper, which declared that—

> "Any further inquiry as to the correctness or propriety of the verdicts of properly constituted juries would be highly prejudicial to the interests of justice, and this House generally approves of the firm and temperate administration of the Crimes Act by Earl Spencer as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

After the scant justice which had been done to the late Lord Lieutenant—many of whose acts he had found it impossible to concur in, and had ventured humbly to question both in the House of Commons and elsewhere, but who had, nevertheless, directed with credit the administration of the law, and had endeavoured to protect life and property in a period of unexampled difficulty—he had expected that that administration of the law would have received support rather than *quasi*-condemnation from right hon. Gentlemen now occupying the Front Bench. What was the Motion before the House? If it were read with its Preamble, it was nothing less than an entire condemnation of the administration of the law by Earl Spencer and the late Government, and a general allegation that the whole administration, in respect of murders of a most atrocious character, had been unjust, and unworthy of the Executive. How was the matter met by the Ministry of the day? Anything more surprising than the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not be imagined. Was there a single word, from first to last, in the right hon. Gentleman's speech in vindication of the administration of the law? Was there one word which answered to any extent the malicious attacks which proceeded from the Mover of the Motion — [*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Name!"]—with reference to the conduct of the Judges and juries?

Mr. SEXTON rose to Order. He wished to ask the ruling of the Chair whether the hon. Gentleman was entitled to impute malice to an hon. Member?

Mr. SPEAKER: An imputation of malice to any Member of the House is undoubtedly out of Order. The hon. Member will withdraw the expression.

Mr. LEWIS said, he would at once withdraw the expression. He would only say that they were most violent and severe attacks not only upon the Lord Lieutenant, but upon the Judges, the juries, the counsel, the witnesses, the Crown Solicitors, and all who had anything to do with the prosecution of these murder cases. He had listened to the speech of his right hon. Friend, and from first to last there was not so much as a word in it of vindication of any of those officials. With regard to Earl Spencer, all he heard the right hon. Gentleman say was that there were many things in the administration of the law under the Viceroyalty of Earl Spencer which he could not approve. He had listened to see if there was any qualification to the "damning by faint praise," in which the right hon. Gentleman had indulged; but he failed to perceive any. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had said that if ever there was a man who deserved to be put upon his trial and hanged it was George Bolton. George Bolton was a man who had been employed to represent the Crown in conducting the trial of those horrible cases.

Mr. HEALY: And dismissed by Earl Spencer.

Mr. LEWIS said, there could be no doubt that Bolton's success in hunting those murderers to their doom was the reason of the violence and vigour with which he had been attacked. Yet they had not heard one word from his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer in support of a man who, because he had done his duty courageously and successfully, was subjected to so acrimonious an attack. And what was the speech of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India? The most notable observation in that speech which he (Mr. Lewis) could discover was when the noble Lord said that the present Government was foredoomed to failure if they assumed responsibility for one jot or tittle of the acts of the late Government.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): For the policy of those acts.

MR. LEWIS said, his noble Friend must forgive him, but the remark was "responsibility for the acts themselves."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA: No.

MR. LEWIS said, he had taken the words down at the time, and they were that the present Government were foredoomed to failure if they assumed one jot or tittle of responsibility for the acts of the late Government. He ventured to say that there was not a single Member of the Conservative Party, of which the noble Lord now assumed to be a Leader, who would endorse that statement. What had been the case? On every platform in the Kingdom there had been the strongest denunciation of the Members of the late Government for not having more vigorously vindicated the law; and were they to be told now, after all they had said about Ireland during the last three or four years, that for Party purposes, and because they had changed from one side of the House to the other, they were going to cast insult upon the outgoing Viceroy, who had done his duty in such a manner as to receive the undoubted approval of every Member of the Conservative Party? He knew that it was unpleasant to get up and speak thus; but he was following the lead of his hon. Friend below him (Mr. Brodrick), who, in the manly speech he had delivered earlier in the evening, showed, at all events, that there were some Members on that side of the House who were not prepared to insult the late Viceroy of Ireland and the Representative of the Queen after he had done all he could to vindicate the law. What was the meaning of the ringing cheers from the Irish Benches opposite which greeted the speeches of his right hon. Friend and the noble Lord so enthusiastically? What was the meaning but this—that they saw in the attitude of his right hon. Friend and the noble Lord a practical acquiescence in the terms of the Motion, although they could not assent to it? When it was found, after those speeches, that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) got up in his place and said in a most gracious manner, to which the House was very little accustomed from the hon. Member, that he would withdraw the Motion, it looked as if there had been something very like, if not a treaty, at least an understanding. He had been almost astonished to hear some of the observations which had proceeded from the Front Bench on that occasion. Among the other curious remarks of the noble Lord was this—that last November, when the matter came before the House and occupied three whole nights and part of a fourth, the House had before it none of the reasons of the late Viceroy for its action. None of the reasons of the late Viceroy for his action! He thought they had a statement from Sir Robert Hamilton which Earl Spencer had made public—one of the most able, interesting, and satisfactory documents he had ever read—containing a most elaborate account of the evidence produced at the trial, giving the new evidence produced and a general summary of the whole matter, enough to satisfy any man who desired to arrive at a judicial conclusion on the subject. And yet the noble Lord said that last November the House had before it no evidence of the reasons upon which Earl Spencer had acted.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA: I said we were not in possession of full information as to the reasons.

MR. LEWIS asked whether the noble Lord ventured to say that he was entirely wrong when he took down the words that they had not the reasons of Earl Spencer for his decision?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA: You were entirely wrong.

MR. LEWIS said, he would at once withdraw the observation. He supposed he must have been under a delusion when he wrote down the words. He was sorry that his ears should have deceived him. But, probably, if the noble Lord would consult his own notes, he would find that he had made two observations, and not one, because he (Mr. Lewis) had also put down in his note that the noble Lord said—"We had not, in November, full official information." But, however destitute of information the House might have been, the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who was a very good judge upon such a subject, did not hesitate to make a speech on that occasion maintaining that Earl Spencer was entirely justified in his action. In order to avoid breaking the Rules of the House, the Resolution of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had been drawn up in a most comprehensive form. The hon. Member proposed to call attention not only to the Maamtrasna, but to the Crossmaglen and the Barbavilla trials, and the case of the brothers Delahunty. To everything, however, except the Maamtrasna case, he had altogether given the go-by. No doubt, the hon. Member had included them in the Motion in order to prevent the discussion from being ruled out of Order. With regard to the Maamtrasna case, the House had not only no new facts, but no new case brought before it; and yet they had this remarkable fact—that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said it was premature to form any opinion on the subject, though the House last November did express an opinion, by a deliberate vote, by a large majority, against an inquiry, and the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland gave his assent to it on the part of those with whom he was acting. Whatever else might be said about this case, there was no doubt whatever that there had been twice a full investigation of it in the House itself, with all the materials before it ransacked together by Members of the Irish Party, who had had two years in which to get up their case. It was hardly worth while to slay the slain, and to revert to the details of the case; but there were one or two points to which he should like to draw attention, because they were matters on which he had ascertained that there was a little misapprehension. First, with regard to the confessions of the men who were now under sentence of penal servitude. He would not refer to that point except in passing to ask the House to observe the ridiculous way in which it was sought to get rid of the effect of those confessions. It was said that a good-natured priest told the men that the best way to establish their innocence was that they should plead guilty and get convicted. The House, however, must recollect one fact which came out last November, and which had been previously communicated on the authority of the late Attorney General for Ireland. After the men had been convicted and sentenced, they presented a Memorial for a remission of their punishment. What ground did they put forward for asking for that remission? Did they say they were innocent? No, not a bit of it; they alleged that "they did not enter the house, and had no active participation in the crime." He desired to call the attention of the House to that point—that in their Memorial those men did not represent that they were innocent of the crime; but what they contended for was that they had not entered the house. It was upon that technical and legal quibble, as he believed, that the House would find a clue to the whole of the contention from first to last. In the untutored mind of those poor ignorant peasants they might go to the door of the cottage, look into the window, and see the offence committed; but because they did not fire a pistol, therefore, legally and morally, they were not as much guilty of murder as the other men. He believed that to be the explanation of the declarations made by the so-called perjured informers, and of the dying confessions with regard to Myles Joyce. If the House would read in these confessions, "innocent of having taken an active part in the commission of the murders, or of having been within the four walls of the cottage at the time they were committed," they would find an explanation of the delusion those men were under as to participation in the crime. He would now turn to another point in regard to which a great deal had been made — namely, the blackening of the faces. That was one of those plausible points upon which a person was most likely to be easily misled. There was a great deal in it at first sight, certainly—enough to make them pause in regard to it; but let them look a little bit closer into the matter. In the first place, what was the terminology of "blackened faces," which was said to be the expression used by one of the boys? Did he mean anything of the sort? The first expression of the boy was that the men's faces were "dirty." It was not until afterwards, and not on the first occasion, that this poor lad, in giving the best account he could, in his shattered condition, said that the faces were blackened and not dirty. Hon. Members who understood the Irish language would be able to say whether there was any kind of affinity of meaning between those two expressions which would account for the use of the words "blackened faces," although the faces were not blackened. What was the scene of the murders? It was a small Irish cabin entered in the dead of the night, with three or four pistol shots fired rapidly one after the other. The smoke would fill the apartment; the poor boys were in bed, and, on being aroused, would look around in horror. It was easy to believe that, under such circumstances, the faces of the men who had entered the cabin would appear to those boys to be black, and that they would for the rest of their lives believe that it was some Satanic beings who had entered the apartment, and who had blackened faces. Anyone who possessed common sense would see, all through the evidence, what was running in the minds of the witnesses. Anyone accustomed to the proceedings of Courts of Justice in reference not only to trials for murder, but any other criminal proceedings which rested on circumstantial evidence, would be aware that it was impossible not to have contradictions; but when the evidence came to be sifted it frequently turned out that the facts spoken to were not inconsistent with each other. Then, if there were contradictions in the evidence given in cases of that kind in the English Criminal Courts, how much more likely were they to find them in the West of Ireland under the circumstances of a trial of this character? Then, again, there was another matter which was to a great extent akin to the question of blackened faces—namely, "the depositions," as they were sometimes called, of the two lads. It had been found convenient in this case to mix up the so-called depositions with the dying declarations; but he would entreat the House to keep their minds fixed upon the depositions. It was alleged that there had been a gross act of injustice committed at the trial by the Crown counsel in keeping back important information given by those poor boys in reference to the blackened faces; and it was further asserted that that was done intentionally by the Crown counsel with the view of unduly pressing the law. But the evidence of two constables brought out the fact that this information was contained in the depositions which were handed to the counsel for the defendants; and that it was known to them just as much as it was to the Crown counsel during the whole of the trial. More than that, the fact came out at the inquest; and did anybody believe that every fact or statement, however minute or rough, that came out upon the inquest held in some small house on the wayside in the wilds of Connemara would not be known far and wide in every cottage in the locality weeks and weeks and months and months before the trial in Green Street, Dublin? The fact was well known, and was common property, that those two boys were proved at the inquest to have stated that the persons who committed the crime had blackened faces, although, in the first instance, they had said that their faces were dirty. In looking through the debate which took place last November he found that a good deal was made of that point by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke), and the hon. and learned Gentleman the present Solicitor General (Mr. Gorst); and those hon. and learned Gentlemen fixed upon this statement of certain facts having been kept back at the trial as a reason for saying that the prosecution had not been fairly conducted. There was not the smallest pretence for the case put forward by hon. Members opposite, and that case had been disproved most conclusively when the subject was discussed on the last occasion. It had been disproved again that night. It had been made manifest, and was clear as daylight, that the Crown counsel conducted the case with perfect propriety, and that they had made a full disclosure of the depositions. He now came to another point. It was said that there was no motive. It was conceded that four of the persons who were found guilty were guilty. No motive was proved with regard to them any stronger than with regard to the rest.

Mr. SEXTON: Oh, yes; there was.

Mr. LEWIS said, that no motive was proved with regard to the four who were acknowledged to have been guilty; and, in point of fact, one hon. Member who had addressed the House said that there was no motive with regard to any of the 10. If there was no motive with regard to the four who were conceded to have been guilty, what greater probability was there of a motive for the commission of this crime with regard to the other six? There was a sort of correlative argument that there were three persons outside who were wanted to be drawn into this murderous net, and that there was a motive with regard to them. And what was the motive? It was a dispute about a boundary—a stone boundary on a moor side. According to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) that was a sufficient excuse in Ireland for murder. He (Mr. Lewis) did not believe it. He did not think so ill of the Galway peasants as to suppose that that was a true representation of the motives by which they were likely to be actuated. It was also said that there was some question of sheep stealing; but he should have thought that it would have been easy to have brought the stolen sheep back again. If, however, there had been sheep stealing, was it probable that because one man had stolen sheep belonging to another man he would be able to induce nine other men to join with him in murdering the offender in order to vindicate justice? He did not believe it for one moment to be a true representation of the degradation to which human nature could be reduced in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions, still less in Ireland. Hon. Members opposite professed to know that "Big John Casey," as he was called, and his son, who were now living within a few miles of Maamtrasna, the scene of the murder, were guilty of the crime. They said they knew that Big John Casey did the murder; they had witnesses to prove it. Then why did they not indict him? He could point to cases where the indictment of persons who were out of prison was the only way of getting persons who were in prison out of it. Hon. Members said they knew where those persons were; that they could put their hands upon them at once, and yet they preferred to expend their intelligence and acumen and money in bringing the case before the House, rather than in exerting themselves to vindicate law and order.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN: It is the business of the Government to do that.

MR. LEWIS: The hon. Member had, he believed, been just promoted to a high municipal office in connection with the administration of justice, and the hon. Member said that it was the business of the Government to do that. It was a strange thing to say that it was their business to indict men whom they did not believe to be guilty. That was the only answer he could make to the suggestion of the hon. Member. The statements which were made at the inquest having been known from the very first, how was it, if the Crown counsel or solicitor did not themselves believe that those statements were material, that there was no cross-examination on the part of the prisoners' counsel of the witnesses called for the Crown who were able to speak to that point? He was not speaking of the inability of the poor boy, Patsy Joyce, to be put in the witness box and give evidence; but there were other witnesses who were capable of being examined. One of two things was perfectly clear—either that the counsel for the prisoners did not believe in the fact themselves, or they did not believe in its importance or significance. When it was suggested that this poor boy had had the go-by given to him he was sure the House would believe that there was nothing to justify the suggestion. He would refer, in conclusion, to a statement of fact, which to persons accustomed to Courts of Justice would be conclusive. According to the statement of hon. Members opposite there were seven persons charged, every one of whom was perfectly innocent of participation in the crime; and yet there did not appear to have been the least attempt on the part of any one of them to prove his absence from the scene at the time the murder took place. It was said that it was in the middle of the night; but he would ask this question—did the family of every one of the men who were found guilty consist of one person only, and that person a wife? Were there no children, and were every one of them sleeping during the whole of that night? If the facts were investigated it would be found that the condition of those poor labouring men in Galway was such that three or four had to sleep in the same room; and to suggest to the House that seven persons charged with a crime of which they were perfectly innocent, the time being night and that none of them had an opportunity of proving from some other inmate of the house, or a neighbour, that at the time they were charged with committing the offence they were at home and in bed, was an attempt to impose upon the credulity of the House.

A bitter attack had been made upon Earl Spencer. That attack and the charges lately made against the late Lord Lieutenant were grossly unjust. Everybody sitting upon the Front Bench knew that they were unjust. He did not hesitate to say that to their faces, because he knew they believed that whatever might have been the faults of Earl Spencer, and he had himself challenged many of his public acts, for occasionally Earl Spencer had been unjust to the Protestant, and loyal and orderly population of Ireland. [*Ironical cheers from the Irish Members.*] He knew that hon. Members opposite did not think so; but he had as much right to hold his opinions as they had to hold theirs. Although Earl Spencer might have acted in some instances unjustly—and he (Mr. Lewis) did not hesitate to say that he had done so—yet, in the main, during the last three years, Earl Spencer had upheld respect for the law at the risk of his life from day to day, with the sanction, with the approval, and with the acknowledgment inside and outside of that House, of the country, and especially of the Conservative Party. Therefore, he, for one, would not consent to be dragged into any implied, however slight, condemnation of Earl Spencer's conduct as Viceroy of Ireland, because it happened to suit the exigencies of Party warfare. In the opinion he thus expressed, although he might find but few supporters near him, he was sure that many in their hearts would entirely agree with him; and he was satisfied that he would not be one whit less acceptable in any Conservative community in Ireland when it was known that he, at all events, was not poltroon enough to conceal his sentiments upon such a subject as this. For months past he had not hesitated to say that one of the first duties of the Conservative Party, when out of Office, was to assist Her Majesty's Government when they were endeavouring, in the face of most unexampled difficulties, to maintain something like respect for the law; and he recollected an observation which had been made by the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan) which made him feel very proud of the Party to which he belonged. The right hon. Gentleman was then Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the observation had sunk deeply into his (Mr. Lewis's) mind. The right hon. Gentleman had stated to him that he considered the conduct of the Conservative Party in reference to the condition of Ireland as being above all praise. He had been very proud of that statement in regard to the Conservative Party when in Opposition. He was not so proud of their conduct now. They, at all events, had the responsibility of seeing that law and order were respected, and that property, life, and limb were protected; and they ought not to let it be supposed that they held less cheaply than they had hitherto done those great principles, because they happened to sit on the Ministerial side of the House. It was their duty to preserve and enforce those great and valuable conditions of society without which life would become intolerable. He regretted that he had been driven to make those remarks, because of the pusillanimous way in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) had spoken of this subject, and had left Earl Spencer to be protected by others. He deeply regretted that the Forms of the House would not allow him to move the Amendment which stood upon the Paper in his name, and to ask the House to do what he believed would have been done by the great majority of the House. In conclusion, he could only express his general approval of the very temperate manner in which the late Viceroy had discharged the duties of his post; and in expressing that opinion, as an humble Member, he believed that he represented the views of a large number of the Members on that side of the House.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. GORST): Sir, the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down evidently thinks that among all the faithless Members who occupy these Benches he fills the proud position of being the only faithful one now left. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me, also sitting on this side of the House, to say what I have said over and over again when I sat on the other side. I will not follow the hon. Gentleman into the disquisition he has indulged in upon the Maamtrasna case. The hon. Gentleman and the right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt), after a very superficial and cursory examination of the evidence in this case, appear to have convinced themselves that all these unhappy men were guilty. I must say that I greatly admire the confidence in themselves which the right hon. and hon. Gentlemen displayed in coming to so rapid a conclusion with regard to an extremely obscure and difficult case. But, although I admire their confidence and capacity, I will not attempt to imitate their example. When this question was under the consideration of the House at the beginning of the Session I did trouble the House at some length with observations on the evidence in this case, not for the purpose of inviting the House to come to a conclusion as to whether the men were innocent or guilty, but simply in order to point out that there were elements in the case which demanded further investigation and inquiry. I made those observations at a time when the late Government were refusing such further investigation and inquiry; and, therefore, I maintain that I was not then wasting the time of the House, as I was endeavouring to put forward circumstances in the case which militated against the determination of the then Government. But now, when a further inquiry is likely to take place, it does seem like wasting the time of the House to endeavour to induce it to do what it cannot possibly do—namely, undertake the investigation of this case itself, and thus to anticipate the result of that further inquiry. The hon. Gentleman did not, I think, rise for the purpose of discussing the Maamtrasna case, but he rose with great grief to express views which were adverse to the action of Her Majesty's present Government, and to say things which he asserted he was extremely sorry to say. But in doing so the hon. Gentleman seemed to express himself with considerable unction. I doubted, for some time, whether the hon. Gentleman held a brief from the Party opposite to abuse the present Government, or a brief to defend Earl Spencer. The House seemed to be astonished when the words "my Lord" came from him, instead of "Mr. Speaker;" but I was not at all astonished, because the hon. Gentleman's speech throughout seemed to be more fitted for a Court of Law than for this House. The hon. Gentleman appeared to find special fault with the two speeches which were delivered in the early part of the evening by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill); but he found fault with them upon precisely opposite grounds. He found fault with the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer not for what he did say, but for what he did not say. Now, I do not see why the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have taken up the time of the House, at this late period of the Session, by entering into an elaborate vindication of the law, which no one, at all events on these Benches, had called in question, and in repelling violent attacks upon the Irish Executive, which the Colleagues of Earl Spencer were perfectly able to answer. I thought that my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer did make use of some observations with reference to the conduct of Earl Spencer which were a sufficient vindication of that noble Earl. I do not know what further defence or what further observations could have been expected from the right hon. Gentleman. The Government are not only accused by the hon. Member (Mr. Lewis) for not defending Earl Spencer, but, according to the hon. Member, they should have taken up the time of the House by defending Mr. George Bolton. I think the present Government can hardly be expected to fight over again the many battles which have been waged during past years as to the character and position of Mr. George Bolton. If the Government were to begin to debate anew the character of Mr. George Bolton there would be very little chance of bringing the Session to an early termination. So much for the complaint of the hon. Member. The right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) complained of the speech of the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill, and he complained of the noble Lord not for what he did not say, but for what he did say. [*Interruption.*] Now I appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite, who seem disposed to receive everything I say with much disfavour, whether the noble Lord said a single word to-night which he has not repeatedly uttered when occupying a seat below the Gangway on the Opposition side of the House? If the noble Lord has attacked the Irish administration of the late Government, has he not attacked it in season and out of season when in Opposition? The hon. Member for Derry (Mr. Lewis), who is so great an admirer of consistency, instead of finding fault with the noble Lord, ought to praise him. The noble Lord has stated that he will not assume any responsibility for the acts of the late Government. Is it pretended that the present Government are to assume responsibility for the acts of the late Government? I think, if they acknowledge responsibility for their own acts and are prepared to defend those acts, they will have quite enough upon their shoulders. This is not the only occasion since the Government has come into Office that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Derry has stood alone in his denunciations of the policy of the Government. Before I had the honour of being again a Member of this House, the hon. Member was the solitary denouncer of the Government for their policy in not re-enacting the Coercion Act. It is remarkable that the only Member who should stand up in this House to denounce that policy should be a Member who affects, at least, to represent the people of Ireland. The hon. Member's conduct in this regard is opposed to the policy of Gentlemen like the Marquess of Waterford, who himself has sanctioned the course of the present Government by accepting Office under it. The hon. Gentleman was deservedly rebuked, on the occasion to which I refer, by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), who expressed his indignation at the course the hon. Member had pursued. I wish to appeal to the Party opposite to make some better use of the time of the House than applauding speeches of reactionary Ulster Members. Some hon. Gentlemen on the Benches opposite seem to be annoyed because they have not heard from the Ministerial side of the House an enthusiastic vindication of the Castle officials. I should like to hear whether the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) would join those hon. Members in reproving the present Government for not vindicating these officials. I must say that when one of the Colleagues of the late Government can go down to the country and denounce the whole fabric and framework of the Irish Government in the strong and vehement language used by the right hon. Gentleman, I do not think that hon. Members opposite can find fault with the present Government because the administration of the Castle officials of the late Government is not enthusiastically defended by those who sit on the Ministerial side of the House. Above all, I would make an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt). What have the present Government done? They have announced, through the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nothing more than it was their duty to announce. Cases have occurred in England in which there has been a miscarriage of justice—or in which, at any rate, there was a doubt whether there had not been a miscarriage of justice. Would anyone pretend to say that the present Home Secretary should not now occupy himself in examining any such cases as are brought before him? Will the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) find fault with his Successor in Office because he expresses himself willing to re-open and reconsider cases which have been decided by the right hon. Gentleman himself? [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: No.] The right hon. Gentleman would not. Then, surely, there is nothing wrong, if a Memorial is presented to him, in the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland re-opening and reconsidering what, I think, hon. Members opposite, in their calmer moments, will acknowledge to be admittedly an obscure and extremely difficult case. That is all the Government have announced their intention to do. It is simply that it will do its duty in this particular case. [*Cries of* "Oh!" *and* "What more?"] What more or what less could the Government do? They have pledged themselves and promised that the Viceroy of Ireland will do that which it is his Constitutional duty to do, if a Memorial is presented to him by men alleging that they are suffering unjustly the punishment of penal servitude. Such a Memorial will receive careful and anxious consideration. I know why so much vexation and heat have been imported into this debate. It is because hon. Members opposite are irritated and annoyed because that confidence is placed in the Earl of Carnarvon which was denied to Earl Spencer. I do not know whether the Earl of Carnarvon deserves the confidence of the Irish people more than Earl Spencer. Time will show. This, however, I do know—that the Maamtrasna case was one with regard to which I expressed my opinion when I had not the slightest expectation of standing where I am standing now. I expressed my opinion frankly and freely, and I thought, and think still, that there were very grave doubts as to whether it was not a case which, in the interests of justice, imperatively demanded a careful and anxious investigation. That careful and anxious investigation it is after the promises of the Government to-night likely to receive; and I am sorry if hon. Members opposite feel annoyed because certain Representatives from Ireland appear to place more confidence in the present Government than they did in the last.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I am not surprised that the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down should have expressed some doubt whether there is any advantage to be derived from the prolongation of this discussion. I doubt very much whether the discussion which has taken place this evening will be found to have strengthened the position of the Government, in this country, at all events, or with any Party, either Liberal or Conservative, in this country. The object of the attitude which has been taken up by the Government is clear enough, and it appears to have met with the success it deserves. It has, apparently, given great satisfaction to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the followers of the hon. Member, whose support they anticipate, and apparently are likely to receive. But I doubt very much indeed whether the means which the Government have adopted for obtaining, consolidating, and securing that support will commend themselves to any very large section of public opinion in this country or in Scotland. It is extremely convenient for the hon. and learned Solicitor General (Mr. Gorst) to have it in his power to claim that he has said the same thing on the Treasury Bench that he was in the habit of saying when he sat below the Gangway in Opposition. But the question which occurs to one when the hon. and learned Member makes that claim is, whether the Government, as a whole, are saying the same thing as they said when they were in Opposition? It is perfectly true that the hon. and learned Solicitor General, who has just spoken, and also the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill), who spoke earlier in the debate, were in the habit, as we have just been reminded, of attacking the Irish policy, and the whole Irish policy, of the late Government on every occasion, in season and out of season. But were they, in making those attacks, the organs of the Conservative Party as a whole; and are they now, in claiming that consistency, and in boasting that they entertain the same opinions now as they did when they sat below the Gangway? Are they now the Representatives and mouthpieces of the Conservative Party and the Conservative Government? If I recollect aright the attacks on the Irish policy of the late Government which used to proceed most frequently from those Benches, and from hon. Members immediately behind them, were not attacks upon the late Government for undue vigour in the execution of the law, but rather for not having executed the law with sufficient vigour. And now it appears that the organs of the Conservative Government and of the Conservative Party are those two Members of the Government who, as far as I know, alone, of all the Conservative Party, up to the present time and to the late change of Government, have associated themselves with the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) in attacking the administration of the law in Ireland by the Government of Earl Spencer. Well, it is, I think, a matter of no surprise that the hon. Member for the City of Cork should desire to withdraw his Amendment. Neither is it a matter for surprise that he and his supporters should, with the exception of a re-statement of the case that was fully debated in the House six or seven months ago, have made no attempt to prove the assertion contained in the preamble of the Motion as to the maladministration of the Criminal Law in Ireland. I am not in the least surprised, after what has taken place, that no attempt has been made to substantiate what is insinuated, rather than asserted, as to the maladministration of the law in the Barbavilla, the Crossmaglen, and Castleisland cases. The object of the hon. Member for the City of Cork appears to me to be not so much to prove the maladministration of the law in Ireland as to weaken the administration of the law; and that object has been much more effectually attained by the speeches which have been delivered, and which he has extracted from the Treasury Bench, than by any demonstration which it was in his power to offer to the House of any such maladministration. Sir, I entirely concur in what fell earlier in the evening from the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick) that speeches such as have been delivered from the Front Bench opposite to-night cannot fail to weaken the confidence of the people of Ireland in the continuity of the administration of justice. I think it is an unfortunate lesson to teach the people of Ireland that the administration of the Criminal Law in that country is a matter which is liable to change, according to the changes of political Parties in this House, and that the administration of the law by Irish Judges and Irish juries, and Irish Governments, is likely to be changed when political Parties cross the floor of this House. In reference to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer I have no complaint to make of two of the conclusions which he announced. The right hon. Gentleman stated that he intended to vote against the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). In that intention I entirely concur with him. The right hon. Gentleman also stated that it would be the duty of the Irish Government, as of any other Government, to give a careful consideration to any Memorials that may be presented to them on behalf of prisoners who are suffering punishment, in which any fresh facts can be brought forward which they desire to lay before the Executive Government in mitigation of their sentence, or in order to prove that they are unjustly suffering conviction. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not go quite so far as has been just stated by the hon. and learned Solicitor General. I did not understand the right hon. Gentleman to promise that these cases were to be re-opened. All that I understood him to have promised was, what he was entitled to promise—namely, that any Memorials should receive the careful consideration of the Lord Lieutenant, and that the Government would reserve their judgment as to whether there was a ground for re-opening the legal question or not. There fell, however, from the Solicitor General words, which contained, in my opinion, almost a pledge that some of these cases, without the production of any other evidence than that on which they have been already decided, would be re-opened and re-examined. Well, Sir, with the conclusions announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer I have no fault to find; but I think that his speech was open to criticism, both in what he said and in what he did not say. The right hon. Gentleman had just listened to a deliberate attack, not only upon the late Executive Government of Ireland, upon the Lord Lieutenant, upon the Crown Prosecutors, and upon the Law Officers of the Lord Lieutenant, but also upon the Judges for the manner in which they had conducted certain trials, and upon the juries which had found certain verdicts. He had also listened to a severe attack upon the Lord Lieutenant for the manner in which he had refused to use the prerogative of mercy as the responsible Adviser of the Crown in the dispensation of mercy. Having listened to that attack, what did the right hon. Gentleman say? He said that he would express no opinion upon the points which had been raised? And why, Sir, would he express no opinion upon the points which had been raised? The right hon. Gentleman said that the Government had not had time to master the facts, or to examine fully into the case before the House. [Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head. I think he said that the Government had not had time; and that is what I gathered the right hon. Gentleman to have said. But, Sir, no one expected the right hon. Gentleman to have had time to make himself master of all the charges which have been brought by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) against the late Government. But the Irish Government had been in Office for some time, and the Maamtrasna case had been laid before the House and fully developed before this House six or seven months ago. No new facts have been brought before the House to-night. The Irish Government was in possession of the facts of that case, and was able to form an opinion on it, and to tell the House whether there had been a failure of justice in that case such as to require it to be re-opened or not. The right hon. Gentleman was not satisfied with saying that he could not form an opinion; but he went further, and said that he hesitated to take any responsibility for the acts of the late Government. No one desires that the right hon. Gentleman should take any responsibility for the political action of the late Government; but he drew no distinction—he makes no distinction—between the political action and the judicial action of the late Government. The right hon. Gentleman seized the opportunity, when the judicial action of the late Government had just been impugned, in a speech of great severity, to make this public declaration to the House—that he hesitated to assume responsibility for any acts of the late Government. I say, Sir, that no interpretation can be put upon that statement, except that the right hon. Gentleman hesitates to assume responsibility for the administration of justice as carried out by the Government of Earl Spencer. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) went a great deal further than the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He did not discuss any political question whatever, but simply and solely the question of the administration of the law in Ireland; and he informed the House that he divested himself of all responsibility for all the acts of the late Government. In fact, he said, I think, that the only line of safety for the present Government was to declare themselves irresponsible for any jot or tittle of the policy of the late Irish Government. I say that such language as this is calculated to weaken respect for the law in Ireland. I say that such language would be mischievous if it applied only to criticism of the officials of the Government; but it is much more so when applied to the Crown Prosecutors, the Resident Magistrates, and the Constabulary officers. Those are the instruments with whom the present Government will have to work as the late Government had; and if the present Government are going to divest themselves of all responsibility for the action of the late Government, and if these officials of the late Government are to feel that their action is not to be supported by the present Government as it was supported by the last, how much zeal, how much loyalty, how much courage, and how much devotion in the exercise of their duty will the noble Lord expect they are going to receive from the officials of the present Government? But the noble Lord did not stop there. The language of the noble Lord is not confined to divesting himself of all responsibility for the policy of the late Government with regard to its officers; but the language of the noble Lord appears to me to go so far as to disown the support which has been given by the Government of Earl Spencer to the Judges and juries of the country.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): Will the noble Marquess quote the language I used to that effect?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have not got the notes I made. [*Cries of* "Withdraw!" *from the Irish Members.*] I am not pretending to quote the exact words used by the noble Lord; but he said it was necessary for the present Government to divest themselves of all responsibility for every jot or tittle of the action of the late Government. That was said in reply to and following a speech in which the conduct of the Government of Earl Spencer, in the administration of the law in Ireland, had been impugned in almost every respect; and one of the particulars in which the conduct of Earl Spencer had been impugned was that he had allowed the law in certain cases to take its course, and sentences to be carried out, which sentences had been arrived at after a full, a careful, and an impartial trial conducted by the Judges of the land and by juries empannelled by law. [MR. SULLIVAN: No, no; packed juries.] I say that when the noble Lord, in that sweeping manner, divested himself of all responsibility for the action of the Government which had been impugned, I am justified in saying that his language applied, not only to the support given by the late Government to its Executive officials, but to the support given by the late Government to the judicial authorities of Ireland. The noble Lord insisted that the Government of Ireland were unable to form an opinion upon the Maamtrasna case, because they had only just come into Office, and had only recently come into possession of official information upon the subject. Now, Sir, I ask the noble Lord whether he has come into possession of any official information which he did not possess before, except the dying confessions of the two prisoners who were executed?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): They are the whole key.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The noble Lord says they are the whole key of the information in the possession of the Government. The noble Lord referred to a whole heap of information which, he said, the Government had come into possession of since their accession to Office, and of which they were ignorant before; but I ask the noble Lord or his Colleagues to say if there was any other information, except those two confessions to which I have referred, which was kept back by the late Government, and which we repeatedly stated our reasons for refusing to produce? Well, Sir, what was the administration of Earl Spencer which has been so violently attacked, and for which the present Government refuse to take any responsibility whatever? Earl Spencer has been attacked because he has made use of the powers deliberately conferred upon him by Parliament in a period of unexampled crisis three years ago. The powers conferred upon him by enormous majorities in this House, and in accordance, I believe, with the opinion of the vast majority of the people of this country, were absolutely essential for the maintenance of order, and even for the protection of life and property at the time. Sir, Earl Spencer has exercised those powers—he has, under the Prevention of Crime Act, changed the venue from all parts of the country where, in his judgment and on his responsibility, he was of opinion that an impartial trial by juries of the county could not be had; he has empannelled juries according to the law, and he has instituted, in some cases, preliminary inquiries, as authorized by the Prevention of Crime Act, although no persons stood charged with the commission of an offence, and it was by the institution of such a preliminary inquiry that the Phœnix Park assassins were brought to justice. Earl Spencer has not only used these powers, but he has fearlessly carried into effect the sentences which have followed the verdicts which were so obtained, and he has exercised the prerogative of mercy, or has declined to exercise it, on his own responsibility, and the responsibility of the Government. He has declined to constitute irresponsible tribunals to relieve himself and his Colleagues of responsibility — tribunals which, in his opinion, and in the opinion of his Colleagues, would have been tribunals of inferior authority, constituted for the purpose of re-trying and reviewing decisions and verdicts given by a higher, more competent, and more legally constituted tribunal. It is for these acts that Earl Spencer has been attacked—it is for this administration of the law for this exercising of the special powers confided to him in times of special emergency that Earl Spencer has been persistently attacked by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his followers, who have renewed their attack to-night, and it is this policy and this administration of the law that the Government have, upon the first occasion upon which they have an opportunity of speaking upon Irish matters, hastened to divest themselves of any responsibility for whatever. I have referred, Sir, to the character of the administration of Earl Spencer, which has been impugned. I will now ask the House what has been the result of that administration? When Earl Spencer assumed Office crime in Ireland was rampant, murders in considerable numbers had taken place, and not a single criminal was brought to justice. Intimidation was prevalent over the whole country, and it was notorious that the law that was being administered in Ireland was not so much the law of the statutes administered by Courts of Justice as the law of irresponsible associations, administered too often with the assistance of outrage and crime. Well, Sir, under the administration of Earl Spencer, which has been impugned, criminals have been brought to justice, order has been restored, intimidation has been checked, and the ordinary law of the country is again being administered. But with no portion of his policy, either in its execution or its results, are the present Government anxious to associate themselves. It is all, in their opinion, open to doubt; and not until they have sifted the heaps of information which the noble Lord says the Irish Government have come into possession of will they assume that justice has been done, and that the administration of the law, as carried out by Earl Spencer, has been either just or wise. Well, Sir, under such circumstances, my right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) was justified in saying that the experiment which is now about to be tried of governing Ireland by means of the ordinary law is an experiment that is to be tried under unfavourable and under adverse conditions. The law can only be administered through the officials of the country—the Judges and juries to whom I have already referred; and it appears to me that small confidence and small courage will be given to those officials and those officers of justice if it is to be proclaimed that the loyal support which they have received from one Government is in danger of being withdrawn when that Government is succeeded by a Government of opposite political opinions. There was one reckless assertion of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) to which I must refer. The noble Lord stated that it was notorious that the course taken by the Government in the former Maamtrasna debate was not decided until the middle of the debate; that a Cabinet Council was held, and that it was only as the result of that Cabinet Council that a decision was arrived at whether the Government would grant an inquiry or not. To that assertion, made, no doubt, in good faith, but I venture to think somewhat recklessly by the noble Lord, I have to give the most positive and unqualified contradiction. It is probable that a Cabinet Council may have been held in the middle of a four days' debate, and when the noble Lord has been in Office a little longer he will find that it may be necessary to assemble the Cabinet at intervals of less than four days, and he will understand that the whole business of the country, foreign and domestic, cannot be suspended, while an Irish debate is being settled. But that that Cabinet Council had anything whatever to do with the decision of the Government upon that occasion I most unhesitatingly and most positively deny. How the noble Lord could have fallen into such a mistake I do not know, for my right hon. Friend the late Chancellor of the Duchy (Mr. Trevelyan), who was then a Member of the Cabinet, speaking, I believe, on the first night of the debate, announced at that time the decision of the Government that the inquiry asked for by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) must be refused. The noble Lord also attacked my right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), because he said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had thrown over the Irish Judges and the Irish juries. What was the noble Lord's reply to that? He said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not said one word about them. Now, it is that silence of which we complain. The Judges and juries of Ireland were attacked by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and not one single word did the responsible Member of the Government say in support of the manner in which the Judges and juries in Ireland had performed their duty. There is another doctrine which was put forward by the noble Lord to which it is necessary that I should make some reference. He justified his vote on the previous occasion, when this matter was debated in October, upon the ground that he had no confidence in the then administration of Ireland, and that, therefore, he was entitled and justified in voting for an independent inquiry. That, it appears to me, is a remarkable and dangerous doctrine, for what is the effect of it? It is that the action of Parliament in any case involving the administration of judicial law which is brought before it is not to depend upon the case for inquiry which may be brought forward, but upon the opinion which any Party in this House may have, and the confidence they may feel in the particular Government which is charged with the administration of that law. Sir, I believe we, who are to-night sitting on this side of the House, are still in the majority. Supposing that the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross) were impugned; supposing that the conduct of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is impugned; supposing that we did not feel implicit confidence in either the Home Secretary or the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, then, according to the noble Lord, irrespective of the case brought before us, we are fully entitled to vote, and justified in voting, for an independent inquiry, because we do not feel entire confidence in the Government which is charged with the administration of the Criminal Law. It appears to me that such a doctrine as this utterly and completely destroys the responsibility of the Government. If that doctrine were accepted, it becomes the duty of the House of Commons to decide upon questions of the administration of the law, not with reference to their confidence in the Judges or judicial officers charged with its administration, but upon political grounds, and with respect to the confidence which one Party may or may not have in the Gentlemen who happen to sit on that Bench. The noble Lord has asked for how many of his Colleagues my right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) spoke, when he said that they were proud of Earl Spencer's administration, had confidence in it, and were prepared to uphold it. I shall not undertake to answer for Colleagues not present, but I can inform the noble Lord that there is one of the Colleagues of Earl Spencer who is not now present, and not the least important of the Colleagues of Earl Spencer, who is willing to be fully associated in that expression of my right hon. Friend of confidence in Earl Spencer. My right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) is unfortunately not able, on account of indisposition, to be present here this evening; but I know he had been most anxious to be present, and I have received a note from him this evening, one portion of which I hope the House will allow me to read. My right hon. Friend expresses his hope that I may be able on his behalf—perhaps I had better read his own words. He says—

> "I hope you may be able on my behalf to express my deep sense of the debt we all owe to Earl Spencer for the courage with which he stood in the breach three years ago, for the greatest service to criminal justice and to security of life ever rendered in Ireland, for the calm with which he has borne alike imputations cast upon one side on his first assumption of Office, and later less disguised attacks on the other; and, finally, for an administration of the powers of Government, perhaps the most even-handed and intelligent that we have ever known."

Sir, in that opinion of the late Prime Minister of the debt which is owed to Earl Spencer by his late Colleagues, and I believe by the whole country, I, for one, most entirely and unhesitatingly concur, and I say that posterity will recognize, as I believe the great majority of the Members of this House and the great majority of the people of this country now recognize, the services which have been rendered by Earl Spencer in the administration of the law in Ireland during a time of almost unexampled difficulty and gravity.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): Sir, I hope the House will bear with me for a few moments while I deal with some of the matters incidental to this debate. The debate began in a somewhat thin House, and with a certain amount of warmth; and although several hon. Members have endeavoured to apply a sedative to our discussion, it would appear that their manner of doing so was not successful, and that the Parliamentary thermometer had again risen to fever heat. Sir, I sincerely trust that I shall be able to deal fairly with the subject under discussion. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) has been severely handled by the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis), and by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) for what his speech contained, and more severely handled, I am bound to say, for what it did not contain. My right hon. Friend made his statement, a short one it is true, but in a very thin House; and from what I could gather he endeavoured, at all events, to explain to the House that he did not intend to go into the various legal questions that were introduced into this Motion. But, Sir, my right hon. Friend has, I think, been somewhat unfairly treated with regard to the short statement which he made. I think that a most unjust and unfair criticism of that speech has been placed before the House, not because my right hon. Friend did not go into the question of the administration of justice in Ireland; but because my right hon. Friend did not state that he had complete and absolute sympathy with the administration of the law by the Judges and juries in Ireland, it was said that he was holding up to obloquy, and, as it were, endeavouring to bring the administration of law in Ireland into contempt. Well, Sir, I say that, considering the circumstances, the hour, and the state of the House when my right hon. Friend made his statement, that this was most unfair treatment. My right hon. Friend, although he did not, perhaps, feel exactly in accord with Earl Spencer in this matter, spoke of the noble Earl in terms of commendation. As one who has known Earl Spencer for a number of years, I think it right to stand up in my place, and say what I have said many times in private—namely, that I consider Earl Spencer went to Ireland at a time when affairs were in a pitiable condition, and that he displayed a vast amount of courage in carrying out a task most odious and difficult of performance. Sir, this is admitted by us all. I should like for one moment to brink back the House to the statement of my right hon. Friend, because, after all, when the heat of debate is over, that should be the real test of what our position is to be with reference to these matters. That position was clearly enunciated by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I do not propose to depart from it to the extent of a single letter. What is our position with regard to this question? In the first place, we have refused to go into the legal aspect of this difficult case; for my own part, I absolutely decline to do so. This case has been tried before juries in Ireland, Memorials have been presented to the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in reference to it, and beyond that there have been very lengthened debates upon it in this House; and surely it cannot be said that I am treating the House with any want of courtesy in saying that my right hon. Friend absolutely refused to go behind the backs of the late Government in regard to it. The next point is that we have refused to accede to the Motion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and we refuse to accede to that Motion in the belief that by acceding to it we should injure the interest of the administration of the law in Ireland. That, Sir, is, I think, a plain and simple reason to give for the action which Her Majesty's Government have taken. What further declaration did my right hon. Friend make? He stated to the House that although the Government refused to go into these legal matters, and although they had refused to accede to the Motion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, yet, at the same time, there was a tribunal in existence to which aggrieved prisoners might submit their cases for consideration. My right hon. Friend referred to the prerogative of mercy which could be exercised by the Viceroy of the day in Ireland. In regard to that, I should like to allude for one moment to what the late Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone) said when this question was last before this House. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the fact that the Viceroy, who was surrounded by the best advisers, and who acted with the deepest sense of responsibility, was entitled to exercise the prerogative of mercy. That is the simple position which Her Majesty's Government has taken up in this matter. We have been severely handled by Members sitting on the opposite side of the House, and we have also had several animadversions cast upon us by Members on this side. But when you come to the hard fact before the House, I ask—"Do you propose to alter the prerogative of the Viceroy?" And, again, when it is said that we have made a concession in this case, I ask, where is a shadow of proof that can be put forward in support of the statement? Hon. Members opposite, if they demand anything, surely mean this—that they ask us to commence our administration of justice in Ireland by at once abolishing the prerogative of mercy of the Viceroy. Why, Sir, we could not for one moment entertain that proposal. We are aware that this prerogative exists, and we say that it can be exercised not only with regard to the case before this House this evening, but with regard to a petty larceny that might be committed in Ireland to-morrow. There is an appeal to the Viceroy by Memorial forwarded to him, he can duly consider any case in all its bearings, and we demand that in this case the Viceroy shall not be debarred from exercising his independent judgment. After all, the chief grievance of hon. Gentlemen opposite amounts to this—that, it having been stated on the Treasury Bench that the prerogative of mercy still existed, the hon. Member for the City of Cork did not in consequence propose to divide the House on his Motion; and hon. Gentlemen opposite are now trying, for electioneering or some miserable purposes, to make out that some extraordinary concession has been made to hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite. It is well known that hon. Members opposite are very clever in matters connected with electioneering. I often wish we on this side were half as clever; but I cannot help thinking that a great mercy has befallen the country in that Gentlemen opposite are now in their proper places, and that this electioneering process, in which they are so skilled, is confined to them in Opposition, and that they are not with divided Councils governing the country as responsible Ministers of the Crown. As I have said, the first grievance of hon. Members opposite seems to reside in the fact that the hon. Member for the City of Cork is not going to divide the House on his Amendment. The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) had said some harsh things with reference to the attacks which we, when in Opposition, made upon the Irish policy of the late Government. It is true that hard words were used by some upon those Benches with reference to that policy; but I think I should, in common justice, mention one fact—namely, that the chief incentive for those attacks can be referred to one point—that for many months the Executive in Ireland allowed these crimes to go on in that unhappy country, and that we had been made aware, at all events, of the motives of one Member of the late Government by a somewhat cynical speech which he made at Birmingham, in which he said that there was a motive for that negligence, because the Conservatives wanted to pass a severe Land Bill for Ireland. We have heard something about the broken continuity of the law. That is a hard term, and one difficult to define; and I should like to ask hon. Members whether the Government propose to make any change in the law in Ireland with regard to those great questions which have been brought before us to-day? The noble Marquess has referred to Earl Spencer and to his administration in Ireland. If that administration has produced a better state of things than existed in Ireland three years ago, placed in the position which I occupy with reference to that country, I frankly acknowledge that it is a good thing for Ireland; and, further, if we see fit to relax exceptional legislation in respect of Ireland, let hon. Gentlemen claim what they like in that respect. I say, let us frankly admit that a better state of things has at length been brought about with regard to Ireland by the late Administration. We have been taunted because we propose to relax exceptional legislation. Sir, we must take upon ourselves the whole and sole responsibility for those proposals. But we are not content with that. During the next week, or before the end of the Session, we shall have other proposals to make in reference to Ireland. We are not content only with the relaxation of an exceptional law; and when the heat of debate has passed away I believe it will be seen that we have acted for the best, and we, at all events, shall be content to abide by the result of our administration in Ireland. All I can say is that, if we fail, we will ask for, as we shall receive, no quarter whatever; and if we succeed, we shall think least of all of any credit which may attach to ourselves, and most of all of what that success really means—namely, a brighter and a happier day for Ireland.

Mr. HEALY said, he thought the House and the country would contrast the tone of the two speeches which had just been delivered. As an Irishman, he begged leave to say that the speech of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, characterized as it was by a tone of conciliation, and showing that his Party intended to carry out, not only in Ireland, but throughout the Empire, a policy of appeasement, contrasted most favourably with the speech of the noble Marquess. The motives of the two speeches would also be criticized; and what were those motives? The Government avowed, as any honest Government should avow, that they had promised this inquiry in order to cement together all the subjects of Her Majesty. That was the avowed object of Her Majesty's Government. But the noble Marquess also, on a former occasion, had promised an inquiry; and the object of that promise of inquiry, the meanest that a Parliamentarian could conceive, was to ease the progress of Supplies. For the purpose of saving two or three hours of Parliamentary time, because Irish Members were speaking on the Appropriation Bill, the noble Marquess promised, as was reported in *The Freeman's Journal*, that a full inquiry should be granted. That promise, whether by the noble Marquess or by Earl Spencer, had been shamefully broken. But for their purpose to-night, and for their purpose as statesmen of an Empire, it mattered not whether the promise was broken or kept, because he regarded the motive on which this inquiry was granted by the present Government as a motive confessedly of satisfying the keen and burning desire of 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 of the subjects of Her Majesty. Moreover, it was in order to appease the craving of a large Party in that House that Her Majesty's Government promised the inquiry. Let hon. Members look at the object of the promise given on the other side by the noble Marquess. To save two or three hours of Parliamentary time, on the 11th of August last, the noble Marquess gave the promise, and he kept that promise by sending down to Maamtrasna Mr. George Bolton to inquire into the conduct of Mr. George Bolton; and to-night hon. Gentlemen and noble Lords who gave the promise stood up in that House with proud mien and defiant visage—if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) thought that a reflection upon himself he begged to withdraw it—to justify what they had done in Ireland, and to announce that, as a solid Party, they stood by Earl Spencer. It seemed to him that those serried Opposition Benches, which for the last month they had not been used to, had been arranged for a purpose, because he observed in the newspapers that upon that day week a little banquet was to be given to the late Viceroy, Earl Spencer—a species, he supposed, of what the French called *lonche d'estime*—and here hon. Members found them arranging the *hors d'œuvres.* The Liberal Party, however, was not quite solid, because he missed from their Benches that night—as the public would miss from the *lonche d'estime*—the statesmanlike and significant figures of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke). And it was a remarkable thing to him that the Liberal Party appeared to have fallen into the mistake of allowing their policy that night upon this Irish question to be voiced by such Gentlemen as the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) and the noble Marquess; and he could tell the Liberal Party that the Irish people would not fail to note that distinct line of cleavage in that grand old Party. And he would ask Gentlemen like the right hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), whose resonant basso they had all heard so constantly that night cheering the noble Marquess, to select the section of the Liberal Party to which they would belong. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to say under which flag he was going to fight—

> "Under which King, Bezonian?
> Speak, or die."

Were the Irish people to understand that in this even-keeled vessel of the Liberal Party, when in full sail, Gentlemen like the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) and the right hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), whenever any dirty work was to be done, could send the noble Marquess and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) to swab the decks, whilst they retired to the cabin with the sublime serenity of men in the possession of a first-class passage? The Liberal Party, it appeared to him that night, exemplified an extraordinary condition, because—if he might continue the nautical metaphor, he would say that there was a portion of them who, having thrown Earl Spencer, as a species of Jonah, overboard, seemed to want the Tory Party to pick him up again—to take him out of the somewhat malodorous waters into which he had been flung, and, giving him aid and comfort, sustain him as a new Administration. He could only say that the Tory Party, in his opinion, had acted with extreme wisdom in declining to bring medical succour to that great Liberal statesman whom Gentlemen like the right hon. Members for Chelsea and Birmingham, belonging to his own Party, declined to assist in resisting. The speech of the noble Marquess appeared to be full of envy at the success of the Tory Party in governing Ireland. It seemed to him to be very much a question of sour grapes. If the Liberal Party had been unable to govern Ireland with anything like decency, he could only say that were the Government that followed it, Tory or anything else, he, for his own part, was determined, when he saw it doing its best, he should give it a fair trial. But while they had the Government that night denounced by the noble Marquess, aided by the late Home Secretary, for aiding and abetting the Parnellite Party, and when at the General Election they would have the Tory Party denounced as "truckling to treason," and so on, he asked which section of Liberals they were to believe? The noble Marquess produced, with great effect, a letter as he (Mr. Healy) understood it, from the Prime Minister. [*Cries of* "Late."] Happily, late Prime Minister. That Prime Minister had in that House a very distinguished relative, the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone). Now, were they to believe the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian in his denunciations of the Irish policy of the Government, or were they to believe the hon. Member for Leeds? He wished to know which facet of the policy of the Liberal Party were they to give their trust to? He had read with great attention the speech delivered by the hon. Member for Leeds on Tuesday night, which was reported in *The Leeds Mercury* verbatim. This was what the hon. Member for Leeds said in regard to the system of government in Ireland, which the noble Marquess thought ought to be upheld at all hazards—

> "But the Tories had now chosen, for good or evil—with the Irish landlords consenting—to rely upon Mr. Parnell for the preservation of law and order, and for personal security in Ireland; but Irish landlords, Irish officials, and Irishmen must rely upon Mr. Parnell for something more. They—the Liberals—had refused a great number of the measures of Mr. Parnell because they were loyal to classes in Ireland, whom they believed were threatened."

So it seemed that it was not because these measures were bad, but on grounds of expediency, for which the Liberal Party now attacked the Government that they declined, and hustled the measures out of the House—

> "Because they were loyal to classes in Ireland, whom they believed were threatened, whom they were weak enough to believe were loyal and straightforward men. Those men had betrayed them, He asked them, then, who was there in Ireland to fight for, and whom were they to stand up for, against the Nationalist Party?"

The noble Marquess referred to the necessity of maintaining the law in Ireland. What good was the law unless it rested on the adhesion and suffrages of the people? And they had the statement of the hon. Member for Leeds with regard to the law which the Irish Members impugned—which they attacked as having been unjustly administered—that there was not a single Party in Ireland whose wishes were worth a moment's consideration but the Parnellite Party. The hon. Member for Leeds went on to say—and this was of keen interest, when they recollected that the Tory Party were said, for the purpose of bidding for the next General Election, to be playing into the hands of the Irish Members—they would see who was prepared with the highest offer—

> "There was no one in Ireland whom they might stand up for; as his point was that for good or for evil Mr. Parnell represented the Irish people."

If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that to-night, and had said it because the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) represented the Irish people—if he had referred to the hon. Member's discontent as representing the discontent of the Irish people—if it had been once granted that the hon. Member represented the Irish people—would it not be madness for him to refuse the present demand? The hon. Member for Leeds went on to say—

> "Let them end, then, the mockery of what was called Constitutional government in Ireland, and let them form a system of government which was based entirely upon popular wishes and on popular sentiment."

"Constitutional government in Ireland!" Constitutional government in Ireland embraced, he (Mr. Healy) presumed, Earl Spencer and Marwood, embraced the Prevention of Crime Act, special juries, and George Bolton. "Let them end, then," said the hon. Member for Leeds, the son of the late Prime Minister,

> "the mockery of what was called Constitutional government in Ireland."

The noble Marquess attacked the Chancellor of the Exchequer because he said he would venture to give an inquiry, which had not been refused to the meanest slave who tugged at the galley. The hon. Member for Leeds said—

> "His experience of what 20 or 30 determined Irishmen could do in the House of Commons showed him that 80 could make our present system of government practically unworkable.

> If that system did become unworkable, it became so to the harm of the British Empire."

So that it was not for the sake of honour or decency that the English Government was to give them Home Rule, but because they had the power of enforcing it! What would happen in the next Parliament if they had 80 Members in the House? Why, they would have all these inquiries—into the Maamtrasna case, the working of the Prevention of Crime Act, and the sad glory of Myles Joyce—without difficulty, because if they could get Home Rule how much more readily would they be able to obtain an investigation into the circumstances of a few wretched peasants in an out-of-the-way part of Ireland. That remarkable speech of the hon. Member for Leeds did not appear to be received with much gratification by the Liberal Members. The hon. Member went on to say—

> "This must be taken into consideration, and they must either satisfy the reasonable demands of the Irish people, or must eject them from the House, and govern the country by martial law. [*Cheers.*] If, then, the Irish nation desired a Parliament on a federal basis; if the Irish Leaders agreed that they could formulate and work a practical scheme—and he believed they could—if they loyally accepted the supremacy of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament—then, in God's name, give them a Parliament on College Green."

He presented the hon. Member for Leeds to the noble Marquess with his compliments. It was a remarkable speech that was made by the hon. Member for Leeds, and it gave the Liberal Party great satisfaction; but he did not hear them cheer it now. The noble Marquess, with his high and haughty mien, refused them an inquiry which would impugn Earl Spencer. He was willing that the hon. Member for Leeds should give them Parliaments *galore*, and the Members for Birmingham and Chelsea (Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles W. Dilke) should give them county government, and all the rest; but to attack the sacred ark of the Liberal Party in the form of Earl Spencer—oh, that the Liberal Party would consider a vital question, to which the granting of Home Rule for Ireland was a mere bagatelle, which would be immediately granted if they got 80 men into their Party. He had listened that night with extraordinary interest to the speech of the noble Marquess. It was a speech which, to his mind, marked "the parting of the waters." It was similar to a speech which they had the other day in the House of Lords, directed against a certain section of the Liberal Party by his Grace the Duke of Argyll—a speech intended to segregate a certain portion. According to the noble Marquess it was not an offence to differ upon a question of Free Trade, or foreign policy—as to Afghanistan or Egypt. It was not upon such trifling questions as that the Liberal Party must swear none of these shibboleths; it was Earl Spencer. He was to be their policy; they must stand by him, they must fall by him. He would put these questions to the noble Marquess—"If you are lucky enough at the polls at the next Election, do you think or suppose that you will send back Earl Spencer to Ireland? Will the cry of the Liberal Party to the working men of the towns in England, to the agricultural labourers in this country, be 'Rally to Earl Spencer and the renewal of the Crimes Act?'" He remembered well hearing the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), in the last Parliament, and he then stood where he (Mr. Healy) now stood, refer to the noble Marquess as the "late Leader of the Liberal Party." That was upon a mere question of flogging in the Army, the question which had been ripened by the endeavours of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), as this question had been ripened by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington). On this occasion, however, the right hon. Members for Chelsea and Birmingham remained quietly on the fence waiting to see which way the cat was going to jump. Now, he supposed that this debate which had been got up that night by the noble Marquess was intended purely for electioneering purposes—to show the English people what the policy of the Liberal Party was; but next week, or the week after, the right hon. Members for Birmingham and Chelsea would go over to Ireland, and would play the tune of the Liberal Party with variations. He understood it was the custom of Her Majesty the Queen, when these Gentlemen come into Office, to present them with the Seals of Office; and he would suggest, also, that the Leader should be provided with a tuning fork, so that when the note was given by the noble Marquess any false notes by the right hon. Members for Birmingham or Chelsea could be toned down to the proper key. In his opinion one of the absolute necessities for a great Party was a cry, and the Liberal Party could not that night impose upon the English people with the cry of "Earl Spencer." They were not united upon it. Would the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), when he next addressed the Attercliffe Division of the working men of Sheffield in two or three weeks' time, rally his constituents to the cry of "Spencer and the Crimes Act?" Let any other of the long row of distinguished potentialities who were sitting on the Front Opposition Bench try the effect of that elixir of life—the policy of Earl Spencer—upon the putrid corpse of Liberalism in this country. He ventured to think that they would find that it was absolutely impotent, as had been the speech of the noble Marquess that night, to affect the Tory Party. He congratulated the Tory Party sincerely upon the attacks which had been made upon them by the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) and the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), because to-morrow those attacks would be answered elsewhere by the right hon. Member for Birmingham and the right hon. Member for Chelsea. One of the great advantages of the Tory Party was that they never need say a word in answer to attacks upon them by the Liberals, because some Liberal was sure to get up and denounce the Liberal who had gone before him. The hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) would attack the noble Marquess, and even the great bulk, the great form, of the right hon. Member for Derby would be demolished by the attacks of the right hon. Member for Birmingham. He (Mr. Healy) recognized that the Tory Party had before them a very arduous task. They had in Ireland two Parties to deal with—the National Party, which was represented in the House by his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and the Party traditionally allied to themselves, the old Tory and Orange Party. The National Party, for their part, recognized that in endeavouring to accommodate the differences of these two Parties, and to "knit up the ravelled sleeve of care," which had existed for centuries in Ireland, the Government were undertaking, if not a successful, at least a noble task. For his part, he desired by every means in his power to hasten the day when his countrymen might be united together as one solid phalanx; and when that task wss accomplished, whether it be by the Tory Party or the Radical Party, they in Ireland would have no more of those frightful scandals and outrages, they would have no more attacks upon the Judicial Bench, or upon juries by reason of their partizanship. He would bless the Party, whichever it might be, which had the fairness to carry out that hallowed and glorious work. It was not unnatural that the Tory Party having come into Office, and having a chance of succeeding in doing what the Liberal Party could not do, the Liberal Party should be jealous and censorious of their opponents' efforts. That was not an attitude on which he could congratulate the Liberal Party. Their own account of their action was that they desired to act towards Ireland as a country to be allied with England for good and all; but now, when for the first time—at least in his experience—there was some chance of that being accomplished without mischief to any Party in Ireland, and without hurt or harm to the people of any creed, class, or religion—and he would not accept for one section of the people that which would inflict a substantial injury on any other section—they should not forget that the Tory Party had set about that task with the blessing of the late Prime Minister. He (Mr. Healy) personally did not intend to add anything, if he could abstain from doing so, to the difficulties of a Government which, he believed, being trusted by the Tory Party in Ireland, had some chance of effecting real and substantial improvement. Whether that improvement be carried on by appeasing the minds of the Irish people and showing them that they might expect equal justice before the law, or affording that justice to Irish prisoners which Government would not deny to the meanest English convict, such as in the case of the man who was convicted and sentenced to death for murder, and who was released by the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), three weeks ago, he cared not. If the Government would show that they would do that, he did not care what others might say. Then the people of Ireland would at last have discovered that Ireland had ceased to be the cockpit of English Parties, and that there was some chance of the people becoming devoted and attached, and of Ireland becoming a very contented country.

MR. MACARTNEY said, he would not have ventured to detain the House, but for the observations made by his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General (Mr. Gorst), who had commented with a considerable amount of asperity upon the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis). The Solicitor General had said he did not consider the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lewis) was a proper exponent of the views of any portion of the people of Ireland, because he was the only Member for an Irish constituency who was an Englishman. He believed the part of the speech of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lewis) to which the Solicitor General took objection was that in which the hon. Gentleman expressed the opinion that the law-abiding population of Ireland admired and respected the conduct of Earl Spencer. He (Mr. Macartney) thought it was right for himself to say that he knew that the law-abiding inhabitants of Ireland of all shades of politics did respect and honour Earl Spencer for the way in which he wielded the sword of justice entrusted to his hands by Her Majesty the Queen. He was as opposed as any man to the politics of Earl Spencer, and he did not approve of any acts of the noble Earl's administration except those which were connected with law and justice and the protection of life and limb. It was only due and fair to Earl Spencer to say that he went away from Ireland having earned the respect and admiration of all loyal people for the courage and uprightness he displayed. There was another thing in the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General which astonished him very much. Speaking about the inquiry which was about to take place, the hon. and learned Gentleman did what he hardly thought a lawyer should have done—namely, express his own opinion that there had been a miscarriage of justice. It was for the new Viceroy himself to find out whether there had been a miscarriage of justice. He (Mr. Macartney) cared little whether he belonged to a reactionary Party or not; but he was surprised at the concession which had been made that night by the Government to the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell).

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Committee upon *Monday* next.

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (TERM OF IMPRISONMENT) BILL.—[BILL 180.]

(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. HEALY said, he had given Notice of a new Clause—"In case of application for certiorari bail to be allowed;" but before moving it he would like to know what the intention of the Government was in the matter. He understood that in England, under the Summary Jurisdiction Act, of which they had not the advantage in Ireland, the right of appeal was given in all cases. There was no such right of appeal in Ireland, and therefore a man who was sentenced by a magistrate to a month's imprisonment might be the victim of great tyranny. He understood that the Government were desirous of meeting the case, to some extent, by the inclusion in the Bill of a clause in the direction of his Amendment. He would very much like to receive an assurance from the Government that if they were in Office next year they would apply to Ireland the Summary Jurisdiction Act, which dealt with many matters which might with benefit be included in the Irish law.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. DALRYMPLE) said, he thought it would be well for the hon. and learned Gentleman to move his Amendment, otherwise there would be no Motion before the Committee.

MR. HEALY thereupon begged to move his new Clause.

New Clause :—

(In case of application for certiorari bail to be allowed.)

"Any person sentenced to imprisonment for an offence summarily punishable who gives notice of his intention to apply for a certiorari to test the legality of the conviction shall, on finding sufficient sureties, be admitted to bail pending the decision of the High Court: Provided always, That if the application for the certiorari be not proceeded with at the first available opportunity, the sentence shall at once take effect,"—(*Mr. Healy,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) said, the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Healy) had stated a grievance which, no doubt, existed. The Government were conscious that something should be done in the matter; but the difficulty they saw was the impossibility of importing into this very small Bill, which was drawn for a special purpose, the large question which would be involved by redressing the grievance of which the hon. and learned Gentleman spoke. It appeared to him that it might be possible, by applying some of the provisions of the Summary Jurisdiction Act to Ireland, to do much in the direction desired. He hoped, however, the hon. and learned Member would now withdraw his Motion, and he (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) would put down an Amendment, on the Report stage, to the same effect. It was a fact that in England, whenever imprisonment was inflicted without the option of a fine, an appeal to Quarter Session was given. Although there was no Statute making it absolutely imperative to accept bail during the pendency of an appeal, it was laid down in all works of authority that it was improper to refuse bail.

MR. HEALY asked leave to withdraw his Motion, but suggested that the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) should put his clause into the Bill now, so that it would be competent to put down, on Report, any Amendments to it which might be necessary.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) moved the new Clause—

> "Amendment of Summary Jurisdiction (Ireland) Act, 1850. Discharge of defendant pending application for certiorari."

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause be now read a second time," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *added* to the Bill.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 236.]

House adjourned at half after One o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 20th July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Bankruptcy (Office Accommodation) * (191).

Second Reading—Shannon Navigation* (172); Land Purchase (Ireland) (184); Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) (182.)

Second Reading—Committee negatived—Marriages (Saint John, Cowley) * (187).

Select Committee—Report—Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) [No. 189].

Committee—Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment (102-192); Housing of the Working Classes (England) (177).

Committee—Report—Local Government Provisional Order (Municipal Corporations) * (166); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) * (167); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) * (168); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) * (169); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 5) * (173); Local Loans (Sinking Funds) * (175).

Report—Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) * (57-190); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) * (153); Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) * (176).

Third Reading—Archdeaconries, *now* Ecclesiastical Commissioners (No. 2) * (180); Tithe Rent Charge Redemption * (165), and *passed.*

ALEXANDRA (NEWPORT AND SOUTH WALES) DOCKS AND RAILWAY BILL.

THIRD READING.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^{a}."

THE EARL OF BESSBOROUGH, in moving—

> "That the Bill be not read a third time unless the clauses relating to running powers be previously expunged,"

said, the clauses in question would operate injuriously to the Great Western Railway Company, on whose behalf he asked their Lordships to amend the Bill.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said, he felt bound to defend the action of the Committee, who had inserted these clauses in the public interest. The case of the Great Western Railway Company had been fully heard and considered.

On Question, "That the Bill be read 3ª?" *Resolved* in the *affirmative;* Bill read 3ª accordingly; and *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

COAST DEFENCES AND NAVAL VOLUNTEER CORPS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH rose to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether the Report of the officer appointed by the late Board of Admiralty to inspect the coast defences and to inquire as to the condition of the Naval Volunteer Corps would be laid on the Table of the House during the present Session? The noble Lord said that, whilst the late Government were in Office, he had placed a Notice upon the Paper proposing that a capitation grant should be given to Naval Volunteers. He had taken that course on account of the indisposition which had been exhibited by the late First Lord of the Admiralty through a series of years to do anything to promote the efficiency of the Naval Volunteer Corps. That Notice stood upon the Paper for the very day on which the change of Government was announced; and during the interval, influenced possibly by some feeling out-of-doors, the Liberal Party, who had neglected for so many years the Naval Volunteers, suddenly showed great interest in their favour, and the noble Earl the late First Lord of the Admiralty made a stirring speech, in which he incited the Government to do something to promote that Corps. He had been very glad indeed to read that speech on Saturday evening, and was sorry he had not been present when it was delivered. It was to be hoped that nothing that was done now would be understood to imply a slur on the corps that had been formed, whose efficiency had been attested by distinguished officers. In London, Brighton, Bristol, and Liverpool Naval Volunteer Brigades existed, and these were capable of performing all the duties which would devolve upon them on shore as well as on shipboard; and he hoped that the Admiralty would not only see that they had the capitation grant, but also that they were properly supplied as far as possible with material for their purpose. One very important part of the duties of these Volunteers broke down last year in consequence of the inefficiency of the vessel given to them by the Admiralty; and he trusted that henceforth the Admiralty would see that the assistance rendered was of a *bonâ fide* character. In conclusion, he wished to know whether there would be any objection to lay on the Table, in addition to the document referred to in his Question, the last Reports received from the Inspector of these Forces?

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Earl of HARROWBY) said, he would endeavour to answer briefly the two or three points which the noble Viscount had raised. His noble Friend at the head of the Admiralty had not the least intention of throwing any slur whatever on the loyalty of the Naval Volunteer Corps of London, Bristol, and Liverpool. Indeed, he had heard his noble Friend, as well as other authorities at the Admiralty, speak in the highest terms of the patriotic exertions and excellent good work of those Corps. For many years, too, he had been in association with the Naval Volunteer Corps of Liverpool, and he knew how highly they were praised by professional men. Therefore, the noble Viscount might be assured that the Admiralty would not throw any slur upon the Corps, for their wish, of course, was to extend the movement still further. He would not say more than he said on Friday last as to the assistance they hoped to give to the Naval Volunteers of the country generally. His noble Friend at the head of the Admiralty would, he believed, this week take an opportunity of stating what material aid the Government could give to the Naval Volunteers, and consequently he thought he had better leave the matter in his noble Friend's hands. He had, however, committed the Government so far as to say that they felt it was quite necessary to give distinct material aid towards the maintenance of the Naval Volunteer Corps, and his noble Friend would know in the course of this week exactly the form it would take. With regard to the Report of the officer appointed to inspect the coast defences, it was only sent in at the beginning of this month, and it was called a preliminary Report. In these circumstances they could not present it; and, as to the full Report, he was afraid it would not be right to promise at present to lay it on the Table. A Report on our coast defences must, of necessity, by highly confidential; but if it contained anything which in the interest of the Public Service could be made public they would be happy to lay it on the Table. With regard to the Reports of the Inspector of the Naval Volunteers, he would communicate with his noble Friend, and, if possible, they would lay the document on the Table. The view of the Government on this great subject was that they must see that the Navy was fully up to strength, and that our ports and coaling stations were safe. At present they committed themselves to no opinion as to their condition. They felt that the work had to be done; but how it was to be done the Government could not at present say. It would be foolish and rash if, after having been in Office only about a month, they were to pronounce a decided opinion upon such a subject. His noble Friend was taking professional advice, and in a short time would be able to state the views of the Government. The War Office had long been in communication with the Admiralty as to the defences of this country, and a very important Departmental Commission had been considering the subject. Therefore, his noble Friend might feel well assured that the whole of this large subject of the defences of the country was being gravely considered, and that it would be promptly and effectively dealt with.

THE FINANCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION ALMANAC.—OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, in rising to call attention to the remarks upon the Financial Reform Association Almanac made by Mr. Goschen at Ripon on the 30th of January, 1884, and to the continued sanction given to these misleading statistics by five Members of the late Government—Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Thomas Brassey, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Mundella, and Mr. Caine, said, circumstances beyond his control had obliged him to postpone and alter the Notice now before the House. He had put it down a considerable time ago in the hope and expectation that at least some of the five right hon. Gentlemen who had given their names and sanction to the Financial Almanac would have withdrawn them, and made it needless to bring the matter before their Lordships. But the sense of personal honour had been less strong than Party spirit, and they appeared to have preferred the discredit of sanctioning the statements of the Financial Almanac to discrediting that electioneering agency. Mr. Goschen had said at Ripon that the statistics given under the heading of the Aristocracy and the Public Service were such as "to poison the relations between classes." It was not surprising, therefore, that the idea of this compilation should be due to Mr. Bright, and that it should have been introduced with extracts from three speeches delivered by that Gentleman in 1852, 1858, and 1862. It was to be hoped, now that the exaggeration of those speeches had been placed in a tabular form and its absurdity made plain, that that right hon. Gentleman would be ashamed of them. In 1884 27 pages, and in 1885 26 pages, of the Almanac were employed to prove Mr. Bright's assertion that "the Public Service is neither more nor less than a gigantic system of outdoor relief for the aristocracy of Great Britain." In order to do this, lists had been made of the Peers with their relatives who had held offices in the Army, Navy, Civil Service, Militia, and the Church from the year 1850 to the present time; and although a note at the commencement of these tables stated that as all moneys drawn in a person's lifetime were included, the account, therefore, necessarily included some large amounts drawn before 1850, yet the impression given was that the total arrived at was from 1850 to 1883. The total was:—Families, 532; relatives, 7,991; offices, 13,888; moneys received, £108,614,632. A great deal of this £108,000,000 was made up of Army pay. Before the abolition of purchase this was not pay, in the bulk of the cases given in the Almanac, but the interest on the price of commissions. In 1870, in introducing the Irish Land Bill, Mr. Gladstone alluded to—

> "That immense mass of public duties bearing upon every subject of political, moral, and social interest, without fee or reward, which has honourably distinguished for so many generations the landlords of England."—(3 *Hansard*, [199] 339-40.)

Another note stated that it would be ridiculous to assert that all these individuals obtained preferment through such Peers as happened to be their relatives, and that in many cases the relationships arose from marriages subsequent to the receipt of some or all of the public money indicated. The singular excuse was then given that though the compilers of the list knew of 10 such cases, they could not be expected to know them all; and if they excepted the cases they knew of, injustice would be done to those that were left, so they gave all, and left readers to use discrimination. In consequence of this, in nine particular cases the sum of no less than £494,000 was credited to the family of Peers, because certain functionaries late in life married some of their relatives; in two cases the connection with the Peerage by marriages took place after the death of the functionary who had earned his money by his industry without any favour or influence. For instance, the salaries of Baron Huddleston, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. David Urquhart, Baron Alderson, Bishop Monck, Admiral Beaufort, were put down to the influence of the Peers with whom they became connected by marriage, in the last two cases, after their decease. Mr. Algernon West's advancement was put down to the influence of a Conservative Peer, when it was obviously due to his having been an efficient Private Secretary to the late Prime Minister. There was a Peer, a Member of the late Government, who was said to have received nearly £200,000, along with his 16 relatives. Of these 16, as a matter of fact, there were only three relatives. One married to a niece by marriage; the other died before this Peer was born; the third had left the Service long before he became a connection by marriage. In his (Lord Stanley of Alderley's) own case, the salary he had received was put at nearly double the amount, and he was credited with the pay of Sir Edward Parry, the Arctic voyager, and of General Scott, who was badly wounded at Talavera, in 1809, both of whom, late in life, married relations of his father. They had put down £76,000 as the salary received by his father during his life; it should have been £50,400. From a calculation made for him in a public office, the error with respect to these two salaries was £29,000 in a sum of £83,500. Now, there were two noble Lords—the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) and the late Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley)—the whole of whose official career was described in the Foreign Office List; and, following that, he (Lord Stanley of Alderley) found that the salary of the first noble Lord had been overstated by some £35,000, and that of the second by about £25,000. Who would defend these fraudulent statistics? The noble Earl the late Secretary of State for India would not be very anxious to do so, when he discovered that he headed the list of those families who had been, according to the Almanac, living on a gigantic system of out-door relief. It was there stated that the noble Earl and 66 relatives had held 127 offices and received above £1,250,000. The noble Earl the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) might think he had nothing to defend, because his name was absent from its place in the list of Earls; but that was because he had been put down as a collateral of the noble Duke (the Duke of Sutherland), and as having received £121,000, which had been used to swell the amount to £299,000 put down to the account of that noble Duke. Under the heading of Miscellaneous Facts and Figures, a number of irrelevant details were given with regard to 24 Peers, one of which was untrue, as the Peer mentioned had nothing to do with the transaction, and had not sold an estate, which had never belonged to him, but to his relative. As to the information given, its value and correctness might be judged from the statements, that the trading and mercantile class contributed the major portion of local taxation; that the corn land of the Kingdom might, without any strain, by the application of nitrate, be made to produce an additional wheat crop; if only a 20th part of the corn area were thus sown the loss of the Russian supply would not be felt; if all Europe were closed to them one-tenth of such double cropping would suffice to neutralize the effect. At page 26 of the Almanac of 1885, the total annual ecclesiastical income was said to be probably about £6,300,000, including annual value of palaces, deaneries, and glebe houses. Notwithstanding that, at page 21 it was said that for rating purposes some £8,000,000 per annum of value were freed by tithe from liability to local taxation. This was an astonishing statement, in presence of the frequent complaints of the clergy of the pressure of the rates on their whole incomes. Whilst tithes did not escape from local taxation, they were assessed and paid Income Tax twice over—first, whilst in the possession of the landowner or occupier; and, a second time, after they had passed into the hands of the clergy. As this Almanac was issued under Government patronage, it was to be hoped that it would publish the Question addressed last year, as to the nature of tithes, to Mr. Gladstone, to the noble Earl the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), along with the answers given to that Question. If he might venture to give an opinion, the best answer was that given by his noble Friend the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He should like to mention another insinuation against the Church, in page 26, which came with very bad grace from Members of a Government—

> "It may or may not be significant that in Wales, where the State religion has had least success, crime has the most rapidly decreased; in fact, the duties of the Judges of Assize have become almost *nil.*"

Under the head of the Civil List (Royal) Pensions, in the Almanac of 1884 (p. 62), it was stated that the limit of £1,200 for new pensions every year was placed on the Prerogative at the commencement of the present Reign, that having been computed by the Actuary of the National Debt Office as the equivalent of £19,871 perpetual annuity. It went on to say—

> "How far the computation has proved itself correct, we must leave our readers to judge from the following table."

The table gave the annual payments for each year, and the total for 45 years as £712,640; that gave an average for each year of £15,836, instead of £19,871. The difference between the money payments made and the £19,871 calculated by the Actuary was explained by the fact that, taking one year with another, only £1,066 had been given each year as new pensions, instead of £1,200. If grants had been made up to the limit of £1,200 the total amount paid in the 45 years would have been, under the same circumstances, £802,231, which was not so far off the total for 45 years of £894,145 calculated by the Actuary. In the list of Civil Service Pensions a number of remarks are added, of more or less bad taste, more or less offensive, and often untrue—as, for instance, where a man had served for 36 years in various climates, and was untruly put down as having got his pension after only about a third of that time. The Almanac List of Royal Pensions mentioned the grant of a pension of £40 to Robert Young, Irish historical and agricultural poet, and gave three specimens of his poetry. In one of them the word "grievous" had been misspelt and italicized *grevious*, so as to represent the author as a writer of doggerel verse. In the first edition (Derry, 1840) the word was properly spelt. The object of these specimens appeared to be to impugn the grant of this pension by Lord Beaconsfield, for the pensioner next but one on the list was Sarah Coulton, £75, with the remark that she was—

> "Widow of David Coulton, who reported for a newspaper with which Mr. Disraeli was connected."

It was not probable that that remark was printed in the statement made to Parliament of grants of pensions. Neither the Literary nor the Newspaper Fund allowed it to be known what persons they assisted; and it would be better taste in the Vice Presidents of the Financial Association not to parade the names of these pensioners, nearly all of whom had been reduced by extreme distress to become recipients of these pensions. He thought he had now placed before the House a sufficient number of false statements contained in the Almanac to justify him in asking whether any Member of the late Government would assert that they were true; and whether, if they were admitted to be false, it was fitting—nay, whether it was not a public scandal—that five Members of the late Government should have participated in and sanctioned their publication by retaining their names in the list of Vice Presidents of the Association published at the beginning of the Financial Reform Almanac?

POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 176.)

(*The Lord Carlingford.*)

REPORT.

Amendments *reported* (according to order).

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he wished to call attention to an Amendment which had been accepted by the noble Lord in charge of the Bill (Lord Carlingford) on a Motion of a Peer sitting on the opposite side of the House. The Bill originally proposed that no person should be allowed to vote at an election of Poor Law Guardians who had not paid his rates within two months of the election. This period the Amendment had altered to one month. He (the Earl of Milltown) took exception to the change, as against the opinion of the Select Committee of their Lordships' House to whom the measure had been referred, and who had given it the closest investigation. He pointed out that the noble Lord who had brought forward the Amendment had not been a Member of that Committee, and complained that a private opinion of that kind had been preferred to that of a Select Committee. He moved to leave out the words "one month," in order to insert "two months."

Amendment *moved*,

In page 4, line 12, to leave out ("one month,") and insert ("two months.")—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD said, he would assent to the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to;* words *substituted* accordingly.

Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow.*

PROTECTION OF YOUNG GIRLS— A ROYAL COMMISSION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD MOUNT-TEMPLE, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether they would take into consideration the propriety of appointing a Royal Commission to inquire into the expediency of further legislation for the protection of young girls? said, the interest their Lordships had taken in the Criminal Law Amendment Bill during three successive Sessions, and the ample discussion that had been given to its details, justified him in calling attention to the present and the future aspect of this question. The Bill passed by their Lordships could give only an inadequate protection to girls from the deceits, devices, and violence to which they were exposed; but it went as far as the facts obtained by the Committee in 1881-2 seemed in public opinion to justify. The Committee reported the most important evidence they could find at that time. It was startling and painful, and gave a shock to the complacency and false estimates prevailing generally in the mind of the public. It aroused a number of earnest men and women to a fuller investigation of the horrible facts which were partially indicated by that evidence; many associations and committees went to work in good earnest, and at last the discovery of cruel fraud, violence, and imprisonment in private houses, unknown and hitherto unbelievable by ordinary people, had stimulated a desire for more adequate remedies to remove the shame of the imperfection of our law. The success of the first inquiry in suggesting legislation fitted to meet the criminal acts proved to exist pointed to the appointment of a further inquiry and the further raising of the dark veil which had hidden these abominable cruelties from the knowledge of the makers of the law. This inquiry ought to be directed by the Government, and not left to the direction and irresponsible impulses of private persons. If the Government declined to satisfy the demands of the public of all classes for a complete investigation of the nature and extent of these criminal practices, if it should ignore its responsibility, then probably the responsibility ignored by the Government would be taken up by individuals as a conscientious duty of mercy and protection towards tens or hundreds of thousands of weak and helpless girls. The most prominent of the facts was the organized trade in human flesh. It was increasing and acquiring more influence than any other trade except that of beer and spirits. It might be said—"Do not interfere with free trade;" but this was a trade in stolen goods, and was worse than the Slave Trade. The girls were kidnapped and imprisoned by force, and were more injured than any negro slaves. The object of the Commission would be not to interfere with vice between willing and responsible parties, but with that vice which became crime by the employment of fraud and force. The public was looking to the Government to deal effectually with this dreadful subject. It grieved those who had hearts to feel for the oppressed and consciences to protest against the weakness of the law which allowed such tyranny as now existed to go on unchecked. The public looked to their Lordships as the hereditary Representatives of the chivalry of England. St. George had become the Patron Saint of England because he conquered in his fight for the liberty and purity of woman, and rescued her from the devouring appetite of the dragon of lust. Their Lordships would not be defeated in their endeavours for the legal protection of suffering and injured young women.

THE PAYMASTER GENERAL (Earl BEAUCHAMP) said that, while he sympathized with the object of the noble Lord, he must confess he did not quite understand the motives of the noble Lord in asking for such an inquiry. The noble Lord must be aware that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which had three times passed their Lordships' House, was now before the House of Commons. If the noble Lord meant by his inquiry that the Bill now before the House of Commons should be withdrawn, he had to state that such was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had already expressed the hope in the House of Commons that the Bill would be passed into law with certain modifications; and he thought it was hardly in accordance with the practice of Parliament or with the courtesy due to the other House that Her Majesty's Government should be asked to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into a subject dealt with in a measure sent down to the House of Commons. A great deal of evidence had recently been brought before the public, and how far that was trustworthy he was not prepared to say; but he would point out that a Royal Commission had no power whatever to examine witnesses upon oath, and he thought it would generally be agreed that any further inquiry into this subject should be in a form under which the evidence given should be under the sanction and authority of an oath. He did not think that any useful purpose would be served by further inquiry at the present moment not on oath. He could assure the noble Lord that Her Majesty's Government was keenly alive to the evils to which he referred; but the view he took upon this matter was that, even supposing it would be right and proper to interfere with the measure now before the House of Commons, no useful purpose would be served by taking further evidence on this subject except under the responsibility of an oath. With regard to the law of this matter, he would remind their Lordships that the House of Lords had not shown themselves insensible of their duties on the question. They had three times sent a Bill upon this subject to the other House, and each time the responsibility for the rejection of that measure had rested upon the shoulders of the House of Commons, and not upon their Lordships' House.

LORD MOUNT-TEMPLE said, he did not expect that the Government would be prepared to issue a Commission immediately; but they were near the end of the Session, and he hoped that the Government would consider the question after the Session was over.

SEA FISHERIES (SCOTLAND) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 102.)

(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clauses 1 to 3, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Fishery Board may make bye-laws prohibiting or regulating trawling within defined areas).

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, that whenever this Bill came under consideration he looked with curiosity at the countenance of his noble Friend on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss), who was President of the Property and Liberty Defence Association. Some of the provisions of the Bill were of a very arbitrary character. Under the 4th clause, as he read it, the Fishery Board in Edinburgh might prohibit absolutely over the whole coast of Scotland, within the three-mile limit, the great industry of steam trawling. That clause ran as follows:—

> "When the Fishery Board for Scotland are satisfied that any mode of fishing in any part of the sea adjoining Scotland, and within the exclusive fishery limits of the British Island, is injurious to any kind of sea fishing within that part, or where it appears desirable to make experiments or observations with the view of ascertaining whether any particular mode of fishing is injurious, or for the purpose of fish culture, or experiments in fish culture, the Fishery Board may make bye-laws for restricting or prohibit-

ing, either entirely or subject to such regulations as may be provided by the bye-law, any method of fishing for sea fish within the said part."

This really was a very serious question. The supply of fish in this country depended very much on the industry of steam trawling. Personally, he was interested, not in steam trawling, but in line fishing, and this was a Bill for the protection of the line fishings. Personally, his sympathies were entirely with the line fishers; but he must say it was really a most formidable thing that the Fishery Board should be given arbitrary power to make bye-laws to stop steam trawling over the whole coast of Scotland. He had great confidence in the Scottish Fishery Board. It was composed of very distinguished men, many of them Sheriffs, who were well acquainted with the law; and he hardly supposed that they would venture to issue a bye-law prohibiting steam trawling, for example, in the Firth of Forth. Take the case of the Firth of Forth. An enormous supply of fish had been got within recent years from the Firth of Forth by steam trawling. His noble Friend knew very well that a very small part indeed of the area of the Firth of Forth was beyond the three-mile distance from one shore to the other; and, therefore, under this clause the Fishery Board might prohibit steam trawling over the whole area of the Firth of Forth, and the only security they had was that the bye-law must have the sanction of the Secretary of State. Subject to that restriction, an absolute prohibition might be put upon that industry. But if such a bye-law were issued, he did not think so violent an order would be sanctioned by any Secretary of State. Still, where a power of that kind existed, the pressure that would be brought upon the Board and the Secretary of State by local interests would be very great indeed; and under the new constituencies it might be much greater than it would be under the present circumstances. Only the other day he received a very interesting letter from a working man, who appealed to him whether it was not possible to devise some means by which a larger quantity of fish could be brought cheaply into the market for the consumption of the working classes. Having read that letter, he took up *The Scotsman* newspaper, and the first thing he saw was the speech of a new candidate for a Scotch constituency, in which it so happened there was a considerable number of fishing villages. As was common in such circumstances, he addressed himself to the voters in these fishing villages, and he actually propounded a scheme by which it should be made lawful for the Fishery Board that whenever a steam trawler came into a port with a large cargo of fish, and could not prove that these fish had been taken beyond the three-mile limit, the cargo should be sent away and allowed to be spoiled rather than sold. He would not venture to name the candidate nor the constituency; he only put forward this instance to show that there would be very great local pressure brought to bear upon every existing Government, and every existing Fishery Board, to shut up large areas of the sea against steam trawlers if the Bill passed as it stood. His attention was only drawn to this lately, and he should be sorry to oppose a Bill like this, with many good parts in it, without hearing the interpretation which his noble Friend put upon this clause. He would only say that it seemed to him almost a novelty to give such an enormous arbitrary power as this.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, that the Bill was based upon the Report of the Royal Commission on Trawling, of which he had the honour to be Chairman. The Commission was originally appointed to inquire into the injury which the line fishermen asserted had been done to their industry by steam trawling. They had some scientific evidence, and that evidence went to prove that it was quite possible for inclosed spaces, such as St. Andrew's Bay, and perhaps the Firth of Forth, to suffer from over-fishing generally. Professor Macintosh gave, as one reason why fish had so much decreased in size of late years in St. Andrew's Bay, was that there was not sufficient time, after one period of vigorous trawling, for the fish to recover their size before there was another trawling; and it seemed to the Commission desirable that experiments should be made to show to what extent a given spot of the sea could be trawled or fished out, and also how long it would be necessary to give it rest before it recovered its original fertility. The clause to which the noble Duke referred was inserted for the express purpose of giving the Fishery Board that power. Professor Macintosh had, at the request of the Commission, conducted experiments extending over a period of eight months; and if the Bill passed the Fishery Board would continue them, and exclude trawling within the territorial waters of the Firth of Forth, St. Andrew's Bay, and a part of the sea known as Aberdeen Bay. There were experimental stations at Granton and St. Andrew's; it therefore seemed very desirable that those districts should be chosen for experiments. The Bill, while it gave power to exclude trawling, also gave power to prohibit any kind of fishing in order that the experiments might be properly carried out. He admitted the powers were large; but he had been in communication with the Fishery Board, and he considered the Board was likely to exercise them in a reasonable manner; and he hoped, whatever guarantees the House exacted in order that these powers should not be misused, that they would, at all events, leave it to the Fishery Board to make these experiments.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, that on the second reading of the Bill he had taken exception to this clause. As it stood, the powers of the Fishery Board could be exercised entirely at their own discretion. Probably these powers would be exercised at present in a proper way; but there was no guarantee whatever for the future that they would not exercise them in a manner which would be disastrous to the trawling industry of Scotland. He did not mean to say that it was a very large industry; but it was one that was growing, and one upon which the fish supply for a large portion of the country would in an increasing degree depend. He hoped the noble Duke would be able to give the House some indication of the manner in which a guarantee could be obtained from the Fishery Board, as to the way in which they would exercise these powers in future. The powers ought to be clearly defined, and, if possible, more limited.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, the reason why he had not objected to the provision of this clause was because, living on the East Coast, he saw the devastation caused by the trawlers, which came close in shore among the nets and lines of the fishermen, who pursued an industry which was the nursery of the seamen for our Navy. It appeared to him, in consequence of the destruction of small fish and bait beds, and the injury to their nets and lines—leading to bad feeling between these hardy fishermen and the trawlers, and even to blows at times—that there was a case for the intervention of the State. The relation of the net and line fisheries was like that of a waggon to a railway, and perhaps 95 per cent of the fish that came to London was trawled; but the trawlers went out 100 miles to sea. Whether the powers in question were excessive or not he did not pretend to say; but if sufficient security was not given by the publicity provided and the assent of a Secretary of State, perhaps his noble Friend in charge of the Bill would provide some further protection against the abuse by the Board of the powers proposed to be entrusted to it to the prejudice of the rights of trawlers.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON) said, his noble Friend (the Duke of Argyll) was not present when the second reading of the Bill was moved, or he would have heard the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Dalhousie) give very satisfactory reasons for the measure. Anyone who had taken the trouble to read the Report of the Commission presided over by the noble Earl would become aware of the enormous amount of damage which had been done to the line and net fishers by the trawlers; and he was not at all surprised that the result arrived at by the Commission was that some such step as this was necessary to prevent the line and net fishing from being entirely destroyed. The Commission took evidence in various parts of Scotland, from the extreme North to the extreme South, and examined several witnesses who could scarcely speak the English language; and he was bound to say he thought the evidence completely justified the noble Earl in introducing this Bill. There were one or two points which he thought required amendment, and he had put down some Amendments which he should move presently. The noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) would see that whatever bye-law was proposed to be made by the Fishery Board should not have validity until it was confirmed by one principal Secretary of State; and he thought they might fairly conclude that no Secretary of State would give his consent to a bye-law unless it was proved to him to be necessary, and did not have a prejudicial effect on any interest concerned. It was stated that in consequence of the operations of trawlers in particular districts line and net fishers would find their occupation gone unless they were protected, and these were the men who, as his noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss) observed, were really a nursery for the Navy of this country. He was not prepared at present to limit the operation of the clause; but he should not be unwilling to accept any words which would satisfy the public that it would not have the very large effect which the noble Duke apprehended.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he hoped the noble Duke would withdraw his opposition to the clause. It was absolutely necessary that some such clause should be passed. There was no allegation that trawling destroyed small fish and spawn. The trawling net was a most efficient instrument for catching fish. The object of the clause was to compare the result at those places on the coast where trawling was in full force with the result at those places where trawling had been temporarily suspended. What they wanted to do was to find out whether trawling overfished a given place, and to what extent it did so.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, he would not trouble their Lordships to divide.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to*, with Amendments.

The Report of the Amendments to be received *To-morrow;* and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 192.)

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES (ENGLAND) BILL.—(No. 177.)

(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee on the said Bill."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that before the House went into Committee on the Bill he desired to draw attention to some objectionable provisions which it contained. In moving the second reading of the Bill, his noble Friend in feeling and touching words had referred to the sufferings and privations of the working classes, especially in the Metropolis, from the want of healthy and sufficient accommodation. Words such as those could not fail to reach the heart of every one of their Lordships. He, for one, did not desire to be understood as differing from the great majority of the House in this respect. They all knew the history of the Bill. Two years ago his noble Friend wrote a very able article on the subject. In consequence of the public interest excited on this question a Royal Commission was appointed, which had issued a Report. The people of this country were deeply indebted to the Royal Prince and the other Members of that Commission, which sat for something like 70 days. The present Bill was the result of that Commission. Now, there were two classes of provisions in the Bill. The first consisted of the sanitary, and what he might call the destructive clauses; and the second were those which dealt with the housing of the poor and the construction of houses for them. He should be the last person to object to the sanitary proposals of the Bill. It was, and had been, the intention of the Legislature to get rid of insanitary or pest-generating houses. This was necessary, not only with a view to the health of those who lived in them, but for the sake of the surrounding inhabitants. If the existing law was insufficient or not properly enforced, it was desirable that improvement of the law or its machinery should be effected. To these provisions he had no objection; but there was another and totally distinct set of provisions which involved what he could not but consider dangerous doctrines. In one of these provisions was really involved the question of "prairie value." He referred to the provision by which public bodies were enabled to sell public property for less than its value for a special purpose. The same principle was extended to private owners when the life tenants of settled estates were enabled to sell parts of the settled estate for less than its full value for the erection of labourers' dwellings. This aspect of the case had not escaped the attention of all the Commissioners, for Mr. Goschen made a pointed reference to it, and spoke of these proposals as being in the nature of a "State subsidy." It was really a State subsidy, whether it was done directly by the State or by the Municipality. The Scotch evidence before the Commission was hostile to such proposals. He hoped his countrymen were not harder-hearted than Englishmen; but they were perhaps harder-headed. He was glad to find that one witness who spoke on behalf of the Trades Council took the same view as being the view of the working classes, and condemned the proposal to give aid in this way for workmen's dwellings from the resources of the State or the Municipality. Some of the provisions of the Bill were dangerous, and would, if carried into effect, defeat their own end, inasmuch as they would put an end to that private enterprize which had been the cause of the success of all great undertakings in this country. It should be known that one Company alone had expended £12,000,000 in erecting this class of dwellings, which paid £5 per cent. He hoped the Bill before it left their Lordships' House would be divided into two parts, one of which might be passed this Session, and the other be left over for consideration to another Session. The questions raised in the Bill were so important that he did not think they ought to be passed by their Lordships in a hurry at that late period of the Session.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he wished to express his deep sympathy with the noble movement which had been inaugurated by his noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury). The evils which were disclosed by the evidence given before the Royal Commission were little short of a scandal to their civilization, and constituted a real danger to the commonwealth. Although he could not entirely agree with some of the remarks which had fallen from his noble Friend on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss), still he thought that the Bill was a somewhat dangerous extension of the very large powers already given under the Settled Lands Act.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, the remarks of his noble Friends had been, on the whole, so friendly to the Bill that he did not think he should be right in discussing, while the noble and learned Lord was still on the Woolsack, certain matters of detail which had been brought forward. There were only two remarks that he wished to make with respect to something which was said at the close of his remarks by his noble Friend on the Cross Benches. In the first place, this was not a Government Bill, and the Members of the Cabinet were not more responsible for it than anybody else. Consequently, he had not availed himself of those means of obtaining support for it which it was usual to obtain in the case of Government Bills. And not only was this not a Government Bill, but it was not a Bill that was introduced in the interest of the Conservative Party, because, if it had been brought forward for that purpose, his noble Friend would have had to account for the phenomenon of its having been carried through the House of Commons by Sir Charles W. Dilke, who certainly was not likely to advance the interests of the Conservative Party. The truth was that the Bill was not intended to advance the interests of any Party in either House. He would say no more at present about the Bill. As to the particular clauses to which his two noble Friends had objected, they would be more fitly considered in Committee.

Motion *agreed to.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Clauses 1 and 2 severally *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Provision respecting sites of certain Metropolitan prisons).

LORD BRAMWELL said, this clause appeared to him to be very objectionable. It provided that, in the event of two prisons being no longer used as prisons, they might be sold—that at Millbank by the Government, and that at Clerkenwell by the Middlesex magistrates. They were to be sold, however, not at the market value, but for such a price as would enable the Metropolitan Board of Works, without serious loss—and what would be serious loss was almost as difficult to put a meaning upon as "fair rent"—to appropriate the sites for the purpose of labouring class dwellings. He had no fear of the Justices of the County of Middlesex putting that Act in force; but he was not so sure of the Government. If these powers were acted upon, the consequence would be that these properties would be sold at an inferior price; and the difference between that and a fair price would be given, in effect, to the working classes of the Metropolis. Why those persons should be given an improvement, at the expense of other people, he was at a loss to understand. Such a thing seemed to him altogether wrong, and he confessed he could not understand it. It was really taking money from the nation at large, and giving it to a part. He did not say that the proposal was a Socialistic one, although it certainly appeared to have somewhat of a Socialistic hue or character about it, which, perhaps, would not be, with some, an objection to it nowadays. But he did not think that it was the most profitable one that could be adopted. It would be better to sell the property for what it would fetch in the open market, and then to hand over a portion of the sum so realized to the Metropolitan Board of Works, so as to enable them to build on cheaper sites without serious loss.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that the point raised by the latter part of the noble and learned Lord's argument had not escaped the attention of the Commission. Indeed, it had been the subject of a great deal of anxious consideration. He was not sure that the plan proposed by the noble and learned Lord might not be the more efficient; but it would involve a far larger scheme than that proposed by the Bill, which only authorized the Metropolitan Board of Works to apply the provisions of the measure to a part instead of to the whole of the sites mentioned to this particular purpose. The noble and learned Lord had said, in effect, that he had no objection to the proposal as far as Coldbath Fields was concerned, because he was satisfied that the Justices of Middlesex would take good care of themselves, but that he was afraid of what the Treasury might do. That showed that the noble and learned Lord did not know the character of Her Majesty's Treasury. He could assure the noble and learned Lord that if the Justices whipped us with whips, the Treasury whipped us with scorpions on matters of economy. Therefore the noble and learned Lord need be under no apprehension of extravagance on the part of the Treasury. He fully admitted that the effect of this clause would be to give these sites, or portions of them, at prices somewhat lower than they would fetch in the open market. It was a matter of common knowledge that the Metropolitan Board of Works had spent enormous sums in obtaining sites for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Artizans' Dwellings Act, with the result that very heavy burdens had been cast upon the working classes. Therefore, by lessening the cost of the sites to be appropriated to building dwellings for the working classes a benefit would be conferred upon the ratepayers. With reference to the question of principle which had been raised by the noble and learned Lord, he wished to say that the noble and learned Lord had very fairly asked how Her Majesty's Government was justified in giving that which, in the long run, was undoubtedly public property to the benefit of a particular class. His reply to that question was that the State was now asked to undo the evil it itself had done. He had a great belief in the doctrine of *laissez-faire*; but it ought to be applied impartially on both sides. If he might venture to take exception to the doctrine as it appeared in the hands of the noble and learned Lord and his noble Friend it was a doctrine in operation only so long as it was a question of the State giving something, and it never came up when it was a question of the State taking something. What the State had done for London was that it had authorized the forcible seizure of large blocks of territory on which houses were formerly built, and on which the population formerly lived. It had, for objects that were good no doubt, cast out this population from their dwellings and thrown them on the general market for dwelling places in London. Thus the spaces left had been crowded more and more; and if there was enormous pressure on the space, Acts of Parliament were in many cases responsible. They could not wipe this legislation and its results out with a mere expression of regret, nor could they say to the population—"You must take your chance; our doctrines are too pure, our political economy too high, to give you any assistance." They must come into court with the doctrine of *laissez-faire* when they had clean hands. But taking a less high ground, although a very important one, he might say that it was the moral duty of employers—a duty which had been very extensively fulfilled in many parts of the country—to provide for the accommodation of those whom they employed. And if that was the case of private employers, it was still more so in the case of the State, which was the largest employer of labour of any, and had done far more than the others to bring large numbers of persons into a single centre.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, he thought the noble Marquess had offered a very fair defence of the clause; but he ventured to suggest to his noble Friend that the words in the clause, "without incurring a serious loss," were words far from capable of a judicial interpretion. It was an objectionable practice to introduce into an Act of Parliament colloquial expressions which were not capable of judicial interpretation; and he would suggest to his noble Friend that these words might be left out with perfect safely to the Bill. In many large towns land had been acquired by the Corporations for the purpose of building dwellings for the working classes, and this had been done under the existing law.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he would not defend the words, because he should have preferred the words "at a price not below the original cost of the land." He would bring up an Amendment on the Report.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, this was merely an enlargement of the principle already in force. The Metropolitan Board of Works had already suffered great loss on the works carried out. Who would have to pay that? Why the ratepayers. He might also point out that many of the works, such as railways, &c., for which large portions of the populations had been displaced, had been for the benefit of the whole of the community.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he had heard the statement of the noble Marquess with the greatest alarm; but he was more than surprised that the noble Duke should also have given expression to the same opinion, especially when he considered the noble Duke's views on Irish legislation. It came to this—whenever a condition of things existed of which people complained, they might ascribe it to the effect of legislation and government, and demand amends from the State. In Ireland they had seen the principle applied in an extraordinary manner.

LORD CARLINGFORD: But see the condition of things then.

LORD BRAMWELL: See the condition of things now. They were told that there was justification for that legislation, because Ireland was within a measurable distance of rebellion. Had that distance decreased by the Land Act? The principle would be next taken advantage of by the Crofters, who would say—"Look at the condition of things in which we are. We are suffering owing to the previous acts of Government and its legislation; and we call, therefore, for an indemnity from the State." He protested that there was not a grievance of which any man could complain in this country which could be in any way attributed to the legislation of the country, for which indemnity would not be asked if this doctrine prevailed. It was as great a piece of Socialism as he had ever heard of.

EARL FORTESCUE complained of the injustice proposed to be done by the Bill in making any part of the expenses fall on one particular class of property alone; for rates could no longer be levied on any but real property.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, the ratepayers had nothing on earth to do with this clause. It had reference to taxes, not rates.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, their Lordships were treading on very dangerous ground. Could anyone say that there was no danger in connection with the condition of the dwellings in large towns? What they did not see was how, consistently with the old principles they were accustomed to act on, to remedy this evil. Were they to sit down and make no attempt? Sooner than leave the evil unremedied, he was willing to accept this Bill, although he might deem it faulty in some degree. Let them feel certain of this—that the evils which existed would not be allowed to continue in this country without a remedy. If they had not found the remedy now, they would have to find it, and he hoped their Lordships would not be induced to delay the Bill.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS pointed to the experience of Scotland, as shown in the evidence before the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working

Classes. The President of the Edinburgh Trade Council repudiated, on behalf of the working men, the notion that the State or Municipality should supply them with houses.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, he did not wish to wound the national feelings of the noble Lord; but Edinburgh was not so large as London.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Amendment of 31 & 32 Vict. c. 130, and 42 & 43 Vict. c. 64).

The Earl of POWIS said, the clause gave power to the Local Government Board, at the instance of a crotchety medical officer and a single ratepayer, to take possession of and to pull down houses, without any of the formalities or safeguards which were necessary in all other cases before compulsory possession was taken of land for public purposes.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, that at present it was in the power of a Local Authority, on the recommendation of the officer of health, to compel the demolition of premises unfit for human habitation, or to order dangerous structures to be pulled down. This clause proposed, where the Local Authority did not act, that its place should be taken by the Local Government Board, acting on the complaints of another Local Authority, or of an owner of property, and after having instituted local inquiry through one of its Inspectors, and having received a Report favourable to their action. He did not think that any less securities would exist under the proposed clause than at present; but it was undoubtedly the fact that Torrens's Act was not now put in operation, owing to disinclination on the part of the Local Authorities.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to*, with Amendments.

The Report of the Amendments to be received *To-morrow.*

The Earl of WEMYSS said, he should feel it his duty to vote against the third reading, unless he obtained a satisfactory explanation from the noble Marquess with regard to certain provisions in the Bill.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

(NO. 184.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland*)

Earl SPENCER said, he had intended to make some remarks on this Bill; but looking to the lateness of the hour he would defer them till to-morrow, when the noble and learned Lord proposed to go into Committee.

Lord CASTLETOWN said, that while expressing general approval of the Bill, and acknowledging the excellent motives of his noble and learned Friend who had introduced it, he was surprised that that noble and learned Lord should have fallen into some of the pitfalls which were to be discovered in the Bill. The Bill, in his opinion, was too confined—it was not bold enough. He thought there should have been different sections suggested, or that there should have been an amplification of the different modes of transfer contained in the existing Acts relating to land purchase. Running roughly and rapidly over the Bill he wanted to know the exact meaning of Clause 2. Did it mean that all the different modes of transfer from the owner to tenant contained in the acts mentioned were to be governed for the future, if this Bill became law, by the new terms of advance, interest, repayment, and, above all, deposit guarantee? If so very serious complications would arise. Then there was the question of recoverable right. How was it to be defined? Surely if a farm was put up to auction, and was not bought by the owner or anyone else, then the original seller should have power to re-purchase it; otherwise his guarantee would be unnecessarily imperilled and in all probability lost. Such loose wording to his mind was very dangerous, and capable of producing very serious complications if improperly construed—in fact, it was even liable to render the Bill of no value. Coming to Clause 4, he thought there was surely an omission, as the Tramways Act of 1883 should have been inserted, inasmuch as it dealt with the same matter, and he should move an Amendment to that effect unless that was otherwise provided. In Clause 5 he thought the words "that a resale can be effected without loss" were unnecessary verbiage, and likely, as in the last case, to lead to a hitch in the working of the Act. If they had able and conscientious men to work the Act they would be held sufficiently in check by the Treasury without any of this unnecessary handicapping. After Clause 5, again, there was an evident omission of a very important character. Of course, if Clause 2 were to govern all past Acts it might be unnecessary to re-enact the clause from Mr. Trevelyan's Bill; but it seemed to him that if it was not inserted the owner would be left in a very different position. For example, an owner selling under the Act would first of all have to leave a deposit guarantee. Then there would be a mortgage of land as well. He would have out, therefore, one-fifth as a deposit guarantee, and take one-fourth as a mortgage on the holding. What was the possible result? By order of the Commissioners the debt was irrecoverable. The owner, therefore, would lose his one-fifth or deposit guarantee, and he imagined would find great difficulty in recovering his one-fourth or mortgage debt as it would be puisne to the recoverable debt. He knew many who had sold under the clause as it stood under the Act of 1881, and many who desired to sell under it at present; and he, therefore, attached great importance to having this matter cleared up. In Clause 12, which dealt with the registry of deeds *versus* the record of titles, they had what he believed to be one of the greatest blots in the Bill from a technical point of view. What did the Bill propose? They had a Registry of Deeds Office instead of a Record of Title Office. Surely the noble and learned Lord in charge of the Bill must be aware of the use that could be made of a Record of Title Office. In the case of the Registry of Deeds Office, they had to be content with an office where every deed of every kind was registered; whereas in the Record of Title Office they had an office specially created for the purpose of land registry, with special facilities for the transaction of such business. He strongly urged his noble and learned Friend to amend this clause by inserting "Record of Title Office" instead of "Registry of Deeds." He would also suggest the insertion of clauses to amend the scale of fees payable under the existing Act, and to authorize the establishment of local registries in connection with the Record of Title Office to enable people living at a distance from Dublin to satisfy themselves as to the title of any particular holding. This would simplify the working of the Bill enormously, would involve no extra cost, and was, in the opinion of some of the ablest lawyers who had investigated the question, of vital necessity to the rapid and clear working of the Bill. In regard to Clause 15, he thought it was a great mistake to place any charge on the Irish Church Surplus Fund. That Fund was essentially a local fund connected with Ireland. This matter, on the other hand, was entirely an Imperial qnestion, and must be treated as such. He would oppose the clause most strenuously in Committee, and hoped that in the other House every effort would be made to remove it from the Bill. This surplus fund, although it was a paltry sum, could be well applied to local exigencies such as education, technical or otherwise; and as an Irishman he felt bound to resist the application of this local fund to an Imperial question. As long as Ireland contributed to the Imperial Exchequer she was entitled to assistance from that Exchequer on any matter bearing on Imperial questions. The solution of the Land Question by purchase was an Imperial matter, for as long as that question was not solved there would be no peace in Ireland, and every person was aware that a state of lawlessness and anarchy in Ireland reacted with great force upon the whole Imperial system. There was another matter—the appointment of Commissioners—which he would like to touch on. It was a very delicate matter, as everything would depend upon them; and all he could say was that if the rumour current in Dublin was correct, that a certain gentleman whom he would not name had been appointed, he believed his noble and learned Friend had better not indulge in great expectations about the working of this Bill. Neither tenant nor landowner could have confidence in a Commission ruled over by one who had hitherto, in the opinion of most people, rendered the present Act nugatory. It might be that his noble and learned Friend would be able to instil into his Commission some of his own daring and patriotism; but he had heard of the possible appointment he referred to with absolute dismay. Clause 17—the tenant-right clause—he welcomed as of great value. In conclusion, he wished to say that he believed the Bill, with some such Amendments as he had pointed out, would prove a workable measure. He believed the tenants would purchase their holdings as soon as they were impressed with the fact that this was the limit of concession which could be made to enable them to purchase. They would then see that it was to their interest to take advantage of the Act. He thought he might claim to take and to have an unusual interest in many of the provisions of this Bill; and he was sure his noble Friend would take the Amendments he had suggested into his consideration, and enable them to be thoroughly discussed, and, if possible, accepted. They would not in any way alter the main purpose of the Bill. He believed they would simplify its working, and would give different modes of transfer, which might be acceptable to different people, and in different parts of the country.

LORD DENMAN remarked, that it was impossible for the Government, after the Motion, in "another place," of the right hon. Gentleman, now Secretary of State for War, and after the Report of the Select Committee of their Lordships' House, to avoid bringing forward a Bill like that before their Lordships. But in the course of 49 years a tenant purchaser would have to pay £196 for every £100 borrowed; and it was a most difficult thing for a poor tenant to maintain himself, and for him to pay instalments for the purchase of his holding was almost impossible. It was far better for a tenant to be under a landlord than to be obliged to pay a fixed sum at a certain time on pain of forfeiture; and the happy agreements between landlord and tenant in Scotland had worked so well, that Lavergne, an author on agriculture, wrote that they never thought of possessing land as owners. So that the views of those who wrote that—

> "In Ireland an universal desire appears to exist among the people to possess their holdings, and to be freed from the present system of dual holding, so irksome both to owner and occupier,"

and who acted upon those views, were visionary and unsound; and the objections of farmers, who thought it hard to be taxed to pay even arrears, to enable tenants to pay their landlords, would be far stronger as to a Bill like the present. He (Lord Denman) would have been supposed to have agreed to the principle of this Bill if he had not spoken; and he hoped their Lordships would excuse his pouring out, as he did, the thoughts of his heart.

LORD INCHIQUIN said, it gave him great satisfaction that Her Majesty's Government had attempted to deal with this question, and he trusted they would be successful in passing a Bill which would be found workable. He regretted the Government had not proposed to hand over the working of the Bill to the Landed Estates Court, instead of to the Commissioners, for it was necessary to appoint extra Commissioners, while the Court had little or nothing to do, and it commanded the confidence of landlords more than the Commission did. There were a number of matters that would require consideration in Committee. He failed to see how the landlord could be kept from loss, unless the Land Commissioners, who were to declare the debt irrecoverable, were bound in some way to take proceedings against a defaulting tenant immediately he became a defaulter. It must be made clear that there would be no loss upon the advances. The money was to be lent for 49 years, and one-fifth would have to remain out 10 years. Companies, no doubt, would be formed to lend that money for 10 years, and in the case of a defaulting tenant all the landlord would lose would be the difference between the 3 per cent he would have from the Land Commissioners and the percentage which would be charged for the loan of the one-fifth for 10 years. He would lose, perhaps, 2 or 3 per cent. The landlords of Ireland, he pointed out, had not a very favourable opinion of the gentlemen at the head of the Land Commission; and what they feared was that they would go down, and, where an arrangement had been made between landlord and tenant for a 25 years' purchase, might say—"Oh, we do not consider this to be worth more than 15 years' purchase." The result might be that a nominal purchase—say of 15 years—would be fixed, and that would be the rule in Ireland, as to the value of the land. An arrangement, he thought, should be come to, so that if the Land Commissioners were satisfied with the annual value of the land sold they should be bound to accept the terms which might have been agreed upon between the landlord and the tenant. Was there any special reason why some agreement of that kind should not be inserted in the Bill? It would give a great security to the landlord and tenant, and would make the Bill workable. If, however, their Lordships thought they were going to pass a workable measure, and left in it provisions which vested the power of fixing the price to be paid for land in the Land Commissioners, all he could say was that they were very much mistaken. It would not work at all. The independent landowners would not sell their land for one iota less than they thought its fair value, though, of course, those people whose estates were in the hands of receivers would be obliged to sell. He warned the Government if they tied the landlords up in such a way as to give them a mere nominal value for their land the Bill would prove a failure.

The LORD CHANCELLOR of IRELAND (Lord Ashbourne) said, he gathered from the reception the Motion had received from the House that there was no desire on the part of their Lordships to challenge the second reading. The noble Earl who had been until recently Viceroy of Ireland had reserved his right to criticize the Bill until the Motion was made to go into Committee. The noble Earl was entitled to speak on this Bill with great authority, from the position he had filled and the attention he had given the question; and it would be his (the Lord Chancellor's) duty and pleasure to listen to what he might say with the closest attention. Other noble Lords had spoken on matters of detail. It was not for him now to enter into a discussion of the details of the Bill; but he might say generally that when the time came he would deal with all the suggestions which had been made as fully and as carefully as he could. He earnestly hoped that only a few Amendments would be made, and that of those only a few would be pressed, as it was idle to suppose that a Bill of this magnitude could be recast at this period of the Session. Some of the proposals made by the noble Lord (Lord Castletown) were as to the machinery, and he should be very glad to consider them. Others had a wider range, and when the proper time came he would venture to appeal to the noble Lord not to press them or they might imperil the Bill.

Motion *agreed to:* Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 20th July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—New Member Sworn—Ferdinand James de Rothschild, commonly called Baron Ferdinand James de Rothschild, *for* Aylesbury.

Supply—*considered in Committee* — Civil Service Estimates—Class I.—Public Works and Buildings; Vote 22; Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments; Votes 38, 39; Class III.—Law and Justice; Votes 22, 23; Class IV. — Education, Science, and Art; Votes 15 to 17 and 19.

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—School Boards* [235]; Greenwich Hospital * [222].

Committee—Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) [214]—r.p.

Committee — Report — Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [224]; Exchequer and Treasury Bills * [229]; Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices) [148].

Considered as amended — Third Reading — Artillery and Rifle Ranges * [217]; Public Health (Members and Officers) * [114], and *passed.*

Third Reading—National Debt * [172], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation * [53]; Valuation of Lands (Scotland) (Appeals)* [191].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION (LONDON) BILL [*Lords*].

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR pointed out that one of the provisions of the Bill involved the erection of school buildings upon one of the open spaces of which there was so much need in the Metropolis. At the present moment the vacant space at Brook Green was an ornament to the neighbourhood in which it was situated, and it would be altogether spoiled if it were appropriated to the purposes of the School Board. Sites equally eligible were to be found in the immediate neighbourhood, and at a much less cost, which, if selected, would rather improve than injure the district. The particular selection which had been made in the neighbourhood of Brook Green would considerably deteriorate the value of the adjoining property, and would inevitably destroy one of the few picturesque open spaces now left in that part of London. He therefore objected to this part of the Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member make any Motion?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Yes; I beg to move that the Bill be read a second time on this day three months.

MR. SPEAKER: Then the Bill must stand over until to-morrow.

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

QUESTIONS.

———o———

PUBLIC HEALTH — SMALL-POX—THE "CASTALIA" HOSPITAL SHIP—VACCINATION OF AN INFANT AT BIRTH, AND AGAIN THREE DAYS AFTER.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been directed to the vaccination on board the *Castalia* Hospital Ship, of a child when only three hours old, and the re-vaccination of the same child when three days old, on both occasions unsuccessfully, the reason alleged being that the mother had been attacked with small-pox; whether he, or his predecessor in office, have expressed, or will express, disapproval of such treatment of infants; and, whether the child in this case had small pox and recovered, though vaccination was ineffective?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR): The mother was received on board the hospital ship suffering from small-pox, and the child was born 12 days after her admission. The infant was vaccinated on the day of birth, and again two days later unsuccessfully, and afterwards had small-pox. The medical superintendent stated that he vaccinated the child in the hope of averting an attack of small-pox communicated after birth; but it was afterwards found that the disease had developed before the child's birth, and that the child was consequently protected against vaccination. I see no reason to doubt that the medical superintendent acted rightly in causing vaccination and re-vaccination of the infant.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BANN.

SIR THOMAS M'CLURE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Government will take into consideration the memorials to the late Government from the residents in county Londonderry, complaining of the flooding of their lands by the River Bann, notwithstanding the heavy tax paid for many years by the occupiers for the maintenance of navigation and drainage works; and, whether, having regard to the declared intentions of the late Government, they will take any and what steps to relieve the flooding of the lands, and make any grant for that purpose to the district?

DR. LYONS: Before the hon. Baronet answers that Question, I wish to ask him whether his attention has been called to the Report presented to this House by Mr. Howitz, the eminent forest conservator, on the most approved method of controlling torrents and floods, including those of the Bann, by means of suitable afforestation, as successfully practised in the Maritime Alps and elsewhere?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): So far as I can ascertain, the late Government considered and dealt with the Memorials presented to them on this important question. The Department which I have the honour to represent did not consider that sufficient reasons had been shown for a grant in aid, but were disposed to entertain an application for a loan, subject to the condition, among others, that a Joint Board replacing the three present Boards should be formed for the control of the undertaking, and that this Board should decide whether the whole or any part of the navigation works should be preserved. As at present advised, the Treasury see no reason to depart from that view. As has been stated this year, the Government has no power without legislation to remove the navigation works or otherwise mitigate the floods. However, if any further Memorial is presented to the Lord Lieutenant it will receive full consideration, the matter being, no doubt, one of great local importance. As regards the second Question that has been put to me, I have not seen Mr. Howitz's Paper.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—THE TRIAL OF MRS. JEFFRIES.

MR. W. FOWLER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has made such inquiries by letter or otherwise as will enable him to give the House the information asked for as to the part taken by the Assistant Judge at the trial of the woman Jeffries, and which information he could not give by reason of the absence of the Judge?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS), in reply, said, that the Judge who presided at the trial would return to town on Monday or Tuesday next, and he would then communicate with him.

NAVY (SHIPBUILDING CONTRACTS)—TIME ALLOWED FOR COMPLETION.

MR. WARTON asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is the case that the contracts entered into by the late Board of Admiralty, within the last year, for the building of certain ships, allowed more time for such building than was necessary; and, whether such contracts contained any clause inflicting any penalty for non-completion of such ships within such time?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. RITCHIE), who replied, said, he had not been able to make special inquiry into the facts of the case, but he had such general knowledge as would enable him to say that in the contracts for the building of ships made by the late Board of Admiralty no more time was allowed than was necessary for building them, and he remembered that certainly on some occasions the contractors were asked whether they could complete the contracts earlier than the specified time; but he was not aware whether any of them did so. As to the second part of the Question, the contract price was reduced if longer time than the contract time was taken by the contractor for the delivery of the ships.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (IRELAND)—CITY OF LONDONDERRY—THE NEW LIST OF VOTERS.

MR. LEWIS asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the clerk to the Londonderry Union has reported to the guardians that the list of borough voters made out by him contains over 7,000 names, or nearly one-fourth of the entire population of men, women, and children in the borough; that a third or more of these have no qualification, as being occupiers of lodgings, or for a few months only, or as being minors; that he had no power, in the case of borough lists, to mark "objected" against their names; that leading counsel had advised that, though he knew of the disqualification in the large number of cases mentioned, he was bound to insert the names of all persons returned by householders on the form contained in the Schedule to the Franchise Act of 1884; and that, if such be the Law, there was nothing to prevent the registration agents returning 15,000 on the list instead of 7,000; whether the Law is as advised by counsel; and, whether the Government will introduce a Bill to prevent the great waste and expense caused by the accumulation of sham entries on the lists of voters under the present Law?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES): I have been informed that the Clerk of the Londonderry Union has made a report to the Guardians containing substantially the statements referred to in the Question of the hon. and learned Member. I believe that the Clerk also stated in this report that it appeared to him that the overseers were not bound to take for granted the information contained in the requisition forms sent in, and that they ought not to place on the lists persons whom they knew to be disqualified. I confess that this coincides with my own view of the law; but as there appears to be a difference of legal opinion on the point, I am reluctant to express myself with confidence. Any legislation during the present Session would be ineffectual, and probably before Parliament meets next year there will be some authoritative statement of the law.

NAVY—TORPEDO BOATS.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement, reported by *The Times* as having been made on Tuesday last by the late First Lord of the Admiralty:—

> "When preparations were being made, it was found desirable that we should get a considerable number of very fast boats on purpose to carry torpedoes and quick-firing guns. . . . It was intended that these boats should be used for the purpose of defeating the Russian boats with quick-firing guns; but, if peace is assured, it will be necessary to have torpedo gear for these boats, so that they may be used for the purpose of firing torpedoes;"

whether it is the intention of the present Board of Admiralty to adopt the policy of arming these torpedo boats with guns only in war time, and with torpedoes in peace time; and, if so, in what way are these deadly projectiles to be used in time of peace; whether it is the fact that the real reason for not arming these boats with torpedoes was that there were none to arm them with; if he will state how many torpedoes there were in stock on 21st April, exclusive of the armaments of ships in commission, what is the cost of these weapons, and at what rate can they be supplied in the event of war; and is there at the Admiralty any Correspondence to show, or is it the fact, that the Naval Advisers of the Board strongly urged arrangements for increasing this supply, but that their suggestions did not meet with the approval of Lord Northbrook?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON): Several curious statements have appeared in the public Press in reference to these torpedo boats, and consequently I am not surprised that my hon. Friend has drawn some rather erroneous conclusions. I can best answer the series of Questions put to me by simply stating facts so far as they are within my cognizance. The late Board of Admiralty ordered 40 torpedo boats out of the Vote of Credit. The contract was made on the 30th April, and the first of them was to be delivered in the last week in September, and the last of the series in the first week of February. Consequently it would be apparent that these boats would not be available for any operations in the Baltic, as they were going to be delivered when naval operations were practically impossible in that sea. The machine guns were ordered for those torpedo boats; but no design of the mounting of the guns has yet been passed, but they will shortly come before the Board of Admiralty. The late Board proposed to allocate these boats for the defence of certain harbours at home and abroad, and that being so, it was self-evident that they should be armed with torpedo gear. I take it that the late Board got the assent of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to include the sum for the armaments in the Estimates of the present year. The Admiralty are fairly well supplied with torpedoes, and arrangements have been made both at Woolwich and with private firms for a larger and more rapid manufacture of these articles during the present year. There are certain Minutes at the Admiralty of a very confidential character with reference to these torpedo boats, which my hon. Friend will see it would be quite contrary to custom and against the public interest to publish.

CAPTAIN AYLMER: Would the noble Lord kindly say what is the cost of these torpedo boats?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON): They cost about £10,000 or £12,000 each, without fittings.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON TRADE DEPRESSION.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD, in whose name the following Question stood on the Paper:—

> "To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether he can now state the terms of the Royal Commission on Trade Depression, and the names of the Commissioners?"

said, that he understood that it would be convenient if he were to postpone the Question until Thursday.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I am afraid I must ask the hon. Member to postpone the Question for the present week at least. This is a Commission of great importance, and there is a desire on the part of many gentlemen of standing in the country to serve upon it.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the hon. Member for South Nottinghamshire (Mr. Storer) has a Motion on the Paper for Friday bearing somewhat on the same subject? It would have been very convenient if a statement could have been made before the Motion was discussed.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Can the right hon. Gentleman say if Ireland will be represented on the Commission?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): I am afraid I must ask for Notice of that Question.

PORTUGAL—SEIZURE OF THE "ERMA" AT FUNCHAL.

Mr. WILLS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What steps have been taken in reference to the seizure at Funchal, in January last, by the Portuguese Customs, of the British Brigantine *Erma*, of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, which was detained until the sum of eighty-seven pounds sterling had been paid by her owner; and what reply, if any, has been received from the authorities at Lisbon to the representations that have been made to them?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. Bourke): Her Majesty's Minister at Lisbon addressed a representation on this subject to the Portuguese Government in February last. He reports that a delay has taken place owing to the necessity of referring the matter to Funchal; but he expects to receive in a few days the official answer, which it is hoped will be favourable.

Mr. WILLS: If the answer does not come in the course of the next few days, will the hon. Gentleman make further inquiries?

The UNDER SECRETARY (Mr. Bourke): Certainly, Sir.

CUSTOMS—SEARCH OF PASSENGERS LUGGAGE.

Mr. O'SHEA asked the Secretary of State, Whether he will take into consideration the possibility of relaxing the present vexatious system of search of passengers' luggage on arrival from the Continent?

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross), in reply, said, he was afraid it was impossible to make any alteration in the present regulations.

SUSPENSION OF EVICTIONS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will afford any facilities for the passing of the Suspension of Evictions (Scotland) Bill, which now stands for Second Reading?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), in reply, said that the intentions of the Government had not changed with reference to the Bill mentioned in the Question. He was afraid he could not promise any facilities for passing the Bill.

Mr. MACFARLANE: Would it induce the right hon. Gentleman to alter his decision if the period proposed by the Bill were changed from two years to one?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I can add nothing to the answer I formerly gave, which was given without reference to anything in the Bill.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, that, under any circumstances, he should oppose the Bill.

MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE, KING'S COUNTY—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE.

Mr. MOLLOY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, By whose orders the police endeavoured to be present at the last monthly meeting of the Irish National League, Killoughey Branch, King's County, and why they refused to say by whose orders they presented themselves; and, whether the police have any orders to attend meetings which are perfectly legal and held in private houses; and, if not, if he will take steps to prevent this interference with public liberty?

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Sir William Hart Dyke): It appears that the County Inspector directed a sergeant of the local police to attend this meeting if there was no objection made by the members to his being there. Objection was made, and the sergeant did not accordingly attend. He refused to state by whose directions he presented himself. The police have no orders to attend meetings that are legal and held in private houses.

Mr. MOLLOY asked whether the Inspector was right in asking the police to attend legal meetings of this kind?

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND: I do not think the Inspector should ask the police to attend legal meetings in private houses.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—BOROUGH OF BELFAST—ROMAN CATHOLIC MAGISTRATES.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, The reason why the Roman Catholic magistrates for the borough of Belfast do not attend at the Courts of Petty Sessions in their district; and, is it a fact that only three Catholic magistrates (and even these very seldom) occasionally attend the Petty Sessions?

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Sir William Hart Dyke): I am informed that there are nine Roman Catholic magistrates for the borough of Belfast, and that, of these, three attend Petty Sessions with comparative regularity, and some of the others occasionally. I am not aware of the reason why some of these gentlemen do not attend. I should observe that attendance at Petty Sessions is not the sole function of a borough magistrate, and that in Belfast there are two stipendiary magistrates whose principal duty it is to attend at the daily police courts.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—RATHDOWNEY DISPENSARY DISTRICT.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Local Government Board intend to sanction the increase of 20 per cent to the salary of Dr. Duckworth, as medical officer of Rathdowney Dispensary district, granted to him by a majority of one by the Donaghmore Board of Guardians on the 12th June; whether he is aware that this increase will give Dr. Duckworth a larger salary as Dispensary doctor than any other doctor in that or either of the other two Unions of the Queen's County; whether he is aware that, on the day the increase was granted, the clerk of the Union announced to the Boord that when bills were paid that day they would not have a shilling in hand; whether the rates in this Union are considerebly higher than in the adjacent Union of Roscrea, and great difficulty is experienced in collecting them, especially the seed rate; whether nine-tenths of the ratepayers of the Dispensary district have signed a protest against the increase of salary; and, whether the said increase was carried on the 10th July only by the votes of six ex-officio Guardians and the chairman's casting vote?

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Sir William Hart Dyke): It appears that on two recent occasions the Guardians of this Union have, by a majority of one, passed a resolution in favour of raising Dr. Duckworth's salary from £100 to £120 a year. The Local Government Board do not, however, consider that Dr. Duckworth is entitled to that increase, either by reason of the nature and extent of his duties, or from length of service, and they have accordingly declined to sanction it.

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—DISTURBANCE AT RYE HOUSE, HERTS.

Colonel NOLAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been drawn to a paragraph in *The Standard* of the 14th, by which it appears that a collision took place at Rye House on the 13th between a party of Orangemen and some Catholic excursionists from Deptford; if he has received any report on the matter from the police; if it is a fact that a large number of the Orangemen had drawn swords, some of which they used rather freely; and if one of the swordsmen struck with his weapon the Reverend M. P. Fannun, who was superintending the Catholic excursion; and, if he would instruct the police to remove dangerous and ostentatious weapons from the hands of such Orangemen as show a disposition to use them?

Mr. BERESFORD said, before the Question was answered he would like to ask whether it was not a fact that the two parties were in separate portions of the grounds, with a road and two high hedges between them; whether some of the Roman Catholic women went to the Orange party, and used very abusive language; whether, although taunted and vituperated, the Orangemen conducted themselves with the greatest forbearance, and played no party tunes; and, whether, in the slight scrimmage which took place, the Roman Catholic party were not entirely in fault?

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross): I have no knowledge of any of the facts mentioned by either hon. Gentleman further than those stated in the brief Report which

I have received from the Chief Constable of the county. The Report states that there was an affray, and that the disturbers were separated by the police. Sticks, umbrellas, quart pots, and bottles were the weapons used. Some of the party were carrying swords, but no sword was drawn. Had swords been used they must have been seen by the police. All I can say upon this Report is that I am extremely sorry that such weapons as swords should ever be carried on such occasions. The county police are not under my jurisdiction, but that of the county authorities.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Who carried the swords?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Sir R. Assheton Cross) said, he did not know.

Colonel NOLAN asked whether further inquiries would be made respecting the assault on the Catholic clergyman?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Sir R. Assheton Cross): I have already ordered a further inquiry to be made respecting the assault on the rev. gentleman. The police said nothing about it.

Mr. BERESFORD: Is it not true that after the disturbance all the parties shook hands and left thoroughly good friends?

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—THE ASSIZES.

Mr. HICKS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has received from Baron Huddleston a Copy of the presentment of the Grand Jury of the county of Cambridge, setting forth the great waste of judicial power and the great unnecessary trouble caused to all jurymen and officers of the Court by the present system of holding four assizes in each year; and, whether he will, during the recess, consider the subject with the view of remedying this grievance?

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross), in reply, said, there was no doubt that this matter would have to be carefully considered; but the question of holding four criminal Assizes in the year was settled many years ago for the express purpose of not allowing prisoners to remain in gaol untried, and he should be very sorry to interfere with it.

Mr. HICKS asked if the right hon. Gentleman would grant a Return of all the cases tried at the present Assize?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Sir R. Assheton Cross) said, the hon. Member would find all he wanted in the judiciary statistics.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE REV. DR. HANNA, D.D.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Rev. Hugh Hanna, D.D., Commissioner of National Education in Ireland, took an active part in the recent electioneering contest in county Down, and advocated the cause of the Conservative candidate on a public platform; whether he took a similar course in the last election in county Derry; and, whether it is a fact that the board, of which Dr. Hanna is a member, did, a few years ago, on the evidence of a newspaper report, dismiss two teachers in the West of Ireland for attempting to aid the candidature of a Poor Law Guardian?

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Sir William Hart Dyke): I understand that the Rev. Dr. Hanna did advocate the cause of my noble Friend at the recent election for the County Down. I am not aware what the fact is as regards Derry. I believe there was no contest at the last election in that county. No such case as that referred to in the last paragraph of this Question has occurred.

MARINE BIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION—APPLICATION FOR AN EXAMINING STATION IN PLYMOUTH SOUND.

Sir LYON PLAYFAIR asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether any answer has been given to the application of the Marine Biological Association for aid in establishing a station on Plymouth Sound to investigate the marine fauna and flora, especially in their relation to the food fishes of these islands, and for which station £8,000 has already been subscribed from private resources?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Sir Henry Holland): Yes, Sir. This application has received much consideration both from the present Government and our Predecessors, and a letter was written to the Association a fortnight since in which the Treasury undertook in general terms to ask Parliament for an annual grant for a term of years in aid of their undertaking, on condition that their work should be carried on in full concert with the Scotch Fishery Board, to whom Parliament has already granted considerable sums for similar objects. In our view these two bodies must be considered as working together both for the economizing of labour, and for the common benefit of the fishermen and fish consumers of the Three Kingdoms.

THE WEST INDIAN COLONIES—JAMAICA.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, What steps have been taken to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners for the West Indies, with respect to the reduction of expenditure in those Colonies; what amount of reduction has been effected in Jamaica; whether there has been any, and what, reduction in the Import Duties in that Island, especially upon food; and, what has been done as to the abolition of the Incumbered Estates Court?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Colonel STANLEY): Without detailing the exact steps taken I may say that in Jamaica the Governor has inaugurated reductions, partly based on the recommendations of the Commission, which will eventually effect a considerable diminution of expenditure. In the Windward and Leeward Islands the recommendations of the Commission with respect to expenditure assumed the union of each group into a single Colony. In the Windward Islands the inhabitants have expressed so strong a feeling against union that the Government have not thought it right to press such a measure at present, and in the Leeward Islands the views of the inhabitants on the question of union have not yet been ascertained; but in both cases every effort will be made to reduce expenditure. As regards the second Question, the total annual saving, so far, may be put at £21,000, and probably nearly £2,000 a-year more will be saved. There has been no reduction as yet in the Jamaica import duties. The Legislative Councils of the Colonies in which the Incumbered Estates Act is in force, having been asked to express their views, have with one exception passed resolutions in favour of the abolition of the Court, and the question is now under consideration.

THE CHARITY COMMISSION—MR. CHARLES ALDERSON.

MR. JOHN MORLEY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Mr. Charles Alderson has been appointed to the office of Second Charity Commissioner; whether the holder of this office receives special emolument in return for his fitness and liability to act as Vice Chairman of the Board in the absence of the Chairman; whether one of the qualifications for the office by statute is, that it shall be held by a barrister at law of twelve years' standing; whether Mr. Alderson has not been for about thirty years one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools; and, whether he possesses any of the legal experience or knowledge that would qualify him to undertake the duties discharged by Mr. Longley?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): Mr. Alderson has been appointed to the office of Second Charity Commissioner. The salary attached to the office is £1,500 a-year, having been fixed at that amount at the time of the passing of the Endowed Schools Act (Amendment Act), 1874. By 16 & 17 *Vict.* c. 137, s. 2, two of the Charity Commissioners must be barristers of 12 years' standing; and they are so. There is no statutory qualification attached specially to the office of Second Commissioner, but I believe that Mr. Alderson possesses the qualification I have mentioned. Mr. Alderson has been an Inspector of Schools for many years, and has very large educational experience for the duties in respect to endowed schools assigned to the Charity Commission under the Act of 1874.

MR. JOHN MORLEY asked whether it was not the case that the special emolument of £300 a-year was attached to the office in order to secure the special services of Mr. Longley, and on what grounds this special emolument was given in the case of a gentleman who had no special services to offer?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I do not at all admit that Mr. Alderson does receive any special emolument. It may be that the remuneration was fixed at £1,500 partly on account of the gentleman holding the office being liable to act as Vice Chairman in the absence of the Chairman.

MR. JOHN MORLEY asked whether, seeing that one of the statutory qualifications for this office was that the holder should be a barrister of 12 years' standing, this was not incompatible with Mr. Alderson's having been an Inspector of Schools for 30 years?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER repeated that he believed Mr. Alderson to be a barrister of 12 years' standing.

NAVY (NAVAL HOSPITALS)—SCRIPTURE READERS, &c.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether any orders exist regulating the admission to Naval Hospitals, at Home and Abroad, of scripture readers, or other persons engaged in religious instruction, other than the authorised chaplains; and, if so, whether such orders have been recently suspended, and by whose authority, and for what reason?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON): Scripture readers are under the control of the chaplains of the Naval Medical Establishments. No recent orders have been given by the Admiralty suspending any of the regulations enforced, the most recent of which were issued in 1878.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ALLEGED DISTURBANCES AT PORTADOWN.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that, on the occasion of the recent Orange celebration at Portadown, a policeman in coloured clothes got drunk, and cursed the Pope in presence of an excited crowd, and shouted that he was the last Orangeman in Portadown; what steps have been taken to punish his misconduct; and, is it a fact that on 15th July an Orange drumming party was permitted to parade through the Catholic quarter of Portadown, breaking windows and assaulting the inhabitants, notwithstanding that nearly a hundred policemen were stationed in the town, nominally for the purpose of preserving the peace; if so, who is responsible for the inactivity of the police, and what steps will be taken to protect the lives of the Catholic inhabitants?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): It is true that a complaint was made to the effect stated in the first paragraph of this Question on the 13th instant, and the three officers who were on duty at the time immediately proceeded to investigate it. They found the policeman to be perfectly sober, and two witnesses who were named by the complainant as having been present when the alleged expressions were used, emphatically denied that the constable made use of those expressions or anything of a party nature whatever. It appears that on the 15th instant, after the extra police had left the town, an Orange band turned out and marched through a Roman Catholic quarter. No windows, however, were broken, and no person was injured. I understand that some proceedings are pending in connection with this affair.

MR. O'BRIEN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that pressure was brought to bear by the police on the person to withdraw the charge?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND: I am not aware.

ADMIRALTY (EXPENDITURE AND LIABILITIES)—"FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT OF THE NAVY."

LORD HENRY LENNOX asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether his attention has yet been drawn to the account of the "Financial Management of the Navy," given by Mr. H. Burdett, the financial expert and statist, which appeared in *The Times* of the 13th inst.; whether it be true that the Accountant General of the Navy has taken credit in the year 1883-4 for a surplus of armourclad tonnage of 1,415 tons "weight of hull," whereas the Naval Estimates of 1884-5 show that, at the end of 1883-4, there was really a deficiency of armourclad tonnage amounting to 974 tons "weight of hull" below that voted for by Parliament, and promised by the Admiralty to be built; and, whether it is true that, in the ten years ending 1879-80, 23,174 tons "weight of hull" of armour-clads less than promised by the Admiralty were built, although the money estimated for the building of this tonnage was voted by Parliament?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON):

I have read the account referred to by the noble Lord, and have had some communications with Mr. Burdett upon the proposals contained in his letter. A Return between the tonnage estimated and that built will, in a few days, be laid upon the Table of the House, and it will show some discrepancies between estimates and work accomplished. But so long as the present system of estimating progress in the construction of ships is continued these discrepancies must occur, as the whole basis of the calculation is defective.

ADMIRALTY — FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT—APPOINTMENT OF A FINANCIAL LORD.

LORD HENRY LENNOX asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is intended to take any steps to appoint an independent financier as a Finance Lord at the Admiralty, with a view to securing a permanent financial control over Admiralty expenditure in the future?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON), in reply, said, the Admiralty were now considering what would be the best financial check. He did not, however, think the specific proposal to place a Finance Lord upon the Board would be likely to meet with approval.

EGYPT—M. OLIVIER PAIN.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can state on what authority General Wolseley announced the death of Monsieur Olivier Pain; at what place Mons. Pain's death was stated to have taken place, and at what date; and, whether General Wolseley has any knowledge whether any papers belonging to Mons. Pain have come into the possession of either the English or Egyptian Government, or any of their agents or officials; and, if so, whether they will be surrendered to Mons. Pain's family?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH): On the 9th instant, in reply to a Question, I stated that Lord Wolseley had telegraphed on the 27th of June to the effect that Luigi Bonomi, a priest who escaped from Kordofan, received in November last from Lupton Bey a letter stating that Olivier Pain was dead; but that, on the other hand, one Ghalli, a merchant from Khartoum, alleged that when he recently left that town Pain was there. Beyond this information Lord Wolseley informs me that he has no knowledge on the subject of M. Pain's death, and that he is not aware of any of his papers having come into the possession of any English or Egyptian official.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, considering the great interest taken by a large number of Members in the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, he will arrange that the consideration of the Bill in Committee shall continue de die in diem until it be concluded?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): Of course, we should be anxious to consult the convenience of the House in such matters as this; but I am afraid it will not be possible for us to do what the Question seems to suggest—namely, take this Bill on Wednesday and Thursday; and I will give some reasons for this to the House. In the first place, we have still more than 50 Votes to take in Supply, and I think the House will wish that Supply should be proceeded with. Then the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill ought to be taken soon; and I would further add that this Bill has passed the other House, and therefore would necessarily stand after the measure I have last mentioned. But there is another reason which, perhaps, I may mention incidentally, and that is that the State duties of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department will require his attendance elsewhere during part of Wednesday and Thursday, and it would be extremely inconvenient to the House that we should take this matter in his absence. But we shall take it as soon as we can.

MR. M'COAN: Are we to understand that it will not be taken on Thursday?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Yes.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—COURT OF BANKRUPTCY, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—THE VICAR OF ST. MARK'S, SOUTH SHIELDS.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether his attention has been called to a recent case in the Newcastle on Tyne Bankruptcy Court of the Vicar of St. Mark's, South Shields, in which it was stated in evidence that he had handed over for the purpose of liquidating his debts, among other sources of income, his draft from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and his "school grant;" whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the truth of these statements; and, whether the teaching staff of the school for which the grant was intended have lost any part of their income in consequence of such reported diversion of funds?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr. E. STANHOPE), in reply, said, he was making inquiries into this matter; but he was sure the hon. Member would not expect him to answer the Question until he received the result of the inquiries.

HARBOURS—DOVER HARBOUR.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he has read the report of a speech recently delivered by Sir Admiral Cooper Key, at Willis's rooms, in which the Admiral stated that "on the whole coast of England there was not a harbour in which our Fleets could take refuge;" whether, therefore, Her Majesty's Government intend to retain, or alter, the policy of the late Government in the case of the deep water harbour at Dover, which policy involves a delay in the completion of that harbour for about a quarter of a century; and, whether Her Majesty's Government intend, in the construction of harbours generally, to adopt the recommendation of the Select Committee on Harbours, viz. that, in place of annual votes spread over a long period of years, the cost of national harbours in the future should be provided by 99 years' terminable annuities, and the works be completed thereby in the shortest possible time?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I have not seen the report of the speech to which the hon. Member alludes, and I am afraid I have not yet had sufficient time to consider so important a matter as the recommendation of the Select Committee on Harbours referred to in the third paragraph of the Question; but with regard to Dover Harbour, I venture to say that I do not think it would be possible to alter the policy that has been pursued. I am informed that the construction of a harbour at Dover by convict labour was determined upon in 1882, after a Committee on Employment of Convicts had reported in favour of that work or of one at Filey as a means of affording the required employment. This Report was presented to Parliament. A considerable sum of money has been laid out in land and buildings for prisoners at Dover, and the prison is now in part ready for occupation.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the deep-water harbours at Boulogne and Calais will be completed in two years?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No, Sir, I am not.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the advisability of employing convict labour on a harbour at Galway?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I shall be prepared to consider any recommendation coming from the Irish Government on the subject.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

MR. COOPE asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he is now in a position to state to the House the intentions of Government with reference to the National Portrait Gallery?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET): Since the last occasion on which my attention was called to the danger from fire to the National Portrait Gallery by the Question of my hon. Friend, I have, as I promised the House that I would, inquired carefully into the subject, and I have had the advantage of conferring with the trustees of the collection and with Captain Shaw of the Fire Brigade, and I have come decidedly to the opinion that the present position of this invaluable collection in the Southern Exhibition Gallery at Kensington is most unsatisfactory, and that the pictures ought immediately to be transferred to a place of greater safety. A suggestion has been made that they should be removed from the southern to the western gallery; but Captain Shaw has reported to me that the construction of that gallery is not satisfactory either, and that the risks from the surrounding buildings are similar to those in connection with their present position. There is not, at present, any other suitable place that I can offer for their exhibition, and the trustees have decided to request the Science and Art Department to receive these pictures as a loan and exhibit them at Bethnal Green Museum. That is, of course, only a temporary measure. I feel certain that Parliament and public opinion will desire that a suitable and perfectly safe building should be specially provided for this most interesting collection, which, in case of its destruction, it would be impossible to replace; and I cannot help thinking that if such a permanent home were found for it the collection would much more rapidly increase. At all events, I shall during the Recess consider the question of a proper site and a proper building for such a purpose; so that, if possible, some proposal on the subject may be made to Parliament next year.

ACCIDENTS IN MINES—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD (for Mr. George Elliot) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Royal Commission on Accidents in Mines has submitted any Report, and whether such Report will be laid upon the Table during the present Session; whether he can state when the final Report of the Commission is likely to be presented; and, whether, having regard to the frequency of accidents in coal mines involving great loss of life, Her Majesty's Government will consider the expediency of taking measures for the more effective inspection of coal mines, and for imposing further restrictions in the use of explosives in such mines?

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross): This is no ordinary Commission. Many years ago the Royal Society were good enough to meet me when I was Secretary of State, and to allow some of their best men to be placed upon the Commission. The Commissioners have been very busily employed, among their other engagements, in making these inquiries, and I am happy to say they are drawing very near to the end. They say that in the course of the autumn their final Report will be published, and I believe a great deal of it is in print at the present moment. My Predecessor arranged for the appointment of seven additional Inspectors, six of whom have been already appointed, and I will take care that no time is lost in appointing the seventh. The question as to the use of explosives deserves the most serious consideration. Personally I have always been in favour of preventing the use of explosives entirely in mines; but I think it would be wise to await the Report of the Commissioners, because I know that is a subject which they have had most fully brought before them.

LOCAL TAXATION (IRELAND)—TOWN COMMISSIONERS OF BANGOR, CO. DOWN—AUDIT OF ACCOUNTS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that great delay has taken place in the audit of the accounts of the Town Commissioners of Bangor, county Down; whether, so far, any irregularities have been detected; and, whether he will take means to have the audit finished?

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Sir William Hart Dyke): The auditor began his audit on the 2nd of last month, but found it necessary to adjourn. He resumed on the 15th instant, and has completed the audit. His Report will, I understand, be received by the Local Government Board this afternoon. He has verbally informed the Board that his Report contains allusions to some irregularities.

NAVY—NEW SOUTH WALES—A TRAINING SHIP.

Mr. BROGDEN asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the statement which appeared in *The Times* Newspaper of 15th July is true, viz.:—That the war ship *Beacon* was about to be presented to one of the Australasian Colonies; and, if so, to which of the Colonial Governments it will be given, and whether as a training ship; and what is her tonnage and equipment?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON), in reply, said, the statement was inaccurate; but Her Majesty's Government were in correspondence with the Government of New South Wales on the subject of providing that Colony with a training ship.

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—KENSINGTON GARDENS.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the recent escape of burglars, after attempting to murder a police constable, through the garden on the north side of Kensington Park Gardens, Whether he is aware that the police hold keys of the larger garden on the south side, and of the smaller garden on the west, and that the Commissioner of Police, in October last, refused to allow the police in the same manner to hold keys and to visit the northern garden, stating that "the place is very free from burglaries;" and, whether he approves this partial system of protection?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS), in reply, said, he was informed by the Commissioner of Police that in 1882 the Home Secretary laid down a rule that the police were not to go off their beats to patrol private grounds. Since then they had ceased to do so, except in a few cases where strong objection was raised to their withdrawal after they had held keys of the ground for some years. The cases quoted by the hon. Member were in point, and showed the danger of making such concessions.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD gave Notice that he would call attention to the responsibility of the Commissioner of Police in this matter if any burglary or attempted burglary should take place in these gardens.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1884—ELECTION EXPENSES.

MR. J. R. YORKE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has had under his notice the position of high sheriffs of counties at the approaching General Election who will be responsible for the counting of votes given in contested elections for the several divisions of their respective counties; and, whether there is any source from which the expenses of the deputies who will have to be appointed can be defrayed, or if the burden of providing for such expenses will fall on the sheriffs?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS), in reply, said, he thought it would not be the wish of the House or the country to remove any part of the responsibility of High Sheriffs of counties for the progress of the elections at the forthcoming General Election. The expenses and sums allowed to Returning Officers for expenses of Presiding Officers and polling clerks were regulated by the Schedules of the Act of 1875. But assuming the amount so fixed not to be sufficient, of course the extra expenditure would fall upon the Sheriff. Amendments had been proposed in the Returning Officers' Expenses Bill, now in Committee, upon which the House will have an opportunity of considering whether the amount of allowances should or should not be increased. At the same time, he must point out that by the Act of 1875 the amount allowed varied according to the number of elections, and from that consideration it might turn out that the expenditure would be met by the provisions of the Act.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND—SECOND EXAMINATION IN ARTS.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the following instructions contained in the Calendar of the Royal University (Ireland) for 1885 regarding the Second Examination in Arts:—

> "In the year 1885, the Second Examination in Arts . . . . will be held not only in Dublin, but also in Belfast, Carlow, Cork, Galway, Limerick, and Londonderry . . . . But any candidate who desires to present as portion of the course of examination any of the following subjects—
>
> "Experimental Physics,
> "Chemistry,
> "Biology,
> "Geology,
>
> "must attend for the whole examination in Dublin;"

and also to this note appended to the programme of examination in Experimental Physics:—

> "For the present there will not be for pass candidates any practical examination involving the use of apparatus;"

and, whether, having regard to the fact that no experiments with apparatus will be required of pass men, they could not be examined in Cork, or any other large town, as well as in Dublin, and thus spared the trouble and loss of going up to Dublin from places like Cork, Galway, and Londonderry?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): I am informed that, although it is true that this year pass candidates in Experimental Physics will not be required to perform experiments, yet that they will have to undergo an oral examination by the Examiners, for which their presence in Dublin will be necessary; and the Senate of the University consider it desirable to have the complete examination of a candidate conducted at the same place.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—DETENTION OF INTOXICATED PERSONS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What rule the Inspector General of the Irish Constabulary has resolved to make with respect to the imprisonment of more than one intoxicated person in the same police cell at the same time, and whether it will be ordered that, in case of such imprisonment, care is to be taken that the prisoners are kept constantly in sight, or at least in hearing, of the orderly; and, having regard to the fact stated by the police at the inquest on the body of Peter O'Gara at Sligo, that at the time when he lost his life another person charged with drunkenness was in the same cell, and the cell was in total darkness, whether arrangements will be made to supply some light to cells, especially when more than one person is confined in each, and in cases of drunkenness.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): There is a rule in force that, whenever possible, prisoners under the influence of drink are not to be shut up together, or with other prisoners. The Inspector General informs me that the cell accommodation in several of the barracks renders it impossible to give a positive order that only one intoxicated person shall be in a cell at the same time. As a rule the cells are so situated as to be quite within hearing of the orderly, who must at all times be on the spot, and must visit the prisoners from time to time. He could not keep them constantly in sight unless he remained in the cell with them, which would not be advisable. The Inspector General does not think it would be expedient, even if it were practicable, that police cells should always be lighted; nor is it clear that such an arrangement would tend to the greater security of the prisoners.

FINANCE (IRELAND)—FAILURE OF THE MUNSTER BANK.

MR. SEXTON (for Mr. PARNELL) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in view of the monetary situation created in Ireland by suspension of payment on the part of the Munster Bank, and considering that the Bank of Ireland enjoys special facilities under the law, and exceptional advantages from the Government, and has at its disposal increased note-issue power to the extent of about a million sterling, Whether the Government will use its influence to cause the Bank of Ireland to sustain, in case of need, by temporary aid, any other Irish bank which may be threatened by the excitement of the moment; and, to assist the Munster Bank to recover its position, if, on investigation, its affairs are found to be in a condition to warrant the adoption of such a course?

MR. BRODRICK: I would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether any application was made to the Bank of Ireland before the suspension of the Munster Bank; and, if so, whether that application was refused?

Several hon. MEMBERS: It was.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) is probably aware, from statements that have appeared in the Press since Notice was given of this Question, that the Bank of Ireland has already taken action of the kind indicated in its second paragraph; and I can refer him to the statements made by the Lord Lieutenant on July 18, and also to a deputation from the shareholders of the Munster Bank today, as explaining His Excellency's views of the situation and in proof of the earnest attention he is devoting to this important subject. I must ask for

Notice of the hon. Member for West Surrey's (Mr. Broderick's) Question.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he, or any other Member of the Government, could communicate to the House the substance or practical effect of the statement made by Lord Carnarvon in Dublin with regard to the position of the Munster Bank?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): No, Sir; I am not in a position to do so.

Mr. SEXTON: Was the statement made by Lord Carnarvon made on the part of the Government?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Of course, Lord Carnarvon made the statement on his responsibility as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and as a Member of the Government.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—OUTBREAK AT AMPTHILL, BEDFORDSHIRE.

Mr. HENEAGE asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether he can inform the House if it is true that there has been a severe outbreak of foot and mouth disease at Ampthill in Bedfordshire; and, whether the origin of the outbreak has been ascertained?

The CHANCELLOR of the DUCHY of LANCASTER (Mr. Chaplin): Yes, Sir; I regret to say that it is true that there has been an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease at Ampthill in Bedfordshire. It was reported to the Privy Council upon the 10th of July last as having occurred in the park at Ampthill, in which there were both cattle and sheep, and the report stated that the first animal was found to be affected on the 6th of July. An Inspector from the Department visited the park as soon as possible after the news was received of the outbreak; and the latest intelligence from the travelling Inspectors, who have paid frequent visits to the infected place since then, is to the effect that 17 cattle and 15 sheep are now infected with the disease, and that these animals are completely separated from the rest of the herd. Every exertion has been made and is being made, both by the Privy Council and the Local Authority, who are acting most energetically in the matter, to secure the complete isolation of all the animals in the park, and to prevent the further spread of the disease. An inquiry is being actively prosecuted, but the origin of the disease has not been discovered.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he was aware of the fact that the furniture of Lady Ampthill arrived at Ampthill Park from Berlin a short time before this outbreak took place, and whether he was also aware that the animals had access to the hay and straw in which the furniture was packed; and whether he caused special investigation to be made in view of what had taken place?

The CHANCELLOR of the DUCHY of LANCASTER (Mr. Chaplin), in reply, said, special investigation was made into that matter. Although it was quite true that the furniture was packed in hay which was left about the premises and to which the animals had access, yet he was informed that the packages had been so long in London that, according to the professional authorities, the disease could not have been conveyed in that manner.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (Lord Mayor) asked what Business would be taken to-morrow and on Wednesday?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) said, the Business to-morrow would be the Medical Relief Bill as the first Order, and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill as the second Order. Those Bills would practically engage the attention of the House the whole evening. Supply would be taken on Wednesday, probably the Army Estimates; and on Thursday the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill would be taken.

SUPPLY—GRANTS IN AID OF LOCAL TAXATION.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK: I rise to ask the permission of the House to make a very short personal statement. On the 8th of July I gave Notice that on going into Committee of Supply I should move that it was inexpedient to treat Scotland in the matter of grants in aid of local taxation differently from England. On the same day some hon.

Member of the House gave Notice that in Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates he would move to reduce the item of current accounts by the amount of the Sheriff's expenses in Skye. That hon. Member inadvertently omitted to put his name on the Notice of Motion, and, following the usual practice in such circumstances, the Notice appeared on the Paper with a long line which indicates "Name illegible" or "Name omitted," and those who are unacquainted with Parliamentary procedure gave me the credit of having put down the Motion in Committee of Supply. I desire to say that I was not the author of the Motion relating to Sheriff Ivory's expenses. I desire very respectfully to suggest that on occasions of this sort, to prevent misapprehensions of the same nature in future, it may be considered whether it would not be proper to put, instead of a line, the words "Name omitted" or "Name illegible;" and I desire, in the third place, to thank the House for the opportunity it has given me to make this explanation.

RETIREMENT OF THE SERJEANT-AT-ARMS.

MR. SPEAKER: I have to inform the House that I have received a letter from Mr. Gosset, the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House, which I propose to read. It is as follows:—

"*House of Commons,*
"*20th July,* 1885.

"*Sir,*

"*I have the honour to make application to you that you will be pleased to sanction my retirement on the 30th of September next from my office, by Patent, of Her Majesty's Serjeant-at-Arms attending the Speaker of the House of Commons.*

"*I have been in the service of this honourable House for upwards of* 49 *years, and I feel that the time has arrived when it is desirable that I should no longer retain my appointment.*

"*I make this early communication in order that arrangements may be made without inconvenience.*

"*I have the honour to be,*
"*Sir,*
"*Your very obedient Servant,*
"*R. A. GOSSET,*
"*Serjeant-at-Arms.*

"*The Rt. Honble.*
"*The Speaker.*"

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I beg to propose that the letter read by Mr. Speaker be taken into consideration by this House at a quarter-past 4 on Thursday next, when I shall move a Resolution on the subject.

Ordered accordingly.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

(1.) £161,784, to complete the sum for Public Buildings, Ireland.

MR. HEALY said, that before the Committee went into the merits of any question connected with Public Buildings in Ireland, which would probably be discussed at some length, he would like to make a remark upon a subject connected with the Phœnix Park, in Dublin.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, the question of the Parks in Ireland would more properly come under the Public Works Vote.

MR. HEALY asked what the Vote was the Committee were now asked to consider?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY replied that the present Vote was for Public Buildings; the Vote for Public Works would be the next but one.

MR. HEALY said, that he was not going to discuss the question of Public Buildings, but simply to point out a matter which he thought would properly come under the present Vote. What he would take leave to say was that he thought the Board of Works might very properly spend a little more money than they did in Phœnix Park upon seat accommodation for the public. At present there were only seats in those portions of the Park that were in the immediate neighbourhood of the gates; and when an inhabitant or a visitor desired to go into the Park he found that the seats were of a most inconvenient character and quite unworthy of the Metropolis of Ireland, and altogether inadequate to provide accommodation for the number of persons who frequented the Park. That was an important matter when people were out for a holiday endeavouring to enjoy themselves. It certainly did not add to the enjoyment of visitors to the Phœnix Park to discover that it was impossible to find seat accommodation; and as the expenditure of a very few pounds would remedy the defect, he hoped the Government would instruct the Board of Works at a very early period to remove that grievance. There was another point to which it was necessary he should call attention—namely, the cutting up of the Park for polo and cricket grounds. He had raised that question before. In London there was nothing of the kind, although there was larger park accommodation and a much greater number of people who might be supposed to require special accommodation for cricket and other recreation. In the case of the Phœnix Park, three or four acres of ground on the best level of the Park were railed off as a polo ground, and a notice was stuck up of the most audacious nature, which, in his opinion, was quite illegal, warning persons not to attempt or dare to ride over that portion of the Park, which, as a matter of fact, was railed off solely for the accommodation of the officers of the Dublin garrison. Then, again, there was a cricket ground of 30 or 40 acres on one of the pet spots in the Park. He thought the Park was quite large enough to provide accommodation for those polo and cricket gentlemen without selecting the choicest sites in it. It was monstrous that the pet portions of the Park should be given up for the sole amusement of a limited body of the public. If such a course were pursued in regard to Hyde Park, he felt satisfied that any structures similar to those which had been erected in the Phœnix Park would be pulled down in the same way that the Hyde Park railings were destroyed some years ago. His own opinion was that if a few of those illegal inclosures were pulled down by the people a salutary lesson would be taught. Phœnix Park was large enough to accommodate everybody; but he thought that some special portion of the Park should be set aside in a very different spot, away from the road which was most used by the public, in order to provide for gentlemen who desired facilities for special amusements. So far as the polo ground was concerned, he thought that the notice warning the public off should be taken down. Why should the officers of the garrison of Dublin have allocated to their own sole use the very beautiful piece of level ground which they were now enjoying, and every other person be prevented from riding over it, while in London no attempt was made, either in Hyde Park, Regent's Park, or in any of the other Parks, to make inclosures of the same character? His own opinion was that the Phœnix Park ought to be treated in precisely the same way. It might be said that it was an ungenerous thing to attempt to restrict the privileges of any particular class of the people; but what he maintained was this—that the enjoyment of the Park should be equally open to all, and that the best pieces of the ground should not be allocated to particular individuals, especially when there was no difficulty in obtaining all the accommodation that could be required elsewhere. He was afraid that it was the old story of giving an inch and taking an ell. The usurpers were not even content with a wire inclosure, but they were erecting stone buildings, which he maintained were an unjustifiable intrusion upon the rights of the public with regard to the enjoyment of the Park. Then, again, he thought the system of grazing cattle over portions of the Park created a public nuisance in many respects which prevented the people generally from walking over the grass. All those things in regard to Phœnix Park formed an eyesore which would not be tolerated in London for a single moment, and especially so far as the grazing of cattle was concerned. He had no idea who the owners of the cattle were. No doubt, there were deer in the Park; but they were an ornament, and so would the cattle be but for the nuisance which they created. It was very objectionable to see the large area of the Park turned into what he might almost describe as a cow-keeping establishment for the remuneration and profit of some particular body of whom he knew nothing. He trusted that the Government would remember that the Phœnix Park was intended not for the use of a particular set of persons, but for the public at large, and if the system were persisted in of sanctioning cow-grazing over the Park it might be carried altogether too far. The pleasure of the people ought to be the main consideration; and for those who required exceptional privileges it was most undesirable, either for cow-grazing or polo and cricket playing, that special privileges should be reserved against the general user of the public. Personally, if the present practice were persisted in, he would recommend the people of Dublin to do as the people of London did in Hyde Park—to go over and tear down the rails.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, his attention had not been called to this particular point in connection with the Vote; but he heartily concurred with the hon. and learned Member in the opinion that the Phœnix Park was intended for the use not of individuals, but of the public at large. The point as to providing more seats in the Park should receive consideration. He understood the hon. and learned Member to say that in regard to the polo ground there was a notice put up warning people off.

MR. HEALY said, that there was not only one notice, but two.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, there could be no question that anybody had a right to ride over the polo ground, and he would bring the matter under the consideration of the Lord Lieutenant in the hope that the notices referred to by the hon. and learned Member would be removed. With regard to the cricket grounds be trusted that before the violent steps shadowed forth by the hon. and learned Member were taken, an opportunity would be afforded to the Government to consider whether some of the grounds could not be removed to another part of the Park, if the public were really at present inconvenienced. On public grounds it might not be desirable to retain them in their present position; but, at the same time, it must be borne in mind that they would be very useless if they were placed in a part of the Park which would be practically inaccessible. He would ascertain whether the cricketing could not be removed to other parts of the Park, where it would not hinder the people from walking about; but he did not understand the hon. Member to be opposed to all cricket grounds in the Park. For himself, he could not agree in any such view.

MR. WAUGH said, that if he were not out of Order he would ask his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury to consider the propriety of imposing better regulations with regard to the use of the Queen's Park in Edinburgh.

MR. J. LOWTHER said the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) was hardly correct in saying that in the London Parks no spaces were allotted for cricket or football. In Battersea Park, and he believed in some of the other Parks, spaces were appropriated specially for cricket and other games, as well as to riders.

MR. HEALY: To the extent of 30 acres?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he was not in a position to say what amount of space was allotted. The acreage devoted to such purposes was, of course, a matter of detail, and did not affect the principle involved. All he wished to point out was that there were portions of the London Parks allotted to cricket and football, independent of the other parts of the Parks which were placed at the disposal of the general public. He trusted that his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury, when he inquired into the matter, would not be disposed too prematurely to concur in the idea that the allocation of a specific portion of ground for polo or cricket was an infringement of the rights of the public. He hoped his hon. Friend would not jump at the conclusion that it was not for the general convenience of the public that a portion of the Parks should be allocated for such purposes. And if such an allocation were made it was most desirable that the spaces allotted for those purposes should be within easy reach of the people who had recourse to them. If they were situated in such an out-of-the-way part of the Park as the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) seemed to indicate they would be of little use to anybody. He, therefore, trusted that his hon. Friend would not commit himself, without inquiry, to any particular declaration upon the subject.

MR. MOLLOY said, there was an item in the Vote for the conversion of military barracks into Constabulary buildings. In fact, he saw items for that purpose—one of £700, another of £800, another of £900, another of £600, and, in the case of Tullamore, one of £1,670. He was at a loss to understand why those sums were asked for, and he thought that some explanation was demanded from the Government, for they certainly appeared to be very large items.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, he believed that some of the existing barracks were much too small or too dilapidated, especially in the larger towns, for further occupation. The sums referred to were only Estimates, and therefore conveniently given in round sums; and of course all the money that was not actually expended would be returned. He believed that this expenditure was due to the postponement of certain works that were asked for last year. It was contemplated that a considerable portion of this expenditure should have been incurred last year; but the work itself had been postponed. He was informed that this outlay had now become absolutely necessary, and that the work must be done at once. In regard to the question of the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy), he had no special information as to Tullamore as distinguished from the requirements of other towns.

MR. MOLLOY asked whether he was to understand the hon. Baronet to say that this sum of £1,670 was to be expended in Tullamore for the conversion of military barracks into Constabulary buildings?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he believed that was the case.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that upon page 61 of the Votes there were two items in reference to the navigation of the Shannon to which he desired to call attention. There was a great flood a few years ago, which did a considerable amount of damage; and he wanted to know how a similar disaster was to be guarded against in future years, so as to prevent the injury from occurring again to which the farmers were liable from summer floods? He believed there had been many complaints in regard to the Killaloo sluice, and that there had been more than one flood of a serious character, which had been brought about in consequence of that sluice. The Government had promised to make inquiry into the matter; but so far as he could learn they had never done so. He trusted that the present Secretary to the Treasury would bear the matter in mind.

There was another question which it was important to mention. He trusted that there was still time to get some declaration from the Government as to their intentions in regard to the Ulster Canal Bill. It was most inconvenient to find that Bill put down in the Orders night after night. He believed that there was no objection to the measure itself if the Government would leave out the provisions which related to the keeping up of the summer level. So far as he could learn that was the only serious objection to the Bill. Personally, he thought that an undoubted claim had been made for getting rid of this summer level in order to prevent the farmers, whose holdings were higher up, from being flooded in an attempt to maintain the level. He hoped to receive a precise and specific declaration from the Government on the matter; and he thought he was justified in assuring them that that was in reality the only point upon which objection was taken to the Bill.

MR. CORRY also expressed a hope that some statement would be made in regard to the arrangements which were proposed to be carried out in reference to the Ulster Canal.

MR. O'BRIEN said, that an allusion had been made by the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) to the items which appeared in the Vote for the conversion of military barracks into Constabulary buildings. His own opinion was that the whole of the arrangements for providing sumptuous accommodation for the Constabulary were objectionable and extravagant. He saw that in one instance a sum of £250 was put down for providing a bath room. Considering the very unpretentious bath rooms which ordinary people had to put up with, he did not see why the country should construct a bath room on so magnificent a scale, and should be called upon to pay £250 for it, in order to enable half-a-dozen or a dozen policemen to enjoy the luxury of a bath in Dublin, where there were plenty of public baths and wash-houses in existence. Then he saw that a sum of £2,300 was asked for the barracks in the little town of Portadown. He had had occasion not very long ago to call attention to the fact that the people who were proposing to set up this establishment were most neglectful of their duty, and that the lives of persons who found it necessary to pass through the place were left very much at the mercy of the Constabulary themselves. There was also an item of £2,500 for providing a Constabulary barracks in the little town of Dingle, in the county of Kerry, He did not suppose that all the other buildings in the town put together would cost as much as that. There was also a sum of £4,500 for a barracks in the town of Galway. Estimates of this kind were perfectly scandalous. What on earth was all this money required for at a time when they were professing to reduce the strength of the Royal Irish Constabulary by more than 2,000 men? It was quite notorious that one-half of the present Constabulary Force would be quite ample for the purpose of preserving law and order if they were not treated as soldiers. When he found that in the present Vote about £1,200 was devoted to the building of these palatial residences for policemen, and that only £1,000 was set apart for the building of residences for the National School teachers of Ireland, every man in Ireland, and the country generally, must be impressed with the fact that while policemen were munificently paid and housed in magnificent buildings, the unfortunate National School teachers, and every other person who added to the happiness and prosperity of the Irish people, were shamefully neglected. He thought they were entitled to have some explanation of this mania for building police barracks at this extraordinary rate. In many places it was found impossible to afford money for building a church in honour of the Almighty; whereas it appeared that there was to be no stint in building temples for police officers. He hoped the Chief Secretary would be able to afford some explanation as to the reason why the Estimates had become so swollen for the Constabulary. He wished, further, to know who had the controlling authority in the matter?

MR. BIGGAR said, he could not understand why the Estimates should be increasing while the number of the police themselves was falling off. He certainly failed to see what ground there was for increasing the barrack accommodation. If they were going to increase the number of police in Ireland it would be a very different matter; but they had been assured over and over again by the late Government that the number was being decreased, and, therefore, he could not see what reason there was for increasing the expenditure. The instance of Galway had been mentioned. He understood that that was a decaying town—at any rate, it had not been a flourishing town for some time past, and he believed that premises quite suitable for the accommodation of the Constabulary were to be had in the town for a very moderate rent. It was notorious that in most of the places where it was proposed to incur this expenditure very decent accommodation was to be had at much more reasonable rates. The proposal to expend £4,500 in Galway was altogether extravagant and monstrous. There could be no justification for such an outlay in a town of the size of Galway, nor, indeed, in any other Irish town except Dublin. He strongly objected to the spending of a lot of money in extravagant police barracks, especially when the Government must be fully aware that they were able to get the necessary accommodation at a much more reasonable rate.

MR. MOLLOY wished to call the attention of the Committee to the fact that last year they had had a discussion upon this subject; and on that occasion the items asked for under this particular head were shown to have been already obtained for the same purposes for which they were again asked for; but it was admitted, in the course of the discussion, that they had not been expended for those purposes, but applied to others. It was proved that sums of money had been obtained for the purpose of purchasing sites for police barracks; and it was further shown that the money so obtained had never been expended at all. In more than one case it appeared that money for a site had been voted two or three times over; and yet when a distinct question was put to the Government it appeared that no site had in reality been purchased at all. He asked the hon. Gentleman who was now in charge of these Estimates to see that the money drawn for police barracks was really expended for that purpose, and not, as was the case last year, taken for one purpose and expended upon another.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, that, in regard to the question of police barracks, there was one point to which he desired to call attention. It must be borne in mind that these Estimates were not drawn by the present, but by the late Government; and he was very much surprised to find that there was no Member of the late Government present who was able to get up and give an explanation. With regard to police barracks, it was within his knowledge that the number of the Force had been largely diminished, and the buildings themselves had been allowed to fall into decay, so that the Government had now to build fresh houses. It was utterly impossible to obtain premises already in existence that were suitable. It had, therefore, become absolutely essential that the Government should build fresh houses, in order to replace those which had been allowed to fall into wreck and ruin.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had no wish to criticize adversely the Estimates now under discussion as the Estimates of the present Government, because, as had already been remarked, the present Government had had no hand in preparing them. At the same time, no one who had studied the question of Public Works in Ireland could fail to see that there was a great want of that supervision in connection with this expenditure which was undertaken in connection with every other Department of the Public Service. There was, apparently, an ambition on the part of the Department charged with this expenditure to submit inflated Estimates every year by putting in a number of services which never could be completed within the year. His hon. Friend the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) had referred to one such case, and precisely the same thing would be found in the Estimates of the present year. He had before him the last volume of the Appropriation Accounts, and he found that in the case of the Constabulary barracks at Galway a sum of £3,000 was voted in that financial year, but not spent. So also in the case of Limerick, and in other instances; and it would be found that the sums voted had never been drawn from the Exchequer at all, for the reason that no site had been available. Could anything be more ridiculous than to ask for large sums—thousands and thousands of pounds year after year for building structures for which they had not the ground upon which to erect them? The inevitable result was that the Estimate was inflated to a very considerable extent, and the officials of Dublin found that they were in a position to draw a large amount of money under the nominal scope of this Vote. What was it they did last year? Instead of using the money for the services for which it was asked in Parliament, they went in for building things which had never been mentioned at all, such as an expenditure of £1,000 in connection with the Land Commission in Cork; £1,100 for Royal Constabulary huts, which had never been voted by Parliament; £1,200 at Ennis for Constabulary barracks; while the Botanic Gardens at Dublin were provided with new buildings at an expenditure of £1,800. In this latter case there was a marginal note stating that the expenditure had been sanctioned by a Treasury Letter of the 29th of November, 1883, a very long time after the Estimates had been passed by the House. On referring to the year 1884, he found that the Treasury was asked to consent to the appropriation of money for services entirely different from that for which Parliament had sanctioned the Vote. In other cases he found that the sanction of the Treasury was given to the expenditure after the financial year had altogether closed. He thought that was a piece of administrative irregularity which ought to require a very searching investigation on the part of those who were responsible for the matter. He only referred to these points in the history of this Department in order to show the laxity with which the Department was administered—a laxity which was greater than that which was permitted in any other Department either in Ireland or in this country. When he came to consider the character of the Votes submitted by the Irish Board of Works he could not help being struck by the fact that almost all the money asked for was to be spent on works that were of no permanent advantage to the country. It would be seen that the money was expended upon Constabulary barracks to any extent. Large sums of money were also voted in connection with the navigation levels of the different river valleys, every one of which had already resulted in disaster to the farming population of the locality in which they existed. The consequence of the existence of these levels was that below Athlone, and below a very wide stretch of the Shannon, the whole of the agricultural produce of the low-lying lands was annually swept away, and the grazing was so deteriorated by the summer floods that the farmer was scarcely able to get anything out of the lands he cultivated. So it was, also, in the case of the Barrow, and one consequence was that the lands above were not drained at all. A Commission had been appointed to inquire into the drainage of the Barrow Valley, and it was found that as a consequence of the existence of these works it was necessary to maintain a high summer level. The result was that the agricultural occupations of the people, which were affected by this level, were rendered perfectly hopeless. And yet he found in this Vote that there was a sum of £12,000 for works proposed to be carried out by the Lagan Navigation in connection with the Ulster Canal. He was informed that the Ulster Navigation Bill would be withdrawn, and that the Vote would not be wanted. Nevertheless, there was an annual charge of some £1,000 or £1,200 for the maintenance of the Ulster Canal—a canal in regard to which there was no reasonable prospect of its ever being made available for commerce. As a matter of fact, in its present position, it was never likely to pay the wages of those who were employed upon it, and there was a strong recommendation that it should be drained, and its site converted into agricultural purposes. He failed to see why the Government, year by year, should ask for this grant of £1,000 or £1,200 for the purpose of keeping up this canal, when it was most desirable, for the interests of all concerned, that it should be closed altogether. There were a number of other items in the Vote to which, if the occasion were favourable, he should like to call the attention of the Committee; but, as he had said before, right hon. and hon. Gentlemen sitting opposite were not responsible for them, and, therefore, he did not think it would be fair to press the Secretary to the Treasury in regard to them.

Mr. SEXTON said, it was quite true that the hon. Baronet opposite was not responsible for the drawing up of this Vote; but he might, therefore, be in a position to express a more impartial opinion upon the various items of which it consisted. He shared to the fullest extent the views which had been expressed by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) as to the mode in which the Vote had been drawn up, and he thought that no criticism upon it could be too strong or too severe. Had the hon. Baronet noticed the fact that the Board of Works asked for these purposes last year a sum of £250,000, and that this year they were asking for a further sum of £221,000? Two years ago £210,000 was asked for, and only £204,000 expended. He, therefore, failed to comprehend the audacity with which the Board of Works now came forward and asked for this enormous sum of money, amounting to £17,000 more than was expended seven years ago. Was there any pretence of increased crime to justify the demand? As a rule, the Board of Works had been in the habit of asserting that disturbed times in Ireland were the reason why it was necessary to expend large sums of money on military barracks and Constabulary buildings. But there were no disturbed times in Ireland now. On the contrary, the political sky was almost obscured with showers of white gloves; and the Judges and Sheriffs were congratulating each other all over Ireland upon the absence of crime. Nevertheless, having only expended £204,000 upon public works in 1884, the Board of Works now asked for £221,000. In what items were the increase to be found? The Board were actually asking for £16,311 more than they did last year for new works. Not one word of explanation was offered; but, on looking more closely into the subject, he found that the increase was to be found in these items. £6,000 more was asked for Coastguard stations. What were they wanted for? What duties had the Coastguardsmen to perform? Was there an increased amount of smuggling going on? He had not heard of anything of the kind; and he could not find that the Coastguard did anything except worry the poor fishermen who were trying to earn a livelihood. He certainly did not feel disposed to vote more money for Coastguard stations unless some satisfactory reason could be assigned for it. There was also the large item of £5,000 for sanitary improvements in Dublin Castle and the Lodge in the Phœnix Park. A great many eminent persons had been able to get on very comfortably in Dublin Castle and the Viceregal Lodge in the Phœnix Park since 1800, and he did not understand why a large increase of expenditure should have been rendered necessary now. Then, again, there was an item of £4,000 more for county police barracks. What was the meaning of that? The Estimate for the pay of the police was not diminished, although there were 1,000 fewer policemen than there were last year; and, in addition, they were asked to expend £4,000 more for police barracks. He felt bound to ask that the Government should give some attention to these Estimates, and offer some explanation to the House of these extraordinary items. £4,000 more for police barracks, while the number of the Constabulary had been largely decreased! He should have thought that fewer barracks would have been sufficient. Then there was an item for the conversion of military barracks into police buildings. They were always converting something or other in Ireland. The Government were never satisfied to allow anything to remain long for its original use. If they built a house for soldiers, they wanted it for policemen, and they would at once find it necessary to undertake alterations at a cost of several thousand pounds. Surely barrack accommodation that was good enough for a soldier was good enough for a police constable; and he protested against this large increase of expenditure for Coastguard stations, sanitary improvements in Dublin Castle and the Viceregal Lodge, police barracks, and one thing and another that were not of the slightest interest or advantage to the Irish people. It was in this way the Estimates were increased by £4,000 in one direction, and £6,000 in another, while the sum asked for Science and Art buildings was £2,700 less. There was plenty of sanitary accommodation in Dublin Castle and in the Phœnix Park Lodge, and very scanty arrangements in connection with the promotion of Science and Art. Yet the principle upon which the Vote was framed was to increase the expenditure upon unnecessary purposes, and to diminish it wherever an increase was really demanded. The Vote was one for Public Buildings; but the item for the Post Office was £3,000 less, for inland navigation £3,000 less, and for fishery piers £2,650 less, notwithstanding the fact that the harbours around the coast were falling into decay, and the poor fishermen were year after year sent into the deep waters at the risk of their lives. £4,000 more was asked for police barracks for a diminished Constabulary Force; and although the Board of Works had been constantly warned that the harbours were falling into decay, they put down £2,650 less for fishery piers and harbours, and, at the same moment, inflated the Estimates for Coastguard stations, and provided £700 for additional furniture for the Public Departments. Even the cost of maintaining the Board of Works itself was £800 more this year than last. Last year it cost £700, and this year the Office which drew up the Estimate was brazen enough to come to Parliament for £1,576. Why had the cost of maintaining the Office of Works jumped up in one year from £700 to £1,576? The Estimate certainly appeared to him to partake somewhat of the nature of fraud. Was money to be spent in this way simply because it was public money? Would the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury, if he was connected with a Railway Company, or owned a mill, or even a shop in a small village, allow his money to be spent in this manner? Of course he would not. If any private Member of the House found that his money was expended in such a way he would not only discountenance the proceeding on the part of his *employés*, but he would take care that it met with the punishment due to the offence. He (Mr. Sexton) did not think the money of the country ought to be expended with less care, consideration, and responsibility than that of a private individual. Then, again, there was an item of £245 to provide a depôt in Dublin for Crown witnesses. Had the informer, whose principal business was to swear away the lives of innocent men, become a permanent official of the Crown in Ireland? He had entertained the hope that with the disappearance of disturbed times they might have heard the last of the informer. He should not have thought that he ought to exist and carry on a lucrative traffic in an atmosphere of white gloves and congratulations between the Judges of Assize and the county authorities as to the absence of crime. Instead of fitting up a depôt to make these men comfortable, the sooner they were removed to Mountjoy or to some other convict prison the better for the country. Turning to the English Votes, he was able to compliment the English Board of Works upon having no such increase of their Vote. He knew that it would be out of Order to discuss that Vote, and he only referred to it by way of illustration.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, that it would, perhaps, best consult the convenience of the Committee if the discussion upon Public Works was taken upon the Vote which would come on later in the next Class. When it was reached he intended to make a statement upon it. He understood that it was simply by way of comparison that the hon. Member drew attention to the expenditure on Public Works in Ireland and England.

MR. SEXTON said, he had only been paying a compliment to the English Department; and if the hon. Baronet objected, of course he would not pursue the matter further. He was simply endeavouring to show that in the Irish Vote certain charges were made which ought not to be made; and he now proposed to point out how the Vote was managed in the Appropriation Accounts. If the hon. Baronet would follow him he would see that a most objectionable course had been pursued. The Board of Works obtained a Vote of £210,000; but of that sum only £204,000 was expended, leaving a net surplus of £6,000. In addition to this inflated Estimate, out of a further sum voted of £82,000 they only expended £66,000, leaving a further surplus of £16,000. And how was that money spent? It was spent for purposes which had not been authorized by Parliament at all—Sites for police barracks, £2,700; police employed in emergency work, £1,242; erection of Constabulary huts, £1,140; travelling expenses of carpenters employed in erecting Constabulary huts, £463; furniture for themselves and their friends of the official class in Dublin, £3,900; accommodation for Marines, £1,228; gas, &c., owing to the disturbed state of the country, £670; and in other items amounting altogether to more than £11,000 out of the £16,000 by which the Vote had been over-estimated. Having over-estimated the wants of the Department by £16,000, they expended £11,000 of the excess upon purposes wholly unauthorized by Parliament. They made an inflated Estimate for Coastguard stations and police barracks, and, taking the money from one pocket, put it into another, expending it upon purposes which the House had had no opportunity of discussing, and of which they might strongly have disapproved. He maintained that there had been gross maladministration on the part of the Board of Works, and an evasion of the control of Parliament which ought not to be lightly passed over. Within the last few years the Board of Works had under-expended by £36,000 the money voted by Parliament. The whole Vote for Public Works was £82,000; but they had under-expended on Coastguard stations, barracks, and fishery harbours and piers, £16,000, altogether, which they had transferred to another head and expended upon purposes not authorized by Parliament. They had expended £2,300 on the General Post Office, £1,000 on the Parcels Post, £2,400 on barracks, and so on; and in some instances they had established new items of expenditure which had never been voted or considered by Parliament at all, such as the Land Commission at Cork, the erection of Constabulary huts and houses in the Botanic Gardens, and a gas engine at the General Post Office. He maintained that this was a system of jugglery and misappropriation of public money, which was most discreditable; and, in point of fact, it was a question whether it did not amount to a criminal offence. When it was found year after year that an important Public Department wilfully over-estimated the amount it required to spend upon certain items by tens of thousands of pounds, and then expended it upon matters that were not authorized by Parliament, that Department must not feel shocked if their conduct, when brought under the notice of the country, excited not only harsh criticism, but a feeling of indignation.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, that as an Irish Representative he protested against the expenditure of £12,400 for the erection of Constabulary barracks in Ireland. No person could travel for any distance in Ireland without seeing villages in decay, houses falling down, and everything in a state of ruin and dilapidation; and yet the Imperial Treasury was asked to erect splendid barracks for police constables, who lived in absolute idleness and luxury, and who had nothing whatever to do in the wide world. The new Chief Secretary had not as yet had much practical experience of Ireland; but it was to be hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would recruit his health as well as his political experience when the House ceased to sit by visiting Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman did so, he was sure he would be struck very much indeed by this fact—that all through Ireland, even in the poorest districts, policemen were to be met with in large numbers living in splendid houses and having absolutely nothing to do. Some time ago there might have been some excuse for increasing the accommodation of the Irish Constabulary; but, as had been clearly pointed out by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), at this period, of all others, it was extraordinary that the Government should desire to spend such a large and unusual amount of money in the erection of police barracks. He did not know whether it was that the present Government were apprehensive of the results of their proceedings or not; but it was certainly regarded in Ireland as a most extraordinary thing that this particular period, when a certain amount of calm prevailed all over the country, should be chosen by the Government for the expenditure of £12,400 on police barracks. His hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), in drawing attention to the matter, had compared the expenditure for public buildings in Ireland with the expenditure proposed to be made upon the residences of the National School teachers. Now, he did not think that any people except Government officials in Ireland would have the supreme audacity to go before the House of Commons, or any assembly in any part of the world, and ask for a grant of £12,400 for building police barracks, for a force which did nothing but excite evil passions in the country, when they were only proposing to expend £1,000 upon the residences of the school teachers—people who were supposed to educate and train the children of the country in the way in which they should live. If the hon. Gentleman who was proposing this Vote could prove to the Committee that there was more necessity for spending money on police barracks than in building decent houses for the National School teachers, he might, perhaps, induce some of the Irish Members to look with greater favour upon the Vote; but they knew very well, and the hon. Gentleman who proposed the Vote knew, or ought to know very well, or if the Government did not know it, by reason of their inferior information about Ireland, they would soon know it, that there were no people in the United Kingdom or in the whole world who were more in need of decent habitations to live in than the National School teachers. And yet, although many of these good men, and well-educated men, were performing a work of incomparable service to the people of Ireland, they were compelled to live in hovels with miserable rooms, which in many cases were not water-tight. Notwithstanding the admittedly miserable condition of these persons only £1,000 was asked from Parliament to improve their condition, while £12,400 were asked for police barracks. He did not know whether it was the intention of his hon. Friends and Colleagues from Ireland to oppose this Vote or not; but he certainly thought it deserved to be opposed, because it was a most monstrous thing to spend £12,400 in building splendid houses for men who did nothing, while they only spent £1,000 for the most useful class of persons in the country. That was a state of affairs which deserved to be exposed in every possible way. His hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had drawn attention to the increased charge for Coastguard stations for Ireland. He would say this for the Coastguard, that they were a somewhat less offensive force than the police, but they were quite as useless, and, if anything, still more useless. It was seldom that the public heard of anything they did. They absolutely did nothing; and unless the Government were scared in regard to the prospect of an invasion by Russia, he did not know what in the wide world, in a peaceful country like Ireland, they could want with expending £6,000 in building extra Coastguard stations. He could perfectly understand the necessity of keeping up an Army, and even of housing the police in good dwellings, because if they did not do so the men composing those Forces would throw them overboard; but he could not understand why they wanted to spend £6,000 more this year upon Coastguard stations when there was nothing more to be done by the Coastguard than to burn blue lights when an Evolutionary Squadron went over to Bantry Bay to overawe the peasantry of Ireland, and show them what the power of Great Britain was. So far as the police were concerned, although they had very light duties to perform, it was natural enough that the Government should desire to put them in good houses, because if that were not done the Constabulary would not consent to do their work, and in that case the Government would find it very difficult to get other men to perform the very unpleasant duties which the Constabulary were required to perform in Ireland. Therefore, there might be some sense in housing them in good buildings; but there could be no sense whatever in spending £6,000 on the Coastguard in Ireland, while the people were starving and Irish industries were going more and more to ruin, and when, from the want of the judicious expenditure of £6,000 here and there, the people were emigrating in thousands. There were many public works in Ireland upon which the public money might be expended with advantage. It was as much as the Irish Members could do to squeeze a few thousand pounds from Parliament for building piers for the fishermen or anything of that sort. It had been found very difficult indeed to get advances of that nature in the county of Wexford. He knew that in that county applications had been made over and over again for the erection of piers for the benefit of the people, which would only cost a few thousand pounds; but it was found impossible to obtain the money. Nevertheless, for no object in the world, they were lavishly expending £6,000 in the establishment of Coastguard stations which were absolutely not wanted. There could be nothing more irritating to a starving and industrious people than to see the way in which the public money was squandered on a force of men, who did nothing all day long, from the time they got up in the morning until they went to bed at night, but look at the surrounding sea, and shoot seagulls. No more disreputable item than the sum of £6,000 it was now proposed to spend upon the Coastguard stations had ever appeared in the Votes, unless it were the item of £250 for the establishment of a depôt in connection with Crown witnesses. If it was recognized as a necessity in Ireland to make provision for the Constabulary and Coastguard, why on earth should it be necessary to provide a depôt for Crown witnesses, and to supply them with fuel and water, rent, insurance, furniture, and so on? The Crown witnesses in Ireland were notoriously the greatest blackguards and ruffians the world had ever produced. In point of fact, it was a mutual co-operative business—the Government had to keep up the police, and the police kept up the Crown witnesses, and so the whole of this infamous system in Ireland was converted into a public institution. He should certainly vote against these monstrous items in the Estimates of £12,400 for police barracks, £6,000 for Coastguard stations, and £245 for a depôt for Crown witnesses, especially when he remembered that they were allowing all kinds of worthy objects in Ireland to go to the wall for the want of a judicious expenditure of a little money. He trusted that his hon. Friends, if they did not get some sort of satisfactory explanation from the Government, would divide against these Votes. He was afraid that these Estimates were never regarded in a sufficiently serious light. The Government came down to propose them for the acceptance of the Committee, and two or three Gentlemen who had nothing else to do came into the House to loll about the Benches, and hear the Estimates discussed. The Votes were then passed in the coolest and calmest manner, and if it were not for a few of the Irish Members they would be passed without comment, no matter how absurd, or for what useless object they were proposed. If the hon. Gentleman now in charge of the Financial Department of the Treasury and right hon. Gentlemen who held an official connection in that House with Ireland were desirous of strengthening their position, and of claiming a fair and impartial hearing in Ireland, it would be well if they commenced their career now by explaining to the Committee what in the name of goodness was meant by spending these extravagant sums upon useless purposes in Ireland, while, at the same time, the Irish fishermen were left to pursue their dangerous avocations without harbours to run to or any means of protection.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA would suggest to the Government that, instead of erecting new police buildings, means should be taken to discover and rent suitable buildings already in existence. He had in his mind two or three cases in which new buildings had been erected that were wholly unnecessary, and representations had been made to him by the proprietors of house property that they had houses quite fitted for the purposes for which police barracks were required, which would have been available at one-fourth of the expenditure. He thought the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury should make it a rule to ascertain before submitting such Votes whether other accommodation might not be obtained, and whether there were not suitable premises, or premises which might not be made suitable, in existence already. It was most desirable that that fact should be ascertained before a large sum of money was expended in the erection of new buildings.

Mr. W. J. CORBET wished to call the attention of the hon. Baronet opposite, for a moment, to another question—namely, an item of £966 in connection with the Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum. One of the items in the Vote was £446 for raising the boundary wall. He understood that the raising of this boundary wall was rendered necessary by the fact that there had been numerous attempts to escape from the asylum. A most extraordinary course of proceeding had been adopted in placing a body of 12 policemen, with a sergeant, in the hospital of this criminal lunatic asylum to guard against escapes, and distributing the hospital patients throughout the wards, a most objectionable arrangement, and one for which no precedent could be found. Formerly, when the grounds were only partially inclosed, and the attendants fewer in proportion to the number of patients, there was no necessity for extra precautions, and an escape rarely occurred. He knew that the hon. Baronet could not by any possibility have a personal knowledge of the matter owing to the brief time he had been in Office; and, therefore, he did not propose to do more than ask the hon. Baronet to inquire into it. There was a Commission appointed some time ago. Great complaint had been made in regard to the management of the asylum, and three of the officials connected with the Government were sent down to inquire into the complaints. When, however, he (Mr. Corbet) asked the then Chief Secretary, or his Predecessor—he did not at the moment remember which—to place the Report of that Commission upon the Table the right hon. Gentleman declined to do so, on the ground that it was, in a certain sense, a private document. How the Report of a Commission to inquire into such matters as grave charges preferred against the officials of a criminal lunatic asylum could be regarded as a private Report he failed to understand. He would only now ask the hon. Baronet to look into the matter, and see whether he could not lay the Report of the Commission upon the Table.

Mr. MOLLOY said, that in connection with the subject which had just been raised by his hon. Friend the Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet)—namely, the Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, he wished to point out that while in 1863 there were 130 patients there and only one death, or about ¾ per cent, in 1883 there were 172 patients and 16 deaths, or nearly 2½ per cent. This change had taken place during the tenure of office of the present Governor, or whatever his title might be.

Mr. W. J. CORBET: He is the resident physician and Governor.

Mr. MOLLOY said, he proposed to deal with that officer in a few moments. Taking the same two periods, for the purpose of a comparison, he found in 1863 the cost was £3,679, whereas in 1883 the amount was very nearly double, although the number of patients had not largely increased, having reached £6,623. Previous to the appointment of the new Governor any attempt to escape from the prison had been almost unknown; but now these attempts had become so frequent that the authorities had been obliged to place police constables within the asylum, and the patients in the asylum had been huddled together in order that the police might have proper accommodation. He did not object to that, because, of course, if they placed policemen there they must provide them with adequate accommodation; but he did object to the great increase in the cost of the establishment. They were now building up a big brick wall around the asylum; and he was afraid that there could be nothing more calculated to injure the patients and deprive them of all hope of cure than to surround them with a high and gloomy stone wall. In fact, the asylum would be made worse than a prison, and the effect, mentally, upon the patients would be exceedingly grave and serious. Wherever it could be done, it was desirable to provide lunatic patients with cheerful garden scenery, plenty of light and colour, and everything that was attractive; but here, owing to the mismanagement of the asylum, they were now compelled to build up a wall, and treat the persons, not as persons suffering mental disease, but really as if they were all of them prisoners in an ordinary prison. The number of cures that were effected in the first period to which he had alluded was large, and very large in comparison with the number of cures that were effected now. The inquiry of the Commission to which his hon. Friend alluded was made in consequence of strong complaints from various quarters, both inside and outside this criminal lunatic asylum. Among other things disclosed in the Report was the fact that the resident physician and Governor received, in addition to his pay, a considerable number of perquisites; and yet he was in the habit of skimming the milk supplied to the patients in order to supply it to his own children. He could quite understand why the Report referred to by the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet) had never been produced. The reason was that it was so highly condemnatory in its character that it justified all the complaints which had been made, and showed how lax the supervision had been which was exercised over this asylum. A certain quantity of milk was supplied by the contractor both to the Governor and his children, and also to the patients in the asylum, under a medical order. So serious had been the practices resorted to on the part of the Governor and resident physician, that this question of skimming the milk of the unfortunate patients and taking the cream away from them had rendered it necessary for the authorities to pass a Rule, which would almost seem incredible—namely, that none of the milk intended for the use of the patients should be skimmed, and that the officers of the institution should only receive the allowance fixed for them on the 5th of May. What would be said in this country if such a Rule were found necessary in an important public institution? Nevertheless, it would appear that in the Dundrum Asylum the Governor and resident physician had acted towards the unfortunate people placed under his charge in such a way that a special Rule of this kind had to be passed. He had been quoting from official documents, which any hon. Member could see for himself; and the Rule he had referred to was Rule No. 8, which would be found in the Appendix to the 37th Report to the Visitors of the Criminal and Private Lunatic Asylums of Ireland.

THE CHAIRMAN wished to point out to the hon. Member that in discussing the Vote it would not be in Order to go into all these details. It was certainly not desirable, when the only question was the erection of a boundary wall, to enter into such elaborate questions.

MR. MOLLOY said, he was probably trespassing upon another Vote which would have to be taken presently. He had done so because he thought that as the erection of the wall for this asylum came under the present Vote it was desirable to include the whole matter.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member would not be deprived of the opportunity of discussing the details into which he was desirous of entering. The only question now before the Committee was whether a sum of £446 was a proper sum to be voted for the purpose of erecting a boundary wall.

MR. MOLLOY said, he would not trespass any further upon the time of the House in regard to this question; but he would proceed to call the attention of the Chief Secretary to page 59 of the Vote, where he would find one item connected with the expenses of Dublin Castle and the Viceregal Lodge in the Phœnix Park. If he would look at the second column for maintenance and repairs, he would find that a very large sum was paid for regular maintenance and repairs. That appeared in the first column; but when they came to the second column it would be found that there was a charge for incidental repairs—when slates come off, or it was necessary to make an alteration in the brick-work and so forth; and in one item there was a sum of £1,080 for labourers' pay. Of course, the labourers' pay did not include bricks and other materials; and, turning to the item of cost in that respect, he found that the amount asked for materials was only £39, so that in order to use £39 worth of bricks and mortar, and wood, and so forth, it was necessary to expend £1,080 in labourers' pay. Then, again, for bricks and masonry, there was an item of £30 in connection with the Viceregal Lodge and Gardens, while the labourers' pay came to £1,200. He asked for an explanation of these items. He presumed that the work was carried out under the supervision of the officers of Public Works in Ireland; and it would appear, taking all the items together, that although only £100 worth of materials had been used the sum of £3,075 had been paid for labour. He would ask any hon. Member of that House, who knew what work was in connection with buildings, whether, on the face of it, this was not a palpable fraud? £3,075 spent in using up £100 worth of materials! He desired to point out how grossly these figures were exaggerated in the Estimates. The total amount for the maintenance and repairs of these two official residences in Dublin amounted to £15,000. If hon. Members would take the trouble to look at the amount expended in the repairs of the Royal Palaces in this country, which, of course, were very much larger than Dublin Castle, or the Viceregal Lodge, it would be at once admitted that he was fully entitled to ask for an explanation from Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. P. J. POWER would ask the hon. Baronet in charge of the Estimates if he could inform the Committee in what Office the Government insurances were effected? The Irish people thought they had reason to complain, in many respects, of the Government expenditure. It was expended with the least advantage to the ratepayers of Dublin and the people of Ireland generally that was possible. There were two or three Insurance Offices in Dublin of acknowledged solvency; and in this matter, as in other respects, the ratepayers of Ireland ought to have some advantage out of the Government expenditure. He trusted that the hon. Baronet who had just acceded to Office would in this particular, as in others, turn over a new leaf; and he (Mr. P. J. Power) would be obliged if the hon. Gentleman would give the information now asked for.

Mr. BIGGAR was anxious to say one or two words, and in doing so he wished to guard himself against being supposed to make any attack upon the present Government for bringing in these Estimates. He knew very well that they were not responsible for preparing them; but at least they would be justified in not expending all the money asked for if they held it to be required for objectionable objects. A very important point had been raised by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton)—namely, the immoral system of getting money voted for one purpose and devoting it to another. That was a practice which, in his opinion, was altogether indefensible, and he hoped that it would receive no countenance from the present Government. The Committee would be justified in not sanctioning a particular Vote; but when money was voted they had a right to expect that it would be spent for the purposes for which it was asked, and not devoted to objects that were entirely different. He hoped the new Government would turn over a new leaf, and refuse to allow the public money to be expended upon purposes which had never been sanctioned by Parliament. The Irish Members represented the views of the Irish people, and he wished to impress upon the Government the desirability of allowing themselves to be influenced, as far as possible, in Irish matters by the Irish Representatives. The hon. Member for Queen's Connty (Mr. A. O'Connor) had drawn attention to the amount of money which was expended upon canals in Ireland. He knew something about that question, and he was prepared to say that, in regard to the Ulster Canal, the money expended had been absolutely thrown away. Before railway communication was developed in England, large sums of money were expended by this country in inland navigation; but since the establishment of railway communication this expenditure had been an entire failure, because it cost more to keep the canals in repair than the profit derived from the traffic upon them. He questioned very much whether the total amount of money derived from the freight for the carriage of goods upon the canals would pay the expense of keeping the canals themselves in order. That, however, was only a secondary and minor portion of the mischief which these canals did in Ireland. The principal mischief was in the drainage of the country and the injury inflicted upon farming operations by the floods which took place from the overflowing of the summer levels. They were maintained at an artificial level, and when the artificial obstructions were removed the water would flow in its natural course, and agricultural operations would be carried on without the injurious results which now followed from the flooding of the low-lying lands. Much mischief was done by keeping up Lough Neagh at a summer level, because, when the wet weather came, the water invariably overflowed the valleys. The same injury was inflicted by the artificial obstructions on the Shannon, the Bann, the Barrow, and many other Irish rivers; and if they were removed he believed the result would be highly beneficial to the farmers who lived on the banks of these rivers, and in addition a considerable amount of public money would be saved. There would be two decided advantages—first, the saving to the Imperial Exchequer; and, next, the benefit derived by the farmers who lived on the banks of the rivers and loughs.

MR. W. J. CORBET intimated that he intended to call attention to the condition of Arklow Harbour either upon this Vote or the Vote for Public Works. If the hon. Baronet wished him to postpone his remarks until the next Vote he would be glad to do so.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, he was afraid it would be somewhat difficult for him to answer all the different questions which had been put to him; but if he omitted any one of them he hoped hon. Members would ask it again. He felt bound to admit the justice of one observation which had fallen from hon. Members opposite, that he was not responsible for these Estimates, and had not had sufficient time to make himself acquainted with all their details. He also felt bound to express his regret that neither the late Chief Secretary nor the late Secretary to the Treasury was present to defend the Estimates, or to explain what, no doubt, they would have been able to explain. Generally speaking, there had been complaint as to the increase of the Vote. He would point out, without referring specially to the complaints which had been made of the expenditure on Constabulary buildings, that the increase was more than accounted for by the increase upon education, which amounted to £13,000; upon sanitary improvements, £4,000; and the improvement of Kingstown Harbour, £2,900, making altogether £19,900. One hon. Member complained that no more than £1,000 was proposed to be spent on residences for the National School teachers; but, although that was true, yet upon the schools and for educational purposes the sum of £13,000 had been altogether expended. With regard to the Coastguard, although the Treasury were primarily responsible for the Vote for the Coastguard, the Admiralty, whose opinion in a case like that they were bound to follow, were of opinion that for some years a considerable expenditure would be required. It was said that while a large sum of money was proposed to be expended upon Coastguard stations, nothing was asked for such useful works as the construction of fishery harbours and piers.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he had not stated that no money was asked for.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he was speaking generally, and not alluding specially to the hon. Member. He was sorry that he was unable to distinguish between the Members who had put the different questions which had been addressed to him. Certainly one remark which had been made was that only £1,000 was to be spent on education; whereas he had shown that the sum asked for that purpose was £13,000, and not £1,000. Another observation made by some hon. Member was that, while large sums of money were to be expended on the Constabulary and Coastguard, nothing was spent upon useful works in the shape of piers and harbours. He did not think the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), who had done such good work on the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commission, would endorse that statement, that no money had been advanced for any useful purpose. As to the Constabulary buildings, he was afraid he could add nothing to what he had already said.

It was true, he believed, that the number of extra police was being diminished; but these buildings were required for the regular body of Constabulary. In former years it was said that the Estimates submitted and passed in connection with providing Constabulary buildings had not been expended upon those objects, but had been devoted to others. That brought him to the very important point which had been raised by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) and other Members, as to the employment, on works not voted for by Parliament, of savings effected on works which had been voted. He could only say that he entertained a very strong opinion upon the impropriety of that proceeding, and he had always fought strongly against it. He was quite convinced that, except in cases of very great emergency, or on very special occasions which might arise from time to time, there could be no necessity, in a Service like the Civil Service of this country, for employing money voted for one purpose upon another. Of course, he must point out that in cases of this kind it was not the Department alone that was responsible, because the sanction of the Treasury had to be obtained; and it was necessary, therefore, that the matter should be submitted to them. So far as the estimated expenditure upon Constabulary buildings in the different localities was concerned, as he had said before, the items appeared in the Estimates in round numbers; but he would undertake to say that, as far as possible, the actual expenditure should be carefully watched. He imagined that it was of advantage to have these buildings erected rather than to continue in rented buildings. One hon. Member was of opinion that it would be better to rent them; but he (Sir Henry Holland) was informed that no buildings suitable for the purpose could be obtained, and it was considered much better to have their own buildings rather than to rent them, as, amongst other reasons, rents were apt to be raised at the end of a lease, if it was known that it was practically necessary for the Government to continue the occupation. As to the sanitary improvements in Dublin Castle and the Viceregal Lodge, it might be true that there had been no necessity for sanitary improvements before; but it was considered that the time had now arrived when something should be done in this direction. It was admitted that no work of this kind had been done for a long time, and therefore the present necessity became more apparent. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) complained that while money was expended on Coastguard stations and Constabulary buildings, works of great value to the country were not undertaken. He did not understand the hon. Gentleman to object to the expenditure on canals, but only to the manner in which the money was expended. Without assenting to the view of the hon. Member—for he was not in a position either to assent to, or dissent from, it with his present imperfect knowledge—he was inclined to agree that in the last 30 years it might be found that a considerable amount of money had very likely been wasted in the direction which the hon. Member had pointed out. Of course, the Government were only too anxious to get rid of the expenditure upon the Ulster Canal, which had really proved to be a white elephant; and he thought he had heard a suggestion that the hon. Member himself was prepared to take that undertaking out of their hands; but it would appear that the negotiations had fallen through. So far as the Ulster Bill was concerned, the Government had hoped to get it through before this. He thought there was a great deal in what the hon. Member had said about taking care that the levels of the water were not interfered with, not only in this particular case, but in other instances where it would be necessary to deal with canals. The whole subject would have to be carefully considered. As regarded the Dundrum Asylum, he hoped the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. W. J. Corbet) would allow the discussion upon the subject to be postponed until they reached the special Vote upon this asylum. He was afraid he could give the hon. Gentleman no information as to the raising of the boundary wall; but if the hon. Member would communicate with him he would cause an inquiry to be made. He thought he had now gone generally through the questions which had been put to him. Of course, he was not prepared to say whether the Irish Constabulary was too large or not; but it was not a question which could arise upon the present Vote. All he had to contend for on the present Vote was that the buildings proposed were not in excess of the number of the Force.

The CHAIRMAN wished to point out to the Committee that the discussion of some of the questions which had been raised was somewhat irregular upon the present Vote. No Member would be deprived of an opportunity of discussing any question; but they would be raised more regularly on succeeding Votes. A question had been put to the hon. Baronet about harbours; and if that question was to be discussed it must be discussed now. It would not be competent for hon. Members to discuss it on any other Vote.

Mr. BIGGAR said, the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury had omitted to reply to the question which had been put to him by the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. P. J. Power) in regard to the insurance of Government buildings. The hon. Member had suggested that the insurances in future should be effected in the two Irish Offices—the National or the Patriotic. He hoped the hon. Baronet would reply to that question.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY said, he was not at present in the possession of information which would enable him to answer the question.

Mr. MOLLOY, upon the point of Order, wished to know whether the Board of Works were not responsible for the matters which had been brought before the Committee?

The CHAIRMAN said, the Committee could only discuss the items which appeared in this Vote which was for Public Buildings. The Vote for Harbours came under this Estimate.

Mr. GRAY presumed that, as a point of Order, any question in connection with Arklow Harbour or prison mismanagement would come under this Vote, and it would be competent for hon. Members to discuss it.

The CHAIRMAN said, the proper time to discuss all these questions was when the Vote to which they related was reached.

Colonel NOLAN, upon the point of Order, wished to know if it would be regular to discuss the proceedings of the Board of Works upon a proposal to reduce the salary of the engineer of that Board? If so, he would be prepared to move a reduction of the salary on that ground.

The CHAIRMAN said, that was a hypothetical question which he would be prepared to answer when it arose. In the meantime, he would say that, according to his view, it would not be competent to discuss the proceedings of the Board of Works generally on this Vote.

Mr. MOLLOY said, he proposed, in Class II., upon the Vote for Public Works, to call attention to the Drainage and Improvement Acts relating to Ireland. He should be glad to know if that was the proper opportunity, or whether it ought to be brought on now? Personally, he did not care what Vote he raised the discussion upon, so long as he was not ruled out of Order.

The CHAIRMAN said, there was no item for drainage under the present Vote; and, therefore, of course it would be irregular to raise the discussion now.

Mr. W. J. CORBET said, he believed he would be in Order in calling attention to the condition of Arklow Harbour under this Vote.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes.

Mr. W. J. CORBET said, the necessity of calling attention to the subject arose from the fact that the Arklow breakwater, for which £5,000 on account was asked, had almost crumbled away. He would state as briefly as he could what the circumstances connected with this matter were. There never had been anything like adequate harbour accommodation at Arklow, although there was a large population there who mainly depended upon the fishing industry. Until quite lately the Government had never done anything to encourage the place; and the local lords of the soil had been too careful of their own interests, and the interests of their own immediate sympathizers, to do anything whatever to promote the welfare of the poor fishermen. But the Mining Company of Ireland—a Company which for a long time had carried on extensive works at Arklow—had expended a good deal of money in improving the place, and especially the quay at the mouth of the river. Owing to the depression of the times, they had been unable to keep the works in repair, or to extend the harbour accommodation in the way that was desired. Accordingly, the present Government, in 1876, entered into negotiation with the Mining Company, and the Company agreed to give up all their rights and interests without compensation on the understanding that a good harbour was constructed. Thereupon a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War and the right hon. Gentleman now the Leader of the House of Commons, who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland. The Mining Company, thinking that they were making a soft bargain, declined to carry out the arrangement, and the Bill was withdrawn. So matters remained until 1881, when further negotiations were entered into with the Mining Company, principally through the exertions of Father Dunphy, the respected parish priest of Arklow. The Mining Company agreed to take the sum of £5,000, reserving to themselves certain rights and privileges for the purpose of their own trade, and a Bill was introduced into the House, of which the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) had charge. That Bill provided that the sum of £15,000 should be given as a free grant by the Treasury towards the work, and a loan of £20,000 in addition, the loan being guaranteed by the barony of Arklow, and the baronies adjacent which were interested in the works. He was bound to say that the Treasury had acted in a fair spirit in this matter, and he wished to express his acknowledgments to the hon. Member for Leeds for the trouble he took in passing the Bill in question through the House in the face of some obstruction from the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) and others. The Bill became an Act, and everything was as it should be. But when the Board of Works came to formulate their plans, and when the plans came under the notice of the seafaring and fishing population of Arklow, they to a man condemned them *in toto*. They pointed out the breakwater was being put in the wrong direction; they took the matter up very earnestly, and sent a deputation to the Board of Works, who pointed out the defects in the plans. But the Board of Works would not listen to them. They then made a direct representation to the Lords of the Treasury, submitting to them the objections which they had laid before the Board of Works; but the Lords of the Treasury, of course, stood by the Board of Works, and the latter proceeded upon these defective designs. The plan was also carried out on the block system, although the Board of Works had before them the example of what had been done at Wicklow, where works of considerable magnitude had been completed on the plans and under the supervision of the able local engineer, Mr. C. Strype, who was also director of the important and flourishing chemical works in the town of Wicklow. The works having been carried out on these defective designs, and on this wrong method, a storm came on on the 15th of February last. It was not a very severe one; but when it came the breakwater went. About a week afterwards, he believed on the 21st of February, another storm followed. The effect of the latter was to sweep away the sand completely from under the breakwater, and the structure cracked throughout almost its entire length, the whole becoming practically a heap of ruins. He had drawn attention to the matter in that House at the time; but the late Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hibbert), whose personal courtesy he could not too strongly express himself about, said, in reply to his question, that a recent severe storm had caused some subsidence of the concrete blocks, which was not, however, a serious matter, and had been remedied at a trifling cost. How such an answer could be given through the Secretary to the Treasury by the Board of Works he could not for one moment conceive. He should presently refer to the Report of the Engineer of the Board of Works, which, after a great deal of difficulty and pressure in that House, they had succeeded in getting laid on the Table as a Parliamentary Paper. At this time the sum of £17,000 had been expended upon the works, the full amount of the contract being £27,000. Adding to that £27,000 the £5,000 which had already gone to the Mining Company, there was a balance left of £3,000 available for other purposes. He had asked the late Secretary to the Treasury how the damage was to be repaired, and he replied that £3,000 would be enough for the purpose. But the Engineer of the Board of Works had stated in his Report that a sum of £1,500 in addition would be required—that was to say £4,500—to make good the blunders of the Board of Works. He (Mr. Corbet) objected to the payment of a single 1*s*.

in excess of the contract. He thought it would be a monstrous thing to call upon the cesspayers of the baronies to make good the outlay that was caused by the defective plans of construction being carried out, especially the defective plan against which they themselves had so strongly protested. He held in his hand a copy of the protest which they made; the document was with the Lords of the Treasury, and it showed how accurately the people of the district had forecast what would occur. It was stated in the protest that the direction of the pier was a direct inducement to the shifting sand to follow it out to its extremity, and then to silt up at the mouth of the harbour. Now, that was exactly what had occurred; and owing to the wrong direction of the pier a current was induced which swept the sand completely away from under its foundations, and caused it to collapse in the way he had described. He had before him the Report of the engineer of the Board of Works. Bearing in mind that the damage was at first stated to be trifling, and that it could be remedied at a very small cost, he said that such a reply could not have been put into the mouth of the Secretary to the Treasury without knowledge. The engineer reported to the effect that over a considerable length the face blocks had moved out from 2 to 20 inches; that the sand had been scoured away from the face of the pier, and that orders had been given to have heavy blocks laid down along its base. He (Mr. Corbet) had visited the harbour, and rowed round it in a boat; and he found that, instead of the heavy blocks referred to, a lot of rubbish—the engineer called it "rubble"—had been pitched into the Channel along the sea face of the pier. The Report went on to say that for 130 feet the breakwater had been more or less damaged, that the foundations had been scoured out from underneath, and a trench formed 40 or 50 feet wide, and of an average depth of six feet under the previous level of the bed of the sea. It would be seen by this that the engineer distinctly showed by his Report that the forecast of the people of Arklow, whose objections and protests he was too high and mighty an individual to pay attention to when they were made, was perfectly accurate. He should not detain the Committee longer than to say that he expected an assurance from the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury that a good, substantial, and permanent harbour should be constructed at Arklow for the amount of the contract which was entered into in November, 1882, and which contract was to have been completed by the 1st of June last. He understood that not over half the work had been done; and he thought it right, speaking for the baronies which had to repay the loan, that they at least should not have to pay for the blunders and mistakes which the Board of Works made in the teeth of their representations.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said, he was anxious to put forward two or three arguments in support of the claim made by his hon. Friend the Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet). He was anxious to do so for two reasons—because he represented a number of people concerned in this matter, and because he was intimately acquainted with the locality and its wants. Another reason why he was desirous of supporting his hon. Friend was that, quite apart from the case itself, it was another instance of the fearful mismanagement of these matters by the Board of Works. It was, of course, only competent to him, then, to refer to this particular instance; but, when an opportunity occurred, he should certainly avail himself of that opportunity for discussing the mismanagement of this Department in other parts of Ireland, more especially on the coast of Dundalk, where, according to the Surveyor's Report, their conduct had been of the most disreputable character. Here was a Vote granted by Parliament to carry out very necessary harbour works, and on account of which a large sum of money had been raised on loan upon the security of the people of the neighbourhood; they had had a Government official making certain plans, and the Government insisting upon those plans being carried out in the face of the representations of people living in the locality, which were that the plans were altogether wrong. The Government plans had been carefully considered by a seafaring people, who had pointed out the defects in those plans, and the very predictions they made in this instance had been verified by the event. The faults which they pointed out had been proved to be faults, and the first storm that came had absolutely destroyed the pier. The Board of Works now proposed to violate the undertaking given to these unfortunate people of the locality by asking them to guarantee a further sum of money. They proposed to do that because, as the hon. Baronet would remember, a contract had been entered into, under the terms of which the contractors were bound to build a sound and useful harbour for £27,000. The extra sum, therefore, ought not to fall upon the people. That sum was only necessitated by the failure of the plans of the Government. Under the circumstances, he said that the people should not have to pay for the failure of the plans of the Board of Works; and he thought this argument of his hon. Friend was strengthened by the fact that the plans were objected to by the people themselves. He supported his hon. Friend in protesting against their having to pay another 6*d.* for this purpose. He hoped that the hon. Baronet would say that the people should not be called on to make any further advance in this matter, and that for this large sum of money obtained by loan on their security a safe harbour would be constructed in the locality, where there was great need of it, and where the people derived their entire subsistence from the labour of fishing.

Mr. BIGGAR said, in cases of this kind, he believed that one of the first things to be done was to endeavour to find out whether there was any particular opinion in the locality with regard to the work to be carried out. He remembered a case in his own district where an engineer drew £8,000 on account of Water Works which were supposed to supply the town with the water of a particular stream; the stream was in connection with some mills which had not been working for many years, and as soon as the Water Works commenced their operations the bottom of the stream was left for weeks without water. There seemed to him to be a parallel between these cases. The engineer had gone to the harbour, but did not take the trouble to inquire what had been the condition of things there for a number of years, and, in point of fact, made a complete mess of the whole business. The engineer never ascertained whether the bottom of the harbour was secure as a foundation—he built, so to speak, his house upon sand, and that they were told on very old authority was a very injudicious thing to do. That was the whole explanation of the matter. The engineer, instead of using granite, which could be had in the neighbourhood, on the outside of the breakwater as a protection, he simply put down a lot of rubbish from a local quarry, and the result was that it was all washed away in a short time. He thought the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet) had made out an extremely strong case. Seeing that the Government asked for a guarantee, and that the work was done entirely under the control of their own engineer and the Department which was in possession of the protest of the people in the neighbourhood, he thought it a hard thing that they should be asked to pay any more money. His opinion was that the system under which these works were generally carried out was a defective one. He suggested that these operations should be carried out by the engineers in the locality subject to the control of the Board of Works. But the Board of Works had simply a consulting engineer, whereas they ought to have one responsible for the work to be done—that was to say, they should not advance any money until they were satisfied that the work had been done properly.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Sir Henry Holland) said, he did not think it would be necessary for him to go into the details of this matter after what had been stated by the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet). The question had been, as was well known, brought before the Treasury. There was a difference of opinion between the Local Authorities and the Board of Public Works, Ireland. It was very right that the question should be thoroughly examined, and the Treasury had agreed that an examination of the works should be made and a Report sent in by Mr. Stevenson on the difference of opinion which existed with regard to the state of the works between the Local Authorities and the engineer of the Board, and as to what ought to be done. Until that examination was made and the Report presented, it would not be possible for him to give any assurance as to what Her Majesty's Government would do in this matter. Much would depend on the nature of the Report—whether it was favourable to the view taken by the Local Authorities, or whether it was favourable to the view taken by the Commissioners. He believed that a great part, at any rate, of the details given by the hon. Member were correct; but whether the storm might have destroyed the pier altogether, if it had been improperly made, or whether the damage was increased by the defective character of the pier, were questions to be considered. He would only make this remark on the subject—that if the Board of Public Works was responsible for the details of the construction of the pier, it must be remembered that they were not responsible for the site; that responsibility rested with the Local Authorities. He did not know whether the site was or was not considered by the Board of Works in this case. [MR. PARNELL: They were responsible for the direction.] However, the matter would, as he had already said, be fully considered.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he was disappointed to hear such bad accounts of the harbour works; but he hoped that when the Report was published it would be found that the state of the harbour works was more satisfactory than was supposed. Personally, he had great confidence in the President of the Board of Works in Ireland, as well as in the chief engineer. The chief engineer had been three or four times under examination by Select Committees, on which he (Sir George Balfour) had sat, and proved himself to be a very able officer. With regard to the expenditure on the Arklow Harbour, he (Sir George Balfour) hoped there would be no mistake as to the responsibility for that expenditure. He held that whatever extra expense was to be incurred by reason of defects in the designs or mode of construction, it ought not to be borne by the locality. The Government were bound to construct the work in an efficient manner, without expecting anything additional from the ratepayers. The people did their duty when they gave the guarantee for £20,000.

MR. PARNELL said, that in the construction of Arklow Harbour he had taken a good deal of interest, as it was a work with which he was practically acquainted, and which he had had the opportunity of inspecting from time to time. The hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) had said it was the intention of the Government to send Mr. Stevenson, a Scotch engineer of some eminence, to inspect the work and report upon it. Surely it would have been preferable if a gentleman who was acquainted with the peculiarities of the coast had been sent. It was well known that general principles with regard to harbour construction were not sufficient to apply in every case. When an engineer was about to construct a harbour it was necessary he should go through a long course of study on the spot in order that he might become acquainted with all the local peculiarities, with the nature of the currents, with the action of the tide, with the effect of the wind in moving about the beds of sands which formed such an important factor in the construction of harbours on such a coast as the East Coast of Ireland, where there were very large masses of fine sands in a constant state of movement. He certainly did not consider that the knowledge an engineer such as Mr. Stevenson might have acquired in the designing and construction of harbours on a particular part of the coast of Scotland was necessarily such as to enable him to pronounce an opinion upon a case which presented such peculiar local difficulties as that at Arklow. It was extremely desirable that the Government should associate with Mr. Stevenson an engineer of local knowledge. The coast about Arklow was exceedingly difficult and intricate. It was very doubtful whether a more difficult place to build a harbour than Arklow could have been found on any of the coasts of the Three Kingdoms. The problems—mechanical, engineering, and natural—connected with the construction of a harbour at Arklow were of the most complex character; and therefore he did not think it was possible for a Scotch engineer, accustomed to other conditions, to go to Arklow and say, offhand, what was right and what was wrong. He feared they would only have a repetition of the undoubted blunder which had been made. It would be gathered from what he had already said that he admitted to the fullest extent the difficulty of the Arklow coast; but he felt bound to say that in the designing and construction of the Arklow Harbour all the elementary and initial precautions which should have been observed, and would have been observed in any other case except that of a harbour constructed by and under the auspices of the Irish Board of Works, were omitted by Mr. Manning. The hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) had carefully avoided going into the merits of the case. As a matter of fact, the case had no merits so far as the Board of Works was concerned—if the hon. Baronet would inspect the harbour he would agree with him (Mr. Parnell) that, so far as the Board of Works was concerned in the construction of the Arklow Harbour, the case had absolutely no merits. What did the Board of Works do, or rather what did they not do? In the first place, they omitted to make any borings in order to ascertain the depth of the fine sand—sand which could be blown off the hand by a puff of breath. It was only by means of borings that the amount of excavation required in order to obtain a foundation upon solid ground could be ascertained. He was told by an eminent engineer, who had been very successful in harbour works on the East Coast of Ireland, that it would not have been necessary to remove any very large amount of sand; but the Board of Works did not make the slightest attempt to ascertain the depth of sand. They set to work to lay large concrete blocks of from five to ten tons weight upon the sand without anything but the most superficial scooping. The result was that when the usual scooping action of the winter currents and storms set in—there were no very excessive storms—the sand was scooped from under the outside blocks, those blocks tumbled in, and the whole work was practically ruined. He feared that very little good could be done without the removal of the whole of the damaged portion of the pier. If the attempts which had been made by the Board of Works to repair the damage by the deposit of outside blocks were persisted in it would be simply a case of throwing good money after bad; the money of the ratepayers and of the Imperial Treasury would be further squandered because the elementary conditions of a good job were absent. Unless the damaged portion of the pier was removed and the sand was dredged away it would be impossible to make a work which would stand the force of the winter gales and storms. Then, again, the direction of the pier was at fault, and for that the Board of Works was also responsible. The direction of the pier was decided upon in opposition to the advice and remonstrances of the local ship and boat owners, who had studied the set of the currents and the action of the shifting sands on that coast for a great number of years. Mr. Manning, however, ran the harbour several points of the compass away from the direction suggested by the local people. Now the direction of the harbour was a question which would require consideration, and consideration not only by an engineer of Mr. Stevenson's capabilities, inspecting the place in a hasty visit of three, four, five, six or seven days; but by men who had been educated as engineers in the best School of Engineering, and who had also had experience of the construction of harbour works in the locality. And after all this had been done—after they had decided upon the steps to be taken for the restoration of the damaged work, and after they had agreed upon the direction in which the harbour was to be made to run in future—came the further consideration as to the source from which the extra expenditure was to be taken. The hon. Baronet the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) had held out to them the hope that if Mr. Stevenson's Report was against the Board of Works the Government would consider the matter with a view to preventing the cost of the blunder falling upon the local ratepayers. That of course was only just, as the local ratepayers had practically no voice in the matter except to give the guarantee, which they did with the greatest cheerfulness. The harbour might have been made at a cost considerably under the amount guaranteed by the ratepayers and granted by Parliament; but in no case would it be possible now to make the harbour without trenching on the reserve fund of £4,000 or £5,000, which was left over and above the Estimate, and which might otherwise have been employed in setting up useful works after the rough works, always necessary in harbour construction, were completed. That sum would be lost, and he feared it would not be possible to make the harbour a complete work without the expenditure of a considerably further sum. It was manifestly impossible for the local ratepayers to give any larger guarantee. After their experience in this matter they had no confidence that the money would be properly applied, and that further mistakes would not be made. It was, therefore, necessary that the Government should face the matter boldly, and pay for the mistake their Department had undoubtedly made. Now, as regarded the whole matter. Of course, he supposed that Mr. Stevenson was an engineer of considerable experience, and was doubtless very well qualified to report on harbour works in Scotland under the peculiar local conditions belonging to the coast with which he might be acquainted; but he (Mr. Parnell) would suggest to the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) that he should consult an Irish engineer, altogether independent of any Government Department in Ireland, in addition to Mr. Stevenson. He would suggest, for instance, Mr. Strype, who was a practical engineer as well as a theoretical engineer, of great distinction and ability. Mr. Strype designed and constructed the harbour works at Wicklow, which were on a more extensive scale than those at Arklow. Those works had been most successful. Mr. Strype adopted a system of concrete construction which had never been tried before, but which had proved in this case to be practically successful. The Wicklow works were within eight or 10 miles of Arklow, though he did not think the conditions were similar. Indeed, he knew they were not. Yet Mr. Strype had had an opportunity of studying the currents and the other peculiarities of the East Coast of Ireland, and he had shown that in the case of the harbour at Wicklow that his study had been successful. It would be but an acknowledgment of public opinion if the hon. Baronet would add Mr. Strype's name to that of Mr. Stevenson in the approaching Government inspection of Arklow Harbour.

MR. MOLLOY pointed out that Mr. Manning, in the Report which he made on his own work at Arklow, pooh-poohed the suggestion that any portion of the method which was used so successfully at Wicklow should be used at Arklow. Mr. Manning's words were—

> "It is not necessary for me to say more, than whatever the merits of this construction may be—and I do not desire to discuss them—they cannot be used here."

Now, Mr. Stevenson, who had been called upon by the Government to report on the works of Mr. Manning, was a gentleman who had made harbours, some of which had been most successful, and some of which had failed in the same way as the harbour at Arklow had failed. It seemed ridiculous, in the first instance, to go to Scotland to find somebody to report on the proper site of a harbour on the coast of Ireland; and, in the second place, that they should pick out a man from amongst the number of men who had occasionally, at least, failed in the harbours they had constructed. If the work at Arklow was carried out on the original plan of Mr. Manning, what guarantee was there that it would not be swept away in the course of 12 months? He agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) that as they had in Mr. Strype a most capable man, a man who had most successfully constructed a harbour in the neighbourhood, who had a thorough knowledge of engineering, and who was perfectly acquainted with the coast, with its currents and difficulties and dangers, it would be most unwise in the Government not to associate him with Mr. Stevenson in the inspection of the Arklow works.

MR. SEXTON said, he hoped the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) would see his way, before this discussion closed, to give some assurance with regard to the very practical and moderate proposal which had been laid before him by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). He (Mr. Sexton) did not know precisely what was the reputation of Mr. Stevenson; but he supposed he was a man of eminence. The Committee were not informed whether Mr. Stevenson was a gentleman officially connected with the Government. Was he?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, that all his information was the other way; but he did not wish to pledge himself on the subject.

Mr. SEXTON remarked, that if Mr. Stevenson were connected with the Government little or no confidence would be reposed in him by the people; indeed, it would be very unwise to set him up as a judge of Mr. Manning's series of blunders. He (Mr. Sexton) regarded the engineer of the Board of Works as the champion blunderer of all Ireland—there was nobody like him to be found in the country. There was nothing in the civilized world like the record of the Irish Board of Works with regard to the construction of piers and harbours. What his hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) asked was that a local engineer of capacity should be associated with Mr. Stevenson in making the inspection of the Arklow works. His hon. Friend was well entitled, personally as well as publicly, to ask the Government to give attention to the matter. The hon. Gentleman paid a considerable sum of money in wages—something like £150 a-week—to men for preparing the stone for the harbour at Arklow; and so long as the work remained in its present condition the enterprize of the hon. Gentleman, which had given employment to a large number of persons, would be frustrated. It was to the interest of the population of Arklow, and of the enterprize in which the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork had engaged, that the construction of the harbour should be proceeded with as speedily as possible. The hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) had been most polite and courteous in his statement; but unless they were told that Mr. Strype would be associated with Mr. Stevenson in the inspection they would have little confidence in the result. He (Mr. Sexton) had the pleasure to know Mr. Strype. He was not competent to judge of Mr. Strype's engineering capabilities, being himself uninstructed in that science; but he knew Mr. Strype was a man of high intellectual capacity, a man who was well acquainted with the difficulties of the East Coast of Ireland; and, therefore, if such a man were associated with Mr. Stevenson in this matter, the people could look forward with a rational hope to some steps being taken to remedy the grievous errors which had been made. He (Mr. Sexton) was convinced that if the Government were to send an intelligent apprentice round the coast of Ireland to examine the monstrosities put up by the Board of Works, he would make a Report which would astonish the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland). The Board of Works pursued a most objectionable plan with regard to designs. When a design was made they did not submit it to scrutiny, but endeavoured to keep it as sacred as possible. They positively refused to show the plans of the fishery piers to the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commission, lest, he supposed, their defects should be found out. Before they got very far, however, with the stone work, the defects discovered themselves, and became apparent to every eye. Another principle of the conduct of the Board was to inflate the Estimates. They put down about twice the cost. The result was, apparently, to exhaust the Parliamentary fund, and, at the same time, to discourage local contributions. Then, when the money had been granted by the Treasury, and the Treasury, as the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) knew, never displayed anything but great inertness in making these grants—when the Treasury, slowly, and with dignity and precaution, made these grants available for the Public Service, the Board of Works delayed execution for months, and in some cases for years. And when all was over, when the piers were erected, what happened? The coast of Donegal was strewn with records of the blunders of the Board of Works. Some of the piers and harbours there were nothing but traps for the fishermen. The wildest storms of the Atlantic were not so dangerous as some of the places of refuge put up by the Board of Works. At Enniscrone, in County Sligo, a pier was built two years ago. It turned out perfectly useless, and now another was being built at a cost of £6,000. A pier was also built at another place, and then the fishermen thought they would be able to conduct their operations with all safety. Before the pier was built they were able to fish some way or other; but now they were not able to fish at all, because where the pier was there used to be a jetty, at which they could land, but now, when the pier was made, no fisherman dare bring his boat into harbour. Such was the record of the Irish Board of Works; and if the new Government really meant to devote themselves to Irish resources, they could not do better than send some intelligent apprentice from England or Scotland to examine and report upon the present state of things. He did not know whether the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) intended to remain in Office long, even if circumstances were such as to enable him to do so; but if he remained in Office until the end of this year he would be able, by intelligent inquiries, to obtain proof of errors, blunders, mismanagement, ignorance, and waste of public money on the part of the Irish Board of Works as would be sufficient to condemn any Public Department.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he thought the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) should give them some assurance that a local engineer would be appointed with Mr. Stevenson to inquire into the failure in the construction of the Arklow Harbour. To those who were acquainted with the history of the harbour it was plain that the chief blunder which the Government made was in not giving any power in the construction of the work to any Local Authority. From the beginning to the disastrous end of the construction of the harbour local opinion had been deliberately set at naught. Over and over again very competent authorities in Arklow and the surrounding districts had given to the Board of Works their opinions upon the construction of the works; but their opinions had always been set aside. The consequence was to be found in the utter failure of the work. Some time ago an inquiry was made into the matter by Mr. Manning; but he, of course, was interested in giving as good an account of the affair as possible, because he himself was responsible for the blunder. There was not the slightest doubt that Mr. Stevenson would go to inquire into the subject with a mind somewhat prejudiced in favour of the Board of Works and of their engineer. The inquiry, therefore, would not command the confidence of the people; those who were interested in the harbour would not consider that the Government were thoroughly sincere in the inquiry unless they consented to appoint, either solely or in conjunction with another engineer, an engineer who had the confidence of the Local Authorities. Would the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) say what objection there could be to the appointment of some engineer who would have the confidence of the people? It must be borne in mind that, after all, the people of Arklow were more interested in the successful completion of this work than even the Board of Works or anybody else; and, therefore, it was only reasonable to imagine that they would find it directly to their interest to have appointed a man who would go to the bottom of the affair, and say, once and for all, where the blunders had been, and what it was necessary to do. The hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) ought to say that, at least, he would consider the advisability of appointing some engineer who might fairly be regarded as the representative of the people. He was not at all surprised that the late Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hibbert) was not in his place. He fully agreed with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet) when he said that the late Financial Secretary to the Treasury was extremely courteous in his dealings in regard to this matter. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hibbert) was courteous to every person who approached him upon matters connected with his Department; but it was evident that the hon. Gentleman realized, just as well as any Member coming from Ireland, that the Board of Works had behaved in a thoroughly disgraceful manner in respect to the Arklow Harbour. Now, there would not be any satisfaction here, and he was sure there would not be any in the locality interested, unless the Government gave the assurance that they would cause the inquiry to be made, by Mr. Stevenson if they liked, but also by some authority connected with the district. The hon. Baronet would, perhaps, find it to his convenience, as well as to the convenience of the Government generally, to consider what the Irish Members were now saying. They required two engineers to be employed in this matter—one to represent the people, and the other the Government. That was a perfectly fair proposal, and unless the Government assented to it they would not inspire the people of Arklow with any confidence in their good intentions in making the inquiry.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD, as one who had sat for two Sessions on the Harbour Committee, reminded the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) that the Committee reported unanimously in favour of the monolithic system of building harbours. It was only due to say that in the last paragraph of their Report they mentioned, with approval, the work of Mr. Strype at Wicklow.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, he did not wish to detract from the value of Mr. Strype's work at Wicklow; but, as had been pointed out, the conditions there were very different to those at Arklow. The question of adding another engineer in the inspection was quite a new one, and it was quite impossible for him to give an answer on the spur of the moment. He felt the force of what hon. Members had said as to studying the wishes of the Local Authorities, and he would consider what they had suggested. Of course, he could not now pledge himself as to any particular course of conduct.

COLONEL COLTHURST drew attention to the mode in which loans were granted for the erection of teachers' residences. The terms on which the loans were now granted were 5 per cent per annum interest, and the whole sum repayable in 35 years. There had been a very general wish expressed by those concerned, the managers of schools —expressed in a Memorandum drawn up by the Catholic Bishops of Ireland—that the loans should be granted at £3 15*s.* per cent per annum interest, and that the period of repayment should be extended to 50 years. He hoped the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) would be able to say he would consider any representation that he (Colonel Colthurst) or others might make to him on the subject.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he would certainly give his most careful consideration to any representation which was laid before him on the subject.

MR. SEXTON asked if the hon. Baronet thought he would be able, by Report, to make a statement with regard to the suggestion that a second engineer should be employed in the inspection of Arklow Harbour?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he would make the necessary inquiries at once; but he was afraid he could hardly make a statement by Report.

Vote *agreed to.*

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(2.) £119,978, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board, Ireland.

MR. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Sir William Hart Dyke) was, by virtue of his Office, President of the Local Government Board in Ireland; and, therefore, it might be well if he (Mr. Sexton) called the right hon. Gentleman's attention, upon his entry into Office, to the manner in which the Department of which he was the head conducted its Business. The Irish Local Government Board was composed of three gentlemen, and they administered, as was seen from this Vote, a sum amounting to considerably over £100,000 a-year. The course pursued by the Department in several matters had excited great disapprobation in Ireland; indeed, there was a general feeling that it was a Department which was very ready to interfere where its interference was not needed; and that, on the other hand, in a case in which the public interest demanded its interference, a steam crane would not move it. A few evenings ago the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes), who he was sorry was not in his place, agreed to postpone the stage of a Bill which proposed to give Boards of Guardians power to give pensions to certain officers upon the abolition of office. He (Mr. Sexton) believed the Bill had been introduced with a view to certain amalgamations of Unions in the West of Ireland. One of those amalgamations was that of the Union of Newport, in County Mayo, with the Union of Westport in the same county. Up to the year 1848 the Local Government Board would have had to consult the Guardians and the ratepayers, and would have had to obtain the consent of two-thirds of the ratepayers before they could effect such an amalgamation. But a great many shady laws were passed in 1848; and by one of them the Local Government Board was empowered to carry out amalgamations of Unions without asking the opinion, or advice, or consent of the ratepayers or Guardians. That, he thought, was a most objectionable law. He admitted that the Union workhouses were too numerous in Ireland. Many of them were built at a time of enormous depression; and he was of opinion that now the number might, with great advantage to the community, be decreased, because an undue proportion of the Poor Law fund in Ireland was expended in the salaries of officials and the expenses of these establishments. But what he contended was that if the Government wanted to amalgamate Unions they ought to do it upon a national scheme and upon a considerable scale. They ought to take the country as a whole, and consider what Union workhouses could properly be dispensed with, and how the amalgamations should be effected, having regard to the purses of the ratepayers and to the necessities of the poor. Both political Parties were vieing with each other in their declarations as to the question of Local Government in Ireland; he supposed that whatever Party was in power next year a measure for Local Government would be introduced on a very early day. If that was so, what was the use of proceeding now in a piecemeal and beggarly fashion with the amalgamations of Unions? Let the Lord Lieutenant apply himself to the question as a whole. Let His Excellency take the 163 Unions in Ireland and consider what part of them could be dispensed with, and let there be a large, well-considered, and impartial scheme of amalgamation. What did the Local Government Board do? They found that in the Union of Newport in Mayo the poor rates had for the last three or four years averaged from 6*s*. to 7*s*. in the pound; and that in the adjoining Union of Westport the poor rates had averaged only 1*s*. 8*d*. in the pound, and the proposal of Mr. Robinson, Mr. George Morris, and the third Commissioner, whose name he forgot for the moment, sitting at their ease in the Custom House in Dublin, was that the ratepayers of Westport, with a poor rate of 1*s*. 8*d*., should take on their shoulders the 6*s*. and 7*s*. rate of the Newport Union. Was that a reasonable proposal? Let anyone imagine what their feelings would be if they were ratepayers in Westport paying 1*s*. 8*d*. in the pound for the maintenance of the poor, and the Local Government Board came down and said—"You must take into your Union the Union of Newport with its 7*s*. in the pound rate." Besides, this high rate had not been sufficient in Newport, because the Government had given large grants of public money for several years towards the aid of the local rates in Newport. The Westport Guardians were naturally very indignant at the proposal. They wrote him on the 16th of April last a letter, in which they said that they were opposed to the scheme on the ground that the same would be most cruel to the poor people of Newport to have to come long distances in all weathers, in some cases 42 miles, to obtain relief, and also on the ground of the injustice of adding an insolvent Union to the Westport Union, which had, up to the present, been satisfactorily conducted in every way. Did the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) contend that it was reasonable to single out the Westport Union to be victimized in this way? The Guardians of Westport pointed out that if this amalgamation was carried into effect the poor rate which they had been paying for the maintenance of their poor would be doubled. He (Mr. Sexton) was certainly of opinion that such an amalgamation ought to be devised, that while it had due regard to the necessities of the poor of the one Union, it also had due regard to the condition of the poor in the other Union, and that in a time like this of great difficulty in Ireland, when ratepayers found it very hard to live and make ends meet, the Local Government Board should be careful in suddenly placing an intolerable burden upon their shoulders. A resolution was passed in the Westport Union to the effect that if the Local Government Board carried out their scheme the rate collectors would fail to collect the rates, and that the ratepayers were so much incensed against amalgamation with the Newport Union that they would have recourse to every legal means to defeat it. He thought that if the puny despots in the Custom House in Dublin persisted in imposing their will the people were morally entitled to put the residents of the Custom House to all the trouble that the full execution of the law would permit. The last letter he had received from the Westport Guardians was dated the 2nd of this month, and in it they stated they had passed a resolution requesting the attention of the Chief Secretary for

Ireland to the fact that the proposed amalgamation was opposed by every Guardian of the Union except one, who was neutral, and was against the universal feeling of the ratepayers of the Union. It would be impossible, they said, for them to administer the law efficiently. Did the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) mean to say that an arrangement which would oblige the poor people of Newport to travel 50 Irish miles in order to reach the workhouse was one which was in general accord with the necessities of their condition? The Guardians further said that the proposal, if carried out, would make the Westport Union pay the expenses of a poor district which hitherto had been unable to support itself; and the ratepayers in their protest objected in the strongest manner to the proposed amalgamation, and requested the Chief Secretary to stop this most unjust and high-handed proceeding on the part of the Local Government Board. It appeared to him that the Westport people had been very harshly treated in this matter; and unless the Local Government Board took some steps to devise a more workable scheme, and one which would inflict less hardship upon any particular body of ratepayers in Ireland, he could promise them they would not hear the last of it for some time to come. He had said the Local Government Board was very ready to interfere when it was not wanted, and slow to interfere when it was wanted. He might refer to a case occurring three or four years ago, in which they issued an order for the dismissal of a medical officer. Dr. Joseph Kenny had the misfortune to be arrested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). Some Members of the Irish Party had no reason to complain of the fact, because in prison they found him a most agreeable friend, as well as a most capable professional man; but public opinion was disgusted by the Local Government Board issuing an order for his dismissal from the office he held. On the other hand, he had heard that a Board of Guardians had sent complaint after complaint against a medical officer, and yet the Local Government Board treated the matter with the greatest indifference. Months had passed and no notice had been taken of the representations. He also knew of a case in the West of Ireland, where a dispensary officer had no great zeal for duty, and during his frequent absence his porter took his place, and was in the habit of dispensing medicine, drawing teeth, and vaccinating children. In this case, too, the representations of the Guardians had been treated with complete indifference. Now, as to the Local Government Board being ready to interfere in cases where their interference was unnecessary. He would like the Government to make some statement with regard to the conduct of the Local Government Board in reference to the Treasurership of the North Dublin Union. Early in the present year the Guardians of the North Dublin Union wanted a large loan for permanent improvements which could not properly be put on the rates of the year. They made a proposal to the Bank of Ireland, but they refused to grant the loans. The Guardians then applied to the Hibernian Bank, and they agreed to give the loan on the condition that the account of the Guardians should be placed with them. The Hibernian Bank further offered to give the overdraft which the Guardians required at 3 per cent, the Bank of Ireland charging them 5 per cent. The Guardians agreed unanimously to change the account from the Bank of Ireland to the Hibernian Bank, and they did so, because not only would they get the loan which they required, and which the Bank of Ireland refused them, but they would also gain £300 a-year in the shape of interest. Was it not extraordinary that the Local Government Board refused to allow the North Dublin Board of Guardians to change their account from the Bank of Ireland? Was it not enough that the Bank of Ireland had extraordinary facilities and advantages over every other bank? Was it not enough that all Government money in Ireland, and all the funds of the Courts of Law—the Chancery and Bankruptcy Courts—passed through the hands of the Governors of the Bank of Ireland? Was it not too bad that all public Boards like the North Dublin Board of Guardians must be obliged to keep their account with the Bank of Ireland, even at a loss of £300 a-year in interest? He called on Her Majesty's Government to say that the Guardians of the North Dublin Union should be allowed to keep their banking account where they liked, not to treat them as children, and not to impose upon the ratepayers a fine of £300 a-year for the purpose of having their account kept at a bank which was more favourable to the Government than the one they had chosen. He characterized what had taken place in this matter as an unwarrantable interference with the rights of the Guardians and with the interests of the ratepayers; and he trusted that Her Majesty's Government would say that the course that had been taken should not receive their sanction. He had also to complain of the action of the Local Government Board in connection with the Sligo Union, where, owing to the Returning Officer allowing six votes to be improperly recorded, the nominee of the landlords was elected by a majority of three. The Returning Officer of the Sligo Union improperly and illegally received the voting papers; the Local Government Board admitted the illegality; but they declined to give the seat to the candidate who, as they admitted, had a right to it. The Local Government Board said that they had no power to declare the Poor Law candidate elected, unless he was declared to be elected by the Returning Officer. The Returning Officer declined to declare the candidate elected. The Local Government Board, having found on inquiry that the votes had been illegally given, should have declared the other candidate elected by a certain number of votes; but instead of doing that they put the people to the trouble of going over the ground again. If that was the law, he said that the sooner it was amended the better; and he hoped the Government would take care that in future the candidates who were proved to have a legal majority should have the seats. Again, in the Donegal Union the Catholic children were in a state of spiritual destitution. The Guardians there, who were a band of narrow-minded and bigoted people, had refused to appoint a single Catholic officer—even a schoolmaster. The priest found it impossible to contend with the opposition he met with, and he was obliged to resign the office of chaplain, because he felt he could not retain his position in the absence of some Catholic official to instruct the children in the doctrines of religion. The result was that the children had been left without religious instruction for two years, without Divine service on Saints' days and holidays, and without the ministrations of their Church. He asked whether that was not a case in which the Local Government Board ought to interfere? The Predecessor of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had endeavoured to induce the Guardians to appoint a Catholic schoolmistress, but they refused; and when the place had to be filled up they put aside a Catholic who applied, although the children were Catholics, and they appointed a Protestant young lady, who had no qualifications at all, and who, the moment she was put to the test of examination, was obliged to resign. The Local Government Board, three years ago, were ready enough to supersede the Guardians at Carrick-on-Suir. There the Chairman refused to allow the Guardians to present resolutions in connection with the poor rates; and, the struggle having gone on for some time, the Chairman of the Local Government Board sent down an order and dismissed the Board. He thought the same thing might be done in this case. A still stronger case occurred in the parish of Dunfanaghy. This had been an unfortunate parish for many years, owing to the number and cruelty of the evictions which had taken place there. A gentleman who had with the greatest zeal and energy thrown himself into the cause of the people, and had stood between them and their cruel oppressors, had been selected for special annoyance by the local Guardians. He presented himself for election last March; but, for the reasons referred to, he was excluded from the room, while others were allowed to remain; he wrote a letter of complaint to the Local Government Board last March; the Board had received the complaint, but up to the present time they had made no reply. He regarded the Chief Secretary (Sir William Hart Dyke), who was Chairman of the Local Government Board, as too frank a man, and as too straightforward a Parliamentarian, to give countenance to action of this kind; and he believed he would now be as frank in his answer upon these points as he would have been before the assumption of his present Office. He knew, himself, of a case in which two young women died for want of medical assistance, and whose deaths lay at the door of the

Board of Guardians and the Local Government Board. And there was the cruel and cowardly attack made upon Father M'Fadden, whom the Guardians dismissed from the office of warden. This reverend gentleman had stood between the unfortunate people of the district, who were endeavouring to earn a miserable living from a sterile soil, and who had to pay rent to landlords as cruel and grasping as any to be found in Ireland. At a meeting of the Board of Guardians, composed of seven landlords, three agents, and one or two hangers-on, Father M'Fadden had the insult sprung upon him of being dismissed from the office of warden—the duty of warden being to issue tickets for relief. Since then the poor people of the district had continued to go to his house, and he had been unable to relieve them. He said that this state of things was a scandal and an outrage. In a district containing 5,000 Catholics, the office of warden was now held by a Protestant clergyman; and they all knew how unwilling the Catholic people of Ireland were to approach a person of a different creed for the purpose of obtaining relief. It was a scandal that an eminent ecclesiastic, a man of apostolic energy and charity, should be cast out of the honorary office of warden to please the local landlords, and that the Local Government Board should stand by and allow that insult to be inflicted upon him—and that, too, in the midst of a wretched, poor, and suffering population. He (Mr. Sexton) would have wrongly estimated the character of the right hon. Gentleman if he found hereafter that his influence had not been used to prevent the continuance of this state of things; and he ventured to think he would make some strong representations to the Board of Guardians in the matter of Father M'Fadden and with regard to the Catholic children in Donegal Union, who were, as he had said, in a state of spiritual destitution.

Mr. O'SHEA said, he was well acquainted with the district which his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had spoken of; and he was bound to say that he concurred in thinking that Newport Union should be spread, as a matter of principle, over a larger area than was proposed, and, at the same time, he hoped that a measure would be passed next year which would render absurd arrangements of the kind they were now speaking impossible. It seemed to him, however, very unfair that the inhabitants of Newport should have to pay rates in connection with such a large district, while the inhabitants of the Westport district had hitherto escaped scot free. So that, although in principle he was absolutely in accord with his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo, he thought, if they could not get any better arrangement, it was not a very great injustice to Westport that the Newport Union should be amalgamated with it. In connection with this matter a case of great hardship might arise, and to that subject he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give his attention. He knew that a Bill had been introduced to the House dealing with the subject of Union officers. Unless that Bill were passed, or some measures taken for giving retiring pensions to the officers of Newport Union, with whom he happened to be personally acquainted, he said it would be a hard case indeed. He hoped his hon. Friend understood that he was in accord with him in principle.

Colonel COLTHURST said, the question of the amalgamation of Unions was gone into carefully by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time he was Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. A Commission was appointed consisting of very able men, who took a great deal of trouble in carrying out their investigation, and who reported most strongly against the amalgamation of Unions. They said that no Union in Ireland could be closed without inflicting great hardship on the poor in the district. Therefore, he thought the Local Government Board had acted wrongly in closing the Newport Union. If the boundaries of the Union were not right they ought to have been rectified. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not give his sanction to the closing of any Union in Ireland, because he was satisfied that by so doing he would cause grievous hardship on many of the poor. With respect to Donegal Union, to which the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had alluded, he had himself taken some pains to bring the matter under the notice of the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and that right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that he was not authorized to exercise the power of appointing Vice Guardians. In justice to the Local Government Board, he must say with regard to many of the complaints made against them they had not power to act. Whereas in England the Board had very extensive powers, the powers of the Irish Local Government Board were extremely limited by statute. Of course, it required an extreme case to be shown before they could exercise their power of dismissal and appointment of Vice Guardians; but he maintained that the persistent refusal to appoint a Roman Catholic teacher under the circumstances that had been described was a case of such urgency as would justify the Local Government Board in interfering. He believed that if the Guardians were to receive a letter to the effect that if they did not appoint a Roman Catholic teacher Vice Guardians would be appointed, they would at once do what was required of them. He believed he should be in Order in referring upon this Vote, which involved a large increase for salaries of the officers of the Local Government Board, Dublin, and various other Unions, to the question of Union rating which had been brought before the House. He would not go into the subject in detail, but would point out that Union rating had existed for the last 20 years in England, and that no dissatisfaction had been caused by it. When the Poor Law was first introduced into Ireland, it was intended to make the Union the area of rating; but parochial rating prevailed then in England and the area was altered in the House of Lords. A Committee sat to inquire into the subject in 1871; it took an enormous amount of evidence, and unanimously reported in favour of Union rating. He did not ask the right hon. Gentleman to express any opinion on the subject that evening; but he asked him to take it into consideration during the Recess, in order to see if effect could not be given to the recommendation of the Committee of 1871.

MR. MARUM said, there was in some parts of Ireland a great disinclination for anything in the nature of a Union Rating Bill. The Union of Kilkenny had protested against it. The question might be described as a question of town against country. There was nothing like unanimity on the subject, and he assured the Committee that the whole of the South of Ireland was opposed to Union rating.

MR. SMALL said, his experience of the Local Government Board, Ireland, was that if they were asked to do anything to aid the population in the matter of rates they always said they had no power to do so. The truth was that the powers of the Local Government Board were so general and so vaguely defined that they could do what they liked. With regard to the case of the Catholic clergyman to which his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had referred, he ventured to say that many Members of that House did not know exactly where Dunfanaghy was, or what constituted the office of warden. He would, therefore, inform the Committee that the office from which Father M'Fadden had been dismissed by the Board of Guardians was one which, although it involved a great deal of trouble and hard work, carried with it no pay. It was the duty of the warden to distribute tickets for relief to the poor people in the locality, and it had been an almost invariable rule in nearly all the Unions in Ireland that a clergyman of every denomination should be appointed to the office, so that relief might be provided for all. He was aware that in most of the Catholic parts of Ireland Protestant clergymen had always been appointed; and, that being so, it seemed to him extraordinary that in the district of Donegal, to which his hon. Friend had referred, the only person to whom the poor people could go for relief was the man whom the Guardians had thought proper to deprive of the office of warden. He wished to address a few words to the right hon. Gentleman as to the improvement which he might effect in the procedure of the Local Government Board with reference to the election of Guardians. He had taken part in several elections of Guardians, both as Guardian and candidate; and he was obliged to say that the course pursued by the officials of the Local Government Board was very unsatisfactory. They could not expect Guardians to be placed in as good a position with regard to elections as persons were placed in in respect of Parliamentary and municipal elections, because in the latter cases clear rules of procedure had been laid down. That, however, he always considered to be a great misfortune, because, in his opinion, the election of Guardians was of more importance to the poor than the election of Members of Parliament or of municipalities. However, when questions arose with regard to Boards of Guardians, they were referred to the Local Government Board in Dublin; and the question he had to ask was—by what persons were they received, and by whom were they adjudicated upon? Within his knowledge, letters had been sent to the Board setting out at great length causes of complaint; and it was his invariable experience that the answers returned to them were of the most unsatisfactory kind. It always seemed that the person who received and answered the letters of complaint must be entirely unfitted to have anything to do with them. The questions which arose were always of a legal and technical character; and, that being so, he thought they should be submitted to a person of legal authority for consideration. He knew there was an officer connected with the Dublin Local Government Board who acted as Legal Adviser; but he did not believe that a hundredth part of the questions laid before the Board were ever submitted to him. It seemed to him likely that, instead of the questions being submitted to this gentleman, who had been very attentive in some cases that he was acquainted with, they went before some clerks or underlings in the Office in Dublin, who took upon themselves to answer them. If that were so, he thought the right hon. Gentleman would agree that it was a very improper course, and one which ought to be at once abandoned. He thought it would be well that every case of complaint relating to the election of Guardians should be submitted to the gentleman acting as Law Adviser to the Local Government Board before any reply was given. He could give many instances of complaints which had been sent to the Local Government Board, and to which the most unsatisfactory answers had been returned. In his own Union he had known several controverted elections, and in connection with them many fine points had been raised; but the most unsatisfactory replies had been sent from the Local Government Board. In the case of the Donegal election, to which his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) had referred, they said that they had no power to interfere. It was very necessary, too, that attention should be drawn to the system of appointing Returning Officers in Ireland. The conduct of a very notorious partizan—Mr. Bell—in the North of Ireland, was the subject of a debate in the House last year, and very properly so. It was absurd that the very gentleman above all others who had the strongest interest in the *personnel* of the Board of Guardians should be appointed Returning Officer. The Clerk of a Union was the very last person who ought to be Returning Officer; and yet, under the general law, Clerks of Unions, except in the case of the Dublin Unions, were the Returning Officers. Mr. Bell had shown himself in the highest degree partial and prejudiced. His conduct for several years past had been of such a character as to render him completely unworthy of the confidence of any portion of the public; and yet the complaints which had been forwarded to the Local Government Board had been treated with the greatest indifference. Mr. Bell received votes for convicts and for officers on military service, and counted them, because he discovered that by doing so he could keep the Nationalist candidate out of office. He (Mr. Small) only desired, in conclusion, to put two questions to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Sir William Hart Dyke)—namely, who was it in the Office of the Local Government Board in Dublin who supplied the answers to complaints—was it any competent person, or an under clerk? And, secondly, would he direct an inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Bell, and appoint someone else to act as Returning Officer, in case it was found Mr. Bell had acted improperly?

Mr. DEASY fully recognized the fact that the present Government were not in a position to make anything like radical reforms in the Poor Law during the present Session. Last year several questions were entered into in great detail by hon. Members on both sides of the House, and pledges were given by the Government, and particularly by the then Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; but they had not been fulfilled.

He had, however, somewhat more faith in the present occupants of the Treasury Bench than he had in their Predecessors. Be that as it might, there were one or two points of comparatively small importance to which he desired to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Sir William Hart Dyke). The first of them was the ill-treatment of pauper lunatics. It was a question which had been debated already that Session; but nothing had been done towards remedying the deplorable condition in which those unfortunate persons were placed in the Irish workhouses. By a Return presented to Parliament this year he found that the total number of pauper lunatics in workhouses in Ireland was 1,873, and that the total number of idiots was 1,826. He did not propose to say anything about the idiots, because he believed that if proper provision were made in suitable buildings for pauper lunatics there would be plenty of accommodation in the workhouses for the idiots. Those unfortunate people were huddled together in some out-of-the-way corner of the workhouses. They were under the control of nurses, who were utterly unskilled, and who, for the most part, were paupers themselves. There were very few paid nurses in charge of the lunatics, and the medical men, under whose care they were, had to attend to 500 or 600 other patients, and rarely were in a position to inquire into the condition of the lunatics. It was quite impossible for men, most of whose time was devoted to the treatment of various diseases, to prescribe for the people who were suffering mentally. In a Report which was made by a Royal Commission, appointed by the last Conservative Government, and presented to the House in 1879, it was recommended that certain workhouses in different localities of the country, and in which there were very few paupers, should be set apart for the treatment of pauper lunatics. There were several workhouses in County Cork which were not filled to a third or a quarter of their capacity; and there was no reason why the Local Government Board should not make an Order compelling the Guardians to set one of the buildings apart for pauper lunatics, sending the paupers there into the workhouses in the surrounding districts. At the present time there was some room in the district lunatic asylums; but the Governors of those institutions objected to receiving the pauper lunatics on the ground that the asylums would become over-crowded, and they would be unable to treat properly the patients who were committed by the magistrates' orders. He admitted that, in some cases, that was a reasonable excuse; but in the case of the Cork District Lunatic Asylum, and one or two other district asylums he could name, there was room for the accommodation of a considerably larger number of lunatics. He was glad to see that, as far as the Cork District Lunatic Asylum was concerned, a good example in this respect had been set. The Cork Asylum was the only asylum in Ireland to which pauper lunatics from workhouses were transferred; and the Governors of that establishment had, he admitted, done all in their power, since the matter was brought before Parliament, to meet the views of the Guardians, and to lessen the over-crowding of pauper lunatics in the workhouse. But there was no reason why the same state of things should not prevail all over the country. No change in the law was required; all that was wanted was the approval of the Local Government Board and of the Governors. It was absolutely necessary that something be done before long for these people. They had nothing but the dullest surroundings as a general rule. They had no playground; they had no proper treatment, and it was impossible, as statistics proved, that any large progress in the recovery of their mental faculties could be made. He hoped the present Government, as the previous Tory Administration did, would take a deep interest in this question, and would apply themselves to it during the next couple of months. They had only to act upon the Report presented in 1879, and then they would have very little difficulty in carrying out this much needed reform. Now, with regard to the industrial training of boys in workhouses. This was another matter which should be dealt with immediately. Most of the boys who were brought up by the Unions spent most of their lives within the walls of the workhouses, owing to the idleness in which they were reared, and owing to the impossibility of training them in industrial pursuits. They might go out for a week or two; but they had been so accustomed to idleness within the workhouse that they did not care to remain in a situation in which they might have been placed. They invariably returned to the places where they had been reared. He might be told that it was in the power of Boards of Guardians to remedy this unhappy state of things. Several attempts had been made by Boards of Guardians; but they had never succeeded, simply because, under the present system, young people in the workhouses must necessarily mix with the older people. The result was that they contracted the vices of the older inmates. If the 15,000 children under 15 years of age, who were in the Irish workhouses at the present time, were to be brought up so as to become useful members of society, and earn their own bread, the Government must make up their mind that they should be trained outside the workhouses; that they should be sent to industrial schools, and taken away altogether from their present associations. It was really very hard that if a child was to obtain a real industrial training he must first of all pass through a prison, or be committed before two magistrates in a Court of Law. He was quite sure that if such schools as he had indicated were established throughout the country the ratepayers would not make any extravagant demands on the Government in the shape of capitation grants, even if they asked for them at all. The people would be willing to pay additional rates if they thought that in a short time a large number of the class of persons who now drifted into the workhouses would be brought up in such a way as to enable them to earn their own living, and not to eventually become a burden upon the country. There was a fine establishment in Youghal untenanted. There was no reason why it should not be bought for the accommodation of pauper lunatics, or for the training of children. It was a building which could be had for a trifle, the Youghal Board of Guardians having offered it to any public body for a mere nominal sum. There were throughout the country a large number of such establishments; and if the Government would set themselves in earnest to the settlement of the question of relieving the condition of the pauper children and pauper lunatics they would experience very little difficulty. The only other point to which he desired to direct attention was one which the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan) promised 12 months ago to redress. It was pointed out during the discussion last year on the Local Government Board Estimates that the magistrates at Petty Sessions had the power of appointing Inspectors under the Explosives Act. Those Inspectors did not receive very large salaries—from £20 to £40 a-year each. They had very little to do; but whatever they had to do they did not do, though they took good care to draw their salaries. The Boards of Guardians in several parts of the country made up their minds that the salaries should not be paid; because they felt that if they had to appoint the Inspectors, and yet have no control over them, it was unjust to ask the ratepayers to pay any portion of their salaries. It transpired that the Inspectors had the first claim on the rates; that if the Board of Guardians refused to honour the cheque of the magistrates in Petty Sessions the Inspectors had only to present the cheques at the bankers of the Guardians and they must be cashed out of the first money lodged by the Board; the salaries must be paid even if the paupers starved. He considered that a great hardship. When the question was raised last year the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) promised that he would give the magistrates the option of appointing as Inspectors under the Explosives Act members of the Royal Irish Constabulary instead of the clerks of the Petty Sessions and others who up to that time had been appointed. The magistrates at Petty Sessions, however, almost invariably refused to dismiss the men who occupied the position of Inspectors, and to appoint policemen in their stead. Of course, it was unnecessary to say that the Government did not pay the salaries, but that that burden was still placed on the ratepayers. Now, what he asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Sir William Hart Dyke) to do was to compel the magistrates to dismiss their own friends and appoint policemen as Inspectors, who, on account of their training, and for several other reasons, were better able to carry out the provisions of the Act than the present Inspectors. It was generally conceded by the magistrates that policemen would make the best Inspectors, but that they did not like to dismiss the present holders of the offices. He did not think that a consideration of that kind should weigh at all, particularly when it was acknowledged that the present Inspectors could not do the duties cast upon them with the same efficiency as members of the Constabulary Force could. This was a grievance which had given a great deal of annoyance in Ireland, and yet it was one which could be redressed by a stroke of the pen. The Local Government Board had only to issue an Order compelling the magistrates to dismiss the present Inspectors and to appoint policemen in their places. He trusted that the different matters to which he had drawn attention would receive the serious consideration of the Government.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, he was sure hon. Members would not expect him to go at any length into the various matters which had been referred to in the course of this discussion. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had referred to the question of the amalgamation of the Westport and Newport Unions. As far as he (Sir William Hart Dyke) could understand, the question was practically settled before he took Office. The hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) had referred to a Bill now before Parliament to provide for the compensation of the men whose offices were abolished. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman that it was nothing but just that men in such a position should receive some compensation. The Bill was not introduced to meet any one special case, but to meet any cases which might arise in the future. He was not prepared, however, to admit that the facts with regard to the amalgamation of the Westport and Newport Unions were quite as indicated by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). The hon. Member referred to two or three other matters connected with Ireland — to the Treasurership of the North Dublin Union and to the keeping of the Union's banking account. He also referred to the affairs of the Sligo and Donegal Unions, and another Union, the name of which he (Sir William Hart Dyke) found a difficulty in pronouncing. Now, if there had been any misdirection of affairs in any of those Unions, and he could discover it, it would be his duty to remedy matters. He must say at once that the facts had not come under his knowledge; and, therefore, he was not prepared to deal with them at any length now. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Cork (Colonel Colthurst) referred to the question of Union rating. He (Sir William Hart Dyke) did not suppose there was a more difficult question that a man could undertake than that of Union or electoral rating; but it should receive his earnest and early attention. As the hon. and gallant Gentleman said, a Committee which sat in 1871 recommended most strongly that the Union rating area should be at once adopted. That had not been adopted; but there had been some change in the law. By an Act passed in 1876 some alteration was made with respect to the number of years' residence and the chargeability; and he believed that in some districts the alteration had afforded something like relief. The hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Small) had gone into questions of great interest; but he (Sir William Hart Dyke) feared that his answers to them would not be considered satisfactory. The hon. Member complained of the scant justice which had been done to Local Authorities by the Local Government Board in cases where complaint had been made in regard to certain election proceedings. The hon. Gentleman seemed to infer that, although there were very clever Legal Authorities responsible for these matters, certain improper election proceedings were not brought before those Authorities and decided in a proper manner. Of course, if he (Sir William Hart Dyke) found that such things occurred, he would know how to deal with them. The hon. Member also referred to the case of Mr. Bell. He (Sir William Hart Dyke) was sorry to say that he knew nothing about the case, and, therefore, could not give the hon. Gentleman any satisfaction. The very important question of the treatment of pauper lunatics had been brought up by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork City (Mr. Deasy). It was a question which, perhaps, might more properly have been raised under the Asylums Vote; but, of course, the hon. Gentleman was within his right in mentioning it on this Vote as coming under the head of pauper lunatics. As the hon. Member was, no doubt, aware, before he (Sir William Hart Dyke) came into Office, Dr. Mitchell, a gentleman of authority on lunacy, was appointed, at the instigation of the late Viceroy, to deal with many of these questions. The Government was carefully pursuing the question, and they hoped to be able to deal with it in a satisfactory manner. He assured the hon. Gentleman that the question of the treatment of pauper lunatics was one in which he took some personal interest; and it should have every attention, so far as he was personally concerned. There was one other point the hon. Member raised, and that had reference to the industrial training of pauper children. He thought the hon. Member was slightly in error when he said that a boy had to commit a crime before he could enter an industrial school. As a matter of fact, a boy who was convicted of crime was sent to a reformatory, and not to an industrial school. He could only say, in conclusion, that all the questions which had been raised by hon. Gentlemen should receive his earliest attention.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he never asked a question of the Chief Secretary for Ireland without a certain feeling of disrelish. There was such an enormous number of Departments for which the right hon. Gentleman was either directly or indirectly responsible, and many of the Departments covered such a large amount of ground, that it was perfectly impossible for the right hon. Gentleman adequately to represent the multifarious interests which claimed his official attention. But he wished to draw the Chief Secretary's attention to one matter, which was very simple and easily comprehended, which he had several times brought before the notice of the Committee, and with regard to which successive Chief Secretaries to the Lord Lieutenant had promised their attention should be given, but with regard to which, he was sorry to say, nothing had been done—it was the question of feeding the paupers in the workhouses in Ireland. Three years ago he brought the matter before the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster); he brought it before the right hon. Gentleman's Successor the right hon. Member for the Hawick Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan); and before the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), and they one and all expressed their readiness to do what they could in regard to it; but, so far as he could see, nothing had been attempted. Some of the paupers in Ireland were being slowly starved to death. He was firmly convinced that in the workhouses in the Western part of the country a large number of men, women, and children died from insufficient nourishment. Some time ago he moved for a Return showing the different scales of dietary in force in the two Western Provinces—Munster and Connaught—and he was indebted to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Sir William Hart Dyke) for the promptitude with which he had rendered the Return. The Return was so voluminous that he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had hesitated to ask to have it printed; but he believed that if it were printed a great deal of good might be done in the way of enabling different Boards of Guardians to compare the different scales of dietary in force. For the moment he would direct attention to one case only—it was the one in reference to which he had invited the attention of previous Chief Secretaries. It was the scale of dietary in force in the Dingle Union, County Kerry. He instanced this, not because he believed it was the worst case in Ireland—he did not think it was by any means the worst—but because it was the one that he had particular occasion to examine when he inspected the workhouses some two or three years ago. Well, the scale of dietary in the Dingle Union was divided into two portions, one was for the healthy inmates and the other for the sick inmates. The inmates were classed as able-bodied men, able-bodied females, aged and infirm, boys and girls of three different classes or ages, and infants. Now, all the food given to an able-bodied inmate in this workhouse was eight ounces of Indian meal and one half-pint of milk for breakfast, and 1 lb. of bread for dinner. He got no other meat. [Colonel King-Harman: Every day?] Every day; that was all he got. From the marginal column he noticed that pork was given twice a-week in soup to the classes receiving it—the aged and infirm—in the proportion of 6 lbs. of pork to 100 rations—that was to say, the pork given twice a-week was equal to something less than one ounce of pork, which was of the fattest description, for a ration. But the aged and infirm were treated to a luxury in the shape of tea. He should say, first of all, that aged and infirm women were allowed 10 ounces of white bread for breakfast, 10 ounces of white bread for dinner, and four ounces of white bread for supper, and they were also allowed half-a-pint of milk. Tea was served in the proportion of one-eighth of an ounce to a pint. Infants under two years were allowed—that was to say, the mothers were allowed, four ounces of white bread and half-a-pint of milk for breakfast, four ounces of white bread and half-a-pint of milk for dinner. He supposed the mothers could make some kind of arrangement by which the milk was kept for the night, though nothing was allowed for supper for infants. The meal in this case took place at 12 o'clock, and after the issue of half-a-pint of milk to the infants at noon there was absolutely nothing at all served out to them until 8 o'clock the following morning. So much for the dietary of the healthy inmates. With regard to the dietary for the sick, as to which he did not intend to analyze all the details of the classification, he desired to draw the attention of the Committee to one item only—an item which was thus noted in the marginal column—"No. 3 diet, of soup, is made in the proportion of two ounces of oatmeal to a pint of water." It was undoubtedly their lot to hear at different times of odd things in the shape of food supplies in different countries; but he thought it would be admitted that a diet of soup, composed of two ounces of oatmeal to a pint of water, was very extraordinary. This, however, was what was issued to the sick inmates of the Dingle Workhouse, and it was all the more remarkable because, if they merely crossed over the border and went into the adjoining district of Killarney, they found that the dietary at the workhouse there was of a totally different character. In the Killarney Workhouse they got something like an approximation to the ordinary English dietary, meat being given on Sundays and Thursdays to certain classes of the inmates—namely, the aged and infirm males and the aged and infirm females, while a meat soup was also issued to all classes on Sundays and Thursdays, and the tea was of a strength, as gauged by the quantity of tea put into the water, which was exactly double that of the Dingle Workhouse. In fact, throughout the entire scale the dietary for the inmates of the Killarney Union Workhouse was fixed at a very much higher standard than that of the Dingle Workhouse. If the Chief Secretary could only find the time to pay a visit to the West of Ireland, where the scenery was certainly of a character that would attract anyone fond of the picturesque, and if he should then take the trouble to visit the Dingle Workhouse, he would find the inmates so emaciated and poorly nourished that they were hardly like human beings. There was a total want of physical power about them, and an evident lassitude and helplessness and air of depression, that were unnatural and horrible. As to the children they had a languid and lifeless appearance, while the class of persons classified as able-bodied males were not able-bodied, because they did not get a sufficient amount of nourishment to enable them to go through the ordinary daily exertions incidental to workhouse life, or to give them the appearance of properly developed human beings. With regard to the women who had children to nourish, they presented an appearance of attenuation and exhaustion that was truly pitiable. His own experience as a Guardian of the Poor in England had enabled him to observe the very great difference that existed between the dietary scales adopted in the workhouses of the two countries. He had been led some time ago to institute a comparison between the dietaries that were enforced in the prisons, not only of this country, but also of Ireland, and the dietary scales established in the Irish workhouses; and although he had not the figures with him at the present moment, he might state generally that he had arrived at the conclusion that if any person wished to be maintained and nourished at the public cost it was far better to commit a crime and go to an Irish gaol than remain a decent citizen in the condition of a pauper. Anyone who was guilty of crime in Ireland and sent to gaol was comparatively well-fed and in a position of luxury, as compared with the condition of an indoor pauper in the same country. At the time he had the figures before him he had submitted them to a medical gentleman of considerable eminence in London, and that gentleman analyzed the quantities set forth in the different dietary scales and drew out in figures for his (Mr. O'Connor's) information the chemical equivalents embodied in a Report which he was afraid he was not able at the present moment to put his hand upon; but the result had led him to the conclusion that the dietary scales in force in the Irish workhouses were not sufficient to maintain an ordinary human being in a state of normal health even when not called upon for any physical exertion, the quantities of carbon and hydrogen not being anything near those low figures which had been recognized as indispensable where a human being had to be maintained in a normal state of health. That being so, he desired to ask the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary if he would cause an inquiry to be made into the dietary scales in force in the workhouses in different parts of Ireland, and if he found that, in the opinion of competent medical authorities, those scales of food allowance were insufficient, he would cause representations to be made to the Boards of Guardians responsible for them in order that some remedy might be introduced? There was one other point on which he wished to offer a remark. In the case of the Dingle Workhouse, to which he had already alluded, there was a considerable outlay, and the rates of the Union were drawn upon to a very high figure; but when they endeavoured to ascertain what became of all the money they found that the incredible proportion of between one-third and one-half was spent in staff salaries and expenditure, the amount of money so expended being out of all proper proportion to the amount expended on the actual relief of the poor. And that, he wished it to be understood, was not by any means a solitary instance. He might refer the Committee to many cases in the North of Ireland, and to some in Galway, where it would be found that the proportions of expenditure were almost equally scandalous. He could state, also, that in Leinster the same sort of thing prevailed, though not quite to the same degree; but this, he would unhesitatingly assert—that if in this country it were shown that anything like the same proportion were found to exist between the staff expenditure and the expenditure required for the relief of the poor which prevailed in any of the different Unions there would be an immediate local outcry. In Ireland, however, they had unfortunately to deal with a totally different state of things. They had there no healthy state of public opinion which was capable of affecting the action of the local bodies; and while in England there would be an immediate local agitation in case of anything of a scandalous or inhuman nature being observed, in Ireland, so great was the feeling of depression, and so languid was the condition of the public mind, that the people were content to witness these things going on from year to year, and were afraid to agitate, because if they were to take such a course they would be exposed to the action of that power which had in the past enforced so many miseries upon them. The *ex officio* Guardians dominated the Boards in those Unions, so that the farmers, who were, for the most part, the elected members, and who were generally inclined to feel for the poor, were deterred from making any representations on this subject. No doubt there were cases in which the elected Guardians in the Dingle Union were very much to blame for the unfeeling way in which they begrudged anything like the assistance that was really needed by the poor; but in the western part of Kerry he did not think that that was the case. He believed there could be no doubt it was the *ex officio* Guardians who were prepared to give large salaries to their own nominees, and very unwilling to give reasonable assistance to those poor creatures who were constantly on the verge of starvation. If the Chief Secretary would undertake to look into the details he (Mr. O'Connor) had thus brought under the attention of the Committee, with a view of enforcing the adoption of something like a reasonable dietary scale in all the Unions of Ireland, he would render a very great service to that country.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, they must all be indebted to the hon. Member for the facts he had brought forward with regard to the Irish Unions. He should certainly make full inquiry into the matters to which the hon. Member had referred, and, at the same time, the hon. Member must leave it to him to decide the form the inquiry should take. He would go further, and say that he would make a personal inquiry into the subject.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he desired to state that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) had his entire sympathy in the statement he had made with reference to the insufficient scale of diet which he had shown to prevail in the Irish workhouses; but the hon. Member had, unfortunately, wound up that statement by a reference to the *ex officio* Guardians, whom he had accused of being responsible for the starved condition of the poor in the Unions he had spoken of; whereas he had stated that it was the elected Guardians who were in favour of providing a proper amount of sustenance. Now, his (Colonel King-Harman's) experience was exactly contrary to that of the hon. Member for Queen's County, as he had found that, as a rule, on Boards where the *ex officio* Guardians predominated, the poor were much better taken care of than in those cases where the elected Guardians had their way; and in saying that he referred not only to the workhouse diet, but to the relief given to the outdoor paupers. He had the honour of being Chairman of two Unions, and he found there that the elected Guardians adopted the lowest possible scale of outdoor relief, and expected the poor to live on 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* per week. The *ex officio* Guardians were, he believed, as a rule, more ready to adopt a liberal scale; but in many cases, through the influence of the elected Guardians, he was sorry to say people had died from starvation, long drawn out. It was certainly not to be put to the discredit of the *ex officio* Guardians that they were in favour of a system of starvation. With regard to the Returns that had been quoted by the hon. Member for Queen's County, he was not aware, until it had been referred to in that debate, that such a Return had been sent in. The hon. Member had stated that in consequence of the voluminous nature of that Return he had hesitated to propose that it should be printed; but he (Colonel King-Harman) thought it would only be an act of justice to have it printed, and he therefore hoped that not only would the hon. Member move to have it printed, so that it could be circulated among hon. Members, but that the Treasury would accede to that Motion when made. He had some knowledge of workhouse management in Ireland, and he must say he had been greatly shocked at the wretched scale of dietary the hon. Member had quoted as being in force in the Dingle Workhouse. He would not say that in any poor house he was acquainted with did he consider the dietary scale sufficient; but he had certainly been astonished to hear what was going on in the Dingle Union. The matter was, in his opinion, one of most vital importance, and he was glad the Chief Secretary had expressed his willingness to inquire into it. He hoped the Committee would allow him to call attention to a point put forward by the hon. Member for Queen's County, in which he most entirely concurred—namely, that the unfortunate creatures who were condemned to end their days in an Irish workhouse were not fed, nor housed, nor treated in other respects with the same amount of consideration as was shown to the criminal portion of the population, who, in the prisons where they were confined, certainly had much more luxurious hotels provided for their accommodation. In reference to the inquiry promised by the Chief Secretary, he would suggest that it should be extended to a consideration of the diet accorded to the enormous number of children reared in the Irish workhouses, as he believed it would be found that the milk supplied to them was of improper quality.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR disclaimed any intention to attack the *ex officio* Guardians or anybody else. If he had appeared to have attacked the *ex officio* Guardians, he had not done so by deliberate intention. He had certainly had no desire to attack anyone, his only wish having been to put before the Committee a plain statement of facts. He was aware that in Roscommon, in the Union of Boyle, of which the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Dublin County was Chairman, the dietary scale was 50 per cent higher than that of the Dingle Union.

COLONEL NOLAN said, the Committee were indebted to the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) for having brought forward a very important social question. The hon. Gentleman had been, he believed he was correct in saying, a Poor Law Guardian in London for some time; while the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman), who had also taken part in the debate, was Chairman of two Unions in Ireland, an honour which he (Colonel Nolan) also enjoyed. Under these circumstances, he should like to say a few words on the question before the Committee; and he wished, in the first place, to say that he could not accept the remarks of the hon. Member for Queen's County as applying to the Poor Law Unions of Ireland generally, except on one point. It might be the case that the dietary scale of the whole of the Unions throughout Ireland was not sufficient; but he was not aware that the Unions in the West of Ireland were sensibly below the average of the working population in this respect. If they were to endeavour to raise the dietary scale for the whole of the class maintained in the different workhouses, they would be creating all sorts of dangers, especially if in so doing they made the diet of the paupers better than that of the working population outside. To pursue such a course would probably beget great trouble, and the consequences might be extremely serious, for a policy of that kind might have a tendency to coax people away from the work by which they maintained themselves into the workhouses, where they would be maintained by the ratepayers. It was, therefore, to the interests of the ratepayers and society in general that they should be very careful in the way in which they dealt with this question of workhouse dietary, which certainly ought not to be above that of the working population; while, on the other hand, if they were to reduce the elements of carbon and hydrogen below what was necessary for healthy existence, they would be perpetrating an absolute cruelty. But, without attempting to go into the scientific part of the question, he was really of opinion that the workhouse dietary scale could not be sensibly below that of the normal population. With regard to the way in which the poor's rate was expended, it was well known that only a portion of the money so raised went in actual relief, a very large amount being absorbed in the salaries and office expenses which that House had been the means of imposing upon the people. There were, at least, half-a-dozen different charges that ought to fall upon the Public Exchequer which were now borne by the rates of the Union. It would be much more satisfactory if the Guardians found that the whole of the poor's rate was spent in the shape of relief. With regard to the question that had been raised as between the *ex officio* Guardians and the elected Guardians, there could be no doubt that there were some of the *ex officio* Guardians who wished to see the paupers fed as well as need be; while, on the other hand, there were elected Guardians who had very laudable and proper ideas of economy, without which he hardly knew where they would be carried. He was glad to hear the Chief Secretary promise to inquire into the question; but he thought the right hon. Gentleman should be very careful in seeing that he did not do as much mischief in one direction as he might do good in another. If the Chief Secretary would do anything to show how they could reduce the poor's rate by getting rid of the charges which did not go for the relief of the poor, and putting them on the Public Exchequer, he would confer an enormous amount of good upon the Poor Law Unions, and materially save the pockets of the ratepayers. If he (Colonel Nolan) were to say what he thought was one of the principal evils of the present system, he should say it was not the question of relief or medical attendance, but the difficulty of getting the paupers off the Union rates by teaching them trades or otherwise enabling them to earn their own livelihood, so that they might bring up their children without being thrown on the public rates. One point on which a remedy was needed was in respect of the English Poor Law system, under which people who became paupers after long residence in this country were sent back to the Irish Unions. He could mention a case in which a man who had not been in Ireland for 20 years had been so sent back from London. That man had served in the Army in Egypt, and, being rendered unserviceable, was sent home to London and thence back to Ireland. That sort of thing, which was of constant occurrence, was a great grievance in Ireland. There was one matter on which he desired to put a question to the Chief Secretary.

There was a Poor Law Union among his constituency, the Union of Oughterard, which it had been proposed to break up, and that proposal was carried at a meeting held some four or five months ago, which was called for the purpose of electing a Chairman. Most of the elected Guardians voted one way and the *ex officio* Guardians the other. Now, the popular opinion out-of-doors was against the breaking up of the Union; and he asked the Chief Secretary not to allow that Union to be broken up until there was at least the opportunity of a fresh election of Guardians, so that the sense of the ratepayers of the whole Union might be taken upon the question. He did not think the Union should be broken up simply on the action of a bare majority, unless the electors of the Union were distinctly consulted upon the matter. There was some fear that the Local Government Board might interpose and sanction the breaking up of that Union. If they did so, their action would have a bad effect. As far as he was concerned, he had no objection to the breaking up of the Union; but he thought the people ought first to be consulted. If it were broken up, there was no Union within 20 or 30 miles, and the matter was consequently one that required a good deal of consideration.

MR. GRAY said, he thought the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had well deserved the sympathy and admiration of the Committee for the gallant struggle he had made during the evening to deal with the numerous matters that had been discussed under the head of the Vote for the Local Government Board in Ireland, especially as he could not be expected to have made himself acquainted, during his brief occupancy of Office, with all the details of the Vote, while the Vote itself was one for which he was not responsible. It was not quite creditable to those who were responsible for the Vote, and who were acquainted with its details, that they should have absented themselves from the discussion. Since he (Mr. Gray) had been a Member of that House he had been present on every occasion when that Vote had been discussed, and he sincerely trusted that this might be the last occasion on which he should hear it debated—by which he did not mean to express a hope that he should not be present when the Estimates were discussed, but that a reform would be effected next year that would remove this Vote from the ken of the House of Commons, and enable it and other matters of a similar kind to be dealt with more efficiently by those who had a real interest in them, and were possessed of all the requisite knowledge concerning them. He did not intend to go over all the ground which, in the course of that debate, had been traversed by previous speakers; but there was one question—not a very important one—which he thought the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) ought to be able to deal with without any great knowledge of the administration of the Department of which he was the nominal head. He referred to the question to which attention had already been called by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who had complained of the conduct of the Local Government Board in regard to what they probably considered the outrageous proposal that Boards of Guardians should keep their banking accounts at such banks as they considered would be most advantageous to those whom they represented. Now, the right hon. Baronet was probably aware that financial proposals in Ireland were at that moment in a somewhat critical position. It was a very serious thing to find that the official Boards in the country, controlled as they were by a Minister of the Crown in Parliament here, should coerce the local representative bodies in Ireland to keep their accounts in the Government bank, boycotting the local banks. It was a serious thing that the local bodies should be compelled to keep all their accounts at the State Bank, seeing the attitude of the State Bank towards the other banks of the country. In view of the fact that the Lord Lieutenant had considered it so important that on two or three occasions since his accession to Office he had referred to the condition of Irish finance, he thought the Government should express some opinion on the point he was now raising. They should tell them whether they intended to continue this system of boycotting. The Bank of Ireland had at that moment enormous advantages over all the other Irish banks. They had, in the first place, an enormous Government issue of notes—so large an issue that they were unable to utilize it, having over notes to the extent of £1,250,000 which they were unable to get into circulation. They possessed, by law, the accounts of all the great Government institutions. The Court of Bankruptcy kept its account with them, also the Court of Chancery, to the extent of £250,000. Besides this they had other enormous financial resources. In consequence of the monopoly they enjoyed they, like all other monopolists, were not at all generous in the utilization of their resources. It was charged against them that they used their resources for political purposes. He did not propose to go into that question; but they did not occupy towards the other banks the position the Bank of England occupied towards London and English banks. They did not utilize their resources in aiding other banks, though the securities of those banks might be ample. There were some local bodies in Ireland, as, for instance, Boards of Guardians, who were not, by law, allied to the State Bank of Ireland by business; but the Local Government Board, by exercising its power of veto, compelled those Boards of Guardians, or some of them, to keep their banking accounts in the Bank of Ireland. In the case of the North Dublin Union they had done so directly and palpably to the prejudice of the ratepayers of the Union. As the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had shown, that state of things inflicted a fine of £300 a-year on the ratepayers of the North Dublin Union; and not only did it do that, but it did something which, perhaps, from a general point of view, was much more serious. The decision of the Local Government Board to refuse permission to this Board of Guardians to keep its account at the bank which suited its convenience best threw a slur on that bank, and suggested to the mind of the public that there must be something wrong about it when a Government official—no less a personage than the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, for he was responsible, and could not divest himself of his responsibility—refused to allow a Board of Guardians to do business with it. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was not aware that he was responsible; but, as a matter of fact, he was President of the Irish Local Government Board, and was practically responsible to the House for the action of that Board—far more than he was responsible for the action of the Board of Works or of any other Department save that which was peculiarly his own—namely, the Chief Secretaryship. When the Irish public knew that the Government threw a slur upon one bank by refusing to allow a Board of Guardians to keep an account in it, although the balance would never be more than £3,000 or £4,000, they naturally enough imagined that something was wrong with that bank. In that way great injustice had been done to the bank in question. This was a matter on which he (Mr. Gray) did not think the right hon. Baronet would require to consult the officials in Dublin. He could make up his mind on a point of this kind at once, and could tell them whether or not he intended to join in the system practised by late Chief Secretaries of boycotting certain Irish banks by refusing to allow Boards of Guardians to keep their accounts wherever they thought they could do so with most advantage to the ratepayers. He would urge this question on the consideration of the right hon. Baronet, not for the mere purpose of cavilling, but because, in the present financial condition of Ireland, it really was a matter of urgency. The right hon. Gentleman, he thought, ought to tell them that, unless he saw some reason to the contrary, he would compel the officials of his Department to give more discretion to the Guardians in this matter of keeping banking accounts. The right hon. Gentleman should not permit those officials to throw an unmerited slur on any Irish financial institution by refusing the permission he had referred to, and treating it in the way he had described.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, it seemed to him that his responsibilities were rapidly developing; but however they might increase he did not think hon. Gentlemen would find him disposed to evade or shirk them. The question which had just been addressed to him was a very important one, and he trusted the hon. Member would not consider him discourteous if he refrained from answering it off hand. If the hon. Member would put a question to him on the subject to-morrow or Friday, to bring the matter back to his recollection, he might be in a position to give the result of his inquiries.

MR. GRAY said, he should be quite satisfied if the right hon. Baronet would tell him that he would consider the matter. It was natural that, considering the multitude of questions the right hon. Gentleman had to answer, he should have merely alluded to this subject in his general reply. All he (Mr. Gray) wished to do was to press this particular matter on the attention of the right hon. Baronet as being somewhat urgent, and, perhaps, not so well permitting of delay as the consideration of some other matters. Of course, he had not expected to elicit an answer that night.

MR. MARUM asked for some information with regard to the expenses of the staff in connection with extraordinary services. Many of the clerks to the Unions, for instance, prepared the Jurors' and Voters' Lists; and the expenses of that work, he considered, should be thrown as an incidence of local taxation. He should not allow the matter to pass without remark—namely, that a great deal of work was done by the officials in workhouses which ought not to be thrown on them, and should be transferred to others.

MR. BIGGAR said, he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the matters affecting the conduct of Poor Law clerks in County Cavan. In one case he had to complain of the zeal for Orange institutions exhibited by a certain clerk in an official capacity; but he (Mr. Biggar) was unwilling to go very deeply into the matter, because he was convinced that by those exhibitions of zeal those Orangemen showed themselves the worst enemies of, and likely to do most injury to, the Conservative Party in Ireland. They made all the Catholics more anxious to oppose that Party—they, in fact, stimulated others to operate against them. All he would ask was that this clerk should not publicly express his great zeal for Orange institutions. The other case was a more serious one. It was in connection with the conduct of Mr. Graham, who was connected with the Cootehill Union—his conduct in reference to elections of Guardians in that Union. Mr. Graham had been connected with the Cootehill Union as clerk of the Union for a great many years. He had been kept in his position by a small majority of the Board, but had conducted himself in so outrageous a manner that not only might he have been dismissed from his office some years ago, but might have been criminally prosecuted for his conduct. He had been detected years ago in allowing a coal merchant to supply coals to the Union of a quality much inferior to that for which the Guardians paid. An inquiry was made into the matter, and this person acknowledged having taken a bribe from the contractor. If the Local Government Board had done their duty on that occasion this man would have been dismissed from his position; but, instead of dismissing him, they asked the opinion of the Guardians of the Union as to what they ought to do. The result was that a whip was sent round for the attendance of this officer's friends at the meeting of Guardians, at which his conduct was to be taken into consideration; and in the end a resolution was passed by a small majority declaring that another chance would be given him. The final result, therefore, was that he retained his position in connection with the Union. In his subsequent employment this person had been connected with many objectionable transactions in his position as Returning Officer for the elections of Poor Law Guardians. Mr. Graham had been instrumental, in connection with Mr. Boyd Montgomery, a magistrate for County Tyrone, in the falsification of returns; and the consequence was that Mr. Montgomery was struck off the Commission of the Peace, whilst the clerk of the Union got off scot free. Again, the Local Government Board should have insisted upon the man being dismissed from his office. From time to time he had put on the list of voters the names of persons who were not entitled to vote; and in a Poor Law election which took place at the beginning of the present year he actually suppressed 17 voters' papers from a particular district declaring that they had never been given in. An inquiry, however, was instituted, the voters swore that they had handed in the papers, the police gave corroborative testimony, and it was found that the clerk of the Union had suppressed these papers for the purpose of getting his friend elected. When the case was proved against Mr.

Graham the Local Government Board acted precisely as they had done in the case of the coal contract—that was to say, they asked the opinion of the Poor Law Guardians. The Guardians passed a resolution stating that they would allow the man to continue in his office. Now he (Mr. Biggar) did not think that was at all a satisfactory state of things. He thought that when an inquiry was instituted by the Local Government Board, and when a man was convicted of misconduct, he should be turned out of office. At an inquiry held by an Inspector of the Local Government Board Mr. Graham had sworn that he had never been censured on any other occasion. That was untrue. He had been censured with regard to the coal contract, and he had been dismissed from his position as clerk to the Dispensary Committee of one of the districts of the Cootehill Union. The man did not speak the truth, notwithstanding that he was on his oath. For all those considerations he (Mr. Biggar) thought the President of the Irish Local Government Board would do well to look over the evidence given on those two matters—namely, in connection with the coal contract, and also in connection with the inquiry which recently took place into his conduct in suppressing voting papers which were sworn to by the police as having been given into his hands. If the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Hart Dyke) would undertake, before the Report, to make some inquiry into the case, he (Mr. Biggar) would be perfectly satisfied. The matter was one which ought to be properly inquired into; and if the man was proved to be unfit for the position he held, he should be dismissed without hesitation. It was of the greatest importance that men in the position of Mr. Graham should be above suspicion. At any rate, the Unions in Ireland should not be served by dishonest officials.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had been furnished with details as to the particular official his hon. Friend (Mr. Biggar) had referred to; and if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would undertake to have the matter inquired into, he (Mr. O'Connor), on his part, would undertake to furnish the right hon. Gentleman with such specific information with regard to persons and dates as would furnish abundant justification for the investigation. It appeared, beyond all question, that this official was guilty of positive fraud—of embezzlement in collusion with the coal contractor. The malpractices of this person were such as ought to have secured for him his immediate dismissal when the facts were discovered. It appeared also that in consequence of misconduct which was reported to the Registrar General an inquiry was granted. It was held by Mr. Matheson, a barrister, on the 28th of January, and the result was that Mr. Graham was found guilty and dismissed from the office of Superintendent Registrar for the Cootehill Union. The evidence which he (Mr. O'Connor) held in his hand of the suppression of votes by Mr. Graham appeared to be most complete. The suppression of votes on the part of this man seemed to have been a common, a systematic act. His refusal to register people entitled to vote was general. It was impossible to read the statement and the evidence on this matter and doubt that this person had been guilty of serious and sustained dereliction of duty. He (Mr. O'Connor) would be glad to place this MSS. statement at the command of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary; and if any official would take the trouble to carefully peruse it and consider it he would have to report to the right hon. Baronet that there was abundant ground for taking action.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Sir William Hart Dyke) said, he was not aware of the circumstances of the first case alluded to by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). As the hon. Gentleman had stated, in the second case referred to representations had been made to the Government, and inquiries had been instituted. He (Sir William Hart Dyke) could corroborate the hon. Member's statement on this point from the information he possessed. It seemed to him that on one or two occasions Mr. Graham's conduct had been of a very serious nature; but, so far as he (Sir William Hart Dyke) was concerned, the case stood thus. The Irish Local Government Board had applied to the local Board of Guardians to ascertain their opinion as to Mr. Graham's conduct. The Guardians had consulted on the matter, and had passed a strong vote of confidence in their clerk; and, so far as he could ascertain, the view the Local Government Board took of the matter was this—that if the Guardians had confidence in their servant there were not sufficient grounds to dismiss him. If, however, other facts came to his (Sir William Hart Dyke's) notice on the subject he should be glad to give them full consideration. That, he was afraid, was all he could say upon the matter at present.

MR. BIGGAR said, it seemed clear to him that if the Irish Local Government Board had decided this matter on their own judgment this official would have been dismissed. The fact of the matter was that this man was a furious partizan, and that a small majority of the Board of Guardians, whose return this person was interested in effecting, were also strong partizans. One of the Guardians who had attended at the Board meeting to vote on this question of confidence in the clerk was the very person whose election was secured in consequence of the malpractices of Mr. Graham. This Guardian attended to vote in favour of the clerk. If the Government would like to go into this matter and read over the evidence, the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. O'Connor) would be happy to supply a copy of it, and also to give whatever details might be required. If the Government went impartially into this matter he was sure that this man Graham, who was really liable to be prosecuted criminally, would at least be dismissed from his office.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £36,111, to complete the sum for the Public Works Office, Ireland.

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, there was no Department in the Public Service in Ireland which gave less satisfaction than the Public Works Office. The fact was, the officials in that Department had too much to do—they had thrown on them by various Acts of Parliament more work than they could cover. There were three Commissioners in the Department who were not youthful men; but even if they had the energy of youth they would be unable to get through the work imposed upon them by the Acts of Parliament they had to administer. Anyone who was acquainted with the business of the Department would see that it was impossible for the existing staff to attend to it. They had to deal with something like 100 subjects. They had some 30 or 40 Drainage Acts to administer; and, besides this, they had matters affecting lunacy, barracks, and all sorts of things left for them to manage. Naturally it was found utterly impossible for those three men to do all the work, the consequence being that there was the greatest delay imaginable in obtaining loans; and even when loans were granted there was the greatest deficiency on the part of the Department in the matter of watching the expenditure. He called attention to this matter on account of one particular Department of the Office. It might be that the various subjects were not mentioned in the Vote; but under the Act 5 & 6 *Vict.* arterial drainage was especially put under their control, and it was referred to in the Reports of the Commissioners. The arterial drainage schemes all over the country were working badly, or, at any rate, had been working badly, for at the present time they were not working at all. The system under which money was granted for the carrying out of objects contained in local Acts of Parliament necessitated, by the language of those Acts, that any landlords who agreed as to a system of arterial drainage should jointly ask for a loan.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do I understand the hon. and gallant Gentleman to say that this Vote involves the question of land improvements?

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, he begged to hand to the Chairman a copy of the Irish Public Works Commissioners' Report. It would there be seen the Commissioners had powers, under 5 & 6 *Vict.* and 1 & 2 *Will.* IV., which referred especially to arterial drainage. The Report of the Commissioners mentioned all the Acts referred to them. At the present moment, all the Acts relating to arterial drainage in Ireland depended upon the action of the landlords; but since the passing of the Act of 1881 the landlords had had no further interest in getting drainage works carried out, so that no further powers were being asked for. It was necessary, if work of this kind was to be continued in Ireland—and Parliament had evidently thought it necessary by passing these Acts—the Government must at once take the subject in hand, and get some new Act of Parliament passed by which, in the future, the Public Works Commissioners would be able to lend money. None was being asked for now, and none would be asked for under existing Acts. He did not, however, wish to go into the question of legislation. It was with regard to the working of the Acts under which the Commissioners at present operated that he wished now to speak. At the present moment, when an engineer—perhaps a speculative engineer—had designed a drainage system over a particular piece of country that he thought required draining, he submitted his plan to a certain number of landowners in order to get their consent to it, and having obtained that a Provisional Order was secured, and an Act of Parliament. Before the Act was passed, however, it came before the Public Works Commissioners, who sent down someone to view the land and report upon the scheme. On that Report, if favourable, the Act was obtained, and the money was lent; but from the moment that was done the Commissioners seemed to give no further attention to the matter, and the operation seemed to be paying money into the pocket of the engineer who originated and designed the scheme, and whose business with the contractor was to make the work as expensive as possible. There was no check upon what it would run to. In a case with which he was familiar the estimate for the carrying out of a scheme which was approved of by the Commissioners had been £42,000; but the actual expenditure had been £76,000. That was the sum advanced, and the landlords, who had consented to be formed into a Drainage Board on an estimate of £42,000, found themselves in the end obliged to contribute their share of £76,000. In another case which had come under his notice, where a work had been estimated to cost £34,000, the gentlemen who had associated themselves as Directors of a Drainage Board managed to get £86,000 out of the Loan Commissioners. The result had been that the average of all the drainage undertakings throughout Ireland had necessitated a tax upon the land of £6 odd. In some cases it had gone up as much as £13, and all this was owing to the fact that these unfortunate individuals, the Commissioners, who had so much business to look after, had not been able to exercise proper supervision over the application of the expenditure, and had no special Department to see that the estimates were not exceeded unduly, and to look after the interests of those who were subsequently taxed to pay the money. He would ask the Government to consider the case of the Irish land taxed 13*s*. per acre in 35 years to pay the cost of arterial drainage. The drainage part of the Acts under which these schemes were carried out had only been in existence 35 years, so that the Drainage Boards had only existed for that period. In many cases this tax was more than the rent. In addition to that, the Act required the Arterial Drainage Boards to be composed of landlords; but now that the tenants had the benefit of the land it was necessary that they should pay some share of the expense. The greatest necessity of the moment in Ireland was, and had been for years, to get a good system of arterial drainage; but that, he ventured to say, would never be secured under the existing arrangements. He would add one thing more to this—namely, that if there was any new enactment for the purpose, or if, under the present law, the Board of Commissioners could be got to put an end to small District Boards, which he did not approve of, and form District Boards over large tracts of country embracing complete watersheds, so that the managing bodies might be of a comprehensive character, it would be a satisfactory reform, and an end would be put to a complicated arrangement which, at the present time, was of advantage to no one but the lawyers. He trusted that the Government would give their close attention to this subject.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he did not altogether go with the hon. and gallant Gentleman that all the evils of the present Public Works system would be cured by adding one or two additional Commissioners, with large salaries, to the Board. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had referred to arterial drainage, and that was, no doubt, a very important question in Ireland. Some small individuals in that country themselves carried out small drainage works. He thoroughly understood this question of arterial drainage, for he had paid some attention to it for a number of years, and it was a matter of great importance to Ireland. But it was thoroughly blocked in the manner which had just been stated by the hon. Member, because the landlords said—"It is not to our interest to drain the land; we are not the proprietors; we are mere rent-chargers," and the tenants had really no power. The remedy was, however, quite simple; the occupiers should be treated as the owners; and it should be decided by a majority of the occupiers whether the drainage should go on or not, and whether the country should be taxed for a system of arterial drainage. That would be a very good remedy; but there was another which he would prefer for the next two or three years, and that was a pure despotism, simply tempered with the right of petitioning. The Board of Works should decide, through competent hands, as to where a drainage scheme should be carried out. Of course, they should await petitions from the landlords and the occupiers, and with that safeguard this arrangement would work best for the next three or four years in Ireland. In any case, the present system ought to be abolished, for it was altogether futile, and a mere sham. He told the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time that this Bill would be of no use, for he knew that the landlords would not carry out the work under present circumstances. It should be left entirely to the tenant, and the tenant should be made responsible for it. Whoever received the benefit should pay the money. The present system was for two-thirds of the landlords to agree; but how could an agreement be got from them, when the greater part of them would not answer any letters on the subject? Under those circumstances, there could not possibly be a majority, and in this way all new arterial drainage had been stopped in Ireland. In some cases the existing arterial drainage was falling into disrepair, owing to the fact that the people who had control of the arterial drainage took no interest in it, because they considered that they derived no benefit from it. This was a matter which he thought the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Sir William Hart Dyke), ought to take into consideration. There was another point which was closely allied to this, and which he would like to call attention to. When the Land Act was passed, it was agreed that tenants should have loans of money. He got a promise at the time that those loans should, in some cases, be smaller in amount than was originally proposed. He thought the original limit was fixed at £100, but he got that limit reduced to £50. That sum—£50—was not what he asked for; he asked that it should be much less. However, the £50 limit had been tried, and it was found that it was not low enough. What he proposed now was that a much lower amount of loan should be granted—he would go as low as £20, or perhaps even as low as £10. This was very important. If a tenant of a £5 holding obtained a loan of £50, that loan practically swamped his holding. He might possibly walk off with the money; but he certainly could not use it legitimately, for such a holding did not require so large an amount, and the tenant could not reap that advantage from the loan which he ought to have. He (Colonel Nolan) knew the difficulty about working expenses, and that small loans of £10 or £20 could not be granted single for the same proportionate cost as larger ones; but an excellent way of providing against that difficulty would be this—that five or six tenants requiring very small loans should be called upon to group themselves together. He did not say that they should be jointly responsible for the whole amount; but they should be called upon to group themselves together, so that one inspection should do for them all, and five or six tenants should ask for a loan of £100 and have it divided amongst them. In that way, with one single inspection, the Board of Works would be able to grant a loan to five or six small men, and the loan would be paid off in the usual manner. This was a subject of very great importance—if it were not he should not recommend these small loans. He did not see why the big men should get the loans, and the little men have none at all; and, after all, it was a very small thing to do—it was a mere matter of organization to enable the system to be properly worked. He was quite aware of the expense of working and inspection; and, therefore, he would insist that there should be a grouping of the small men for the small loans. There was another objectionable rule which the Board of Works followed—a rule not objectionable with large men, but very objectionable indeed with small ones. At present, a loan could not be granted for drainage and building together. A loan could be granted for a drainage, or a loan could be granted for building; but it was impossible to get a loan for both. That was right enough when they were dealing with men who wished to raise sums of £5,000 or £6,000; but when they came to the case of the small man, who wished for £10 to improve his offices, and another £10 for his drainage, it was an unnecessary burden upon him to compel him to incur the cost of raising two separate loans. He (Colonel Nolan) thought the Secretary to the Treasury ought to adopt this system of grouping small loans together, so as to enable the benefits of those loans to go much further down; and in the case of such small loans he should allow drainage and building to be done together. Any ordinary engineer, or any man of common sense, could tell the value of the buildings and drainage in such cases—it was not a very recondite matter—and this would be a very important step of an extremely far-reaching character, reaching down to the great bulk of the people. There were ample means for getting in those loans, and if the Treasury would make the necessary arrangements they would have no large losses to face, and would be doing that which would prove a great blessing to the small men. He did not see how, under the present system, they could give any advantage which would reach the really small men. Such a thing was impossible. Tha present system was unfair and improper in every way, and ought to be remodelled. Of course, the cost of inspection was a practical objection; but he had pointed out the means of overcoming it. There was another subject which he also wished to refer to; but, as a question of Order had been raised upon it that evening, he wished to point out to the Chairman how it was strictly in Order. The Board of Works were responsible, at the present moment, for the construction of harbours; and, consequently, the question of harbours was strictly within the limits of the Vote now before the Committee. The Chairman had raised the point of Order on a previous Vote; but he (Colonel Nolan) wished to point out that the Irish Members had been in the habit ever since he had been in the House, for 10 or 12 years past, of discussing all Poor Law questions on the Vote for the Local Government Board, and all material questions which in any way affected the Board of Works on the Board of Works Vote. In fact, they had no other opportunities for discussing those matters. It would be convenient if the Committee were allowed to discuss the point he wished to raise under the present Vote. There had been some question raised about sufficient harbours, and the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) had alluded that night to the allocation of £250,000 for fishery harbours in Ireland.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I pointed out some time ago that this is not the proper opportunity for discussing the question of fishery harbours. I cannot find anything in this Vote connected with fisheries at all. I must abide by the Rules of the House, and there is no Rule which authorizes the discussion of a matter not connected with the particular Vote before the Committee. We had the fisheries discussed on a previous Vote; and I must point out to the hon. and gallant Gentleman that then was his proper opportunity, and that I will not allow him to discuss the fisheries now.

COLONEL NOLAN: Allow me, upon the point of Order, to say that I would like you, Sir, to refer to page 181 of the Estimates; and there, about the fifth line from the bottom, you will find two stars, and opposite them the words, "Temporary assistant engineers for pier and harbour works, £450." Now, the things known as pier and harbour works form exactly the question which I wish to raise; and I do not see how, with such an entry in the Estimates, I can be ruled out of Order. I am perfectly aware that you know the Rules of Order much better than I do; but it seems to me, Sir, that you do not quite know the way in which those Irish Estimates are arranged.

THE CHAIRMAN: Anything connected with the item for "Temporary assistant engineers for pier and harbour works, £450," it will, of course, be perfectly in Order to discuss; but the hon. and gallant Gentleman will not be in

Order in discussing the question of the Irish Fisheries on this Vote.

COLONEL NOLAN: I do not wish at all to discuss the question of the Irish Fisheries—that is in another Vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the hon. and gallant Gentleman confine himself to this question of the temporary assistant engineers for pier and harbour works?

COLONEL NOLAN: I will confine myself to the question of piers and harbours. I will go further than that, and say I do not wish to discuss the question of piers and harbours in general, even though I think that should come strictly under this Vote. Several hon. Members wish to raise this question, and I am in an awkward position. What I want to point out is that there was originally a sum for the very large item of £250,000.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! £250,000 for temporary assistant engineers? I wish the hon. and gallant Gentleman to understand that I cannot, consistently with the Rules of the House, permit him now to discuss the policy of piers and harbours in Ireland. It was fully discussed in the preceding Vote, and now the hon. and gallant Gentleman must confine himself to this item of £450 for the pay of temporary assistant engineers.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I rise to Order. Would it not be competent for any hon. Member to discuss the administration by the Board of Works of the provisions of the Acts of Parliament quoted in the heading to the Vote, from 1 & 2 *Will.* IV. to 44 & 45 *Vict.* c. 49? And if those Acts do provide for the establishment of piers or the advance of funds for piers or harbours, would it not be competent to discuss such piers and harbours?

THE CHAIRMAN: It would be in Order to discuss those loans which are specifically brought under the Vote; but I understand that the hon. and gallant Gentleman proposes to discuss the question of piers and harbours, which was fully discussed on a preceding Vote, Notice having been given that that was the proper Vote on which to take the discussion. It would be altogether disregarding the authority of the Chair to discuss that now. It would be contrary to rule and trifling with the Committee; and I have therefore ruled that the hon. and gallant Gentleman must confine himself to the discussion of the item of £450 in the Vote.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I trust that you will not suppose for a moment that I was trifling with the Committee when I made the suggestion. I merely ventured to submit to you whether the functions of the Board of Works Office in Ireland could not be discussed in so far as they are limited by the Acts quoted in the heading to this Money Vote? But I do not in the least desire to trifle with the Committee or to waste its time.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the hon. and gallant Gentleman were to discuss under this Vote the affairs of all the matters to which the loans might be applied he would travel very widely beyond the purpose of the Vote, and there would be no end to the discussion. It is not competent on this item of £450 to discuss the whole policy of the piers and harbours in Ireland, which was very fully discussed on a previous Vote.

COLONEL NOLAN then proceeded with his remarks. He said he should have considerable difficulty in making himself clear to the Committee under the restriction which the Chairman had placed upon him; but, as he had already had some conversation on the subject with the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), possibly that hon. Baronet would understand him even though he was compelled to approach the question from a very difficult point of view. He was obliged to approach the subject from a very technical point of view, and the technical point from which he would approach it was the point of contract. He wished to point out that the contracts for these piers and harbours were much lower than the estimates which the Board contemplated. It was very difficult to argue the point under the restriction placed upon him; but he would endeavour to meet the difficulty as well as he could. The piers and harbours were estimated by the Board of Works to cost a certain sum of money.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I must remind the hon. and gallant Gentleman that I have already ruled that he cannot proceed in this way. He must really confine himself to the item of £450 if he wishes to deal with piers and harbours at all, and he must not go into the general subject.

Colonel NOLAN proceeded to say that he believed the two gentlemen referred to in the item of £450 were gentlemen of extremely superior ability, and very valuable officials. He believed they were two gentlemen that he had the honour to know, and he had some knowledge of their professional attainments; but, nevertheless, he felt bound to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £450. The reason why he should move this was that the Estimate was too high. He hoped those two gentlemen would not think that he made the Motion out of any opposition to them. It was a very important matter indeed to see that the Estimates were not too high, when they had Estimates for about £100,000 worth of harbours, and those Estimates were about £20,000 higher than they should be. If the other contracts were similarly lower than the Estimates of the engineers of the Board of Works, there would be a difference of about £30,000, or £40,000 between the contracts and the amount of expenditure estimated by the Board of Works. In fact, there would be a saving of about £30,000, owing to false Estimates on the part of the Board of Works. He did not know whether he was out of Order, but he thought not, in pointing out that the Estimate was too high, and that the Secretary to the Treasury would have about £30,000 or £40,000 at his disposal in consequence. He did not see why that fact should occasion any delay in allotting the money, or why they should have to wait two or three years before it was allotted to the different harbours in Ireland. He would, therefore, suggest to the Secretary to the Treasury that he should take this important question into consideration, and that he should allow, in estimating the money to be allotted to piers and harbours, a sum of about £30,000, which the Chairman and the Secretary of the Board had over-estimated. He hoped they would have a better opportunity at some future time of discussing this question more fully, for it was his intention to oppose all these Votes on Report and in the Appropriation Bill, or whenever he could a proper opportunity. He regretted that he had been obliged to review this subject in a very mutilated form, owing to the extremely unusual and very inconvenient ruling of the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. and gallant Gentleman must not comment on the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. MARUM said, there was no branch of the law in Ireland which was in such a state of utter confusion as that relating to drainage. In 1882 a Consolidation Act was brought in by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), who was then Secretary to the Treasury; and he (Mr. Marum) then pointed out that in the definition of a "district" the hon. Gentleman seemed to be quite unacquainted with the Irish people and their ways, and also in the definition of "holder," for copyholders were set down as holders. He (Mr. Marum) thought by that that a real statutory copyhold was intended; but it was no such thing, and the hon. Member for Liskeard said he would consider the matter. The Bill was again brought in in the following year in identical terms, and the statutory tenants, because they were not leaseholders, instead of being allowed a voice, were thrown out altogether. Another matter to which he wished to call attention was this—the landlords declared that it was difficult enough to collect the rents, without having to collect the rates as well. That was one reason why it had been impossible to obtain the 50 per cent of assents which were necessary to carry out the working of the drainage schemes. At a meeting with which he (Mr. Marum) was concerned, the tenants agreed that the rates should be paid by the tenant in the first instance and deducted afterwards. Another resolution passed was that the drainage rate should be collected by the poor rate collector, and that the owners in fee should have nothing to do with it. The hon. Member for Liskeard asked him to embody those views in clauses, and he did so; but when the Bill was brought in it did not contain a single word about them. On those two very important matters nothing whatever had been done. He put it to the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury that there was no branch of the law in Ireland in such a state of inextricable confusion as that which related to drainage. That was very much to be regretted, and he trusted the hon. Baronet would look into the very important matters which had been brought forward by his hon. Friends.

MR. MOLLOY pointed out that this question had assumed very great importance. Large sums of money had been spent by the occupiers of land on the borders of one river for the purpose of improving the drainage. The Trustees were landlords who had no interest whatever in the drainage of the land, and the consequence was that the land, which was formerly worth 60*s.* or 50*s.* an acre, was now only worth 5*s.* an acre. Quite recently the occupiers took steps to have the drainage improved, and appealed to the Trustees to carry out the work which they, as Trustees, should have carried out before. They made several appeals, and meetings were called in order that a conclusion might be arrived at on the subject. Two engineers sent in offers to do the work, and there was a third who telegraphed from Dublin that he could not undertake it. It would hardly be believed that the Trustees did not appoint either of the engineers who were ready to do the work, but actually appointed the man who said he could not undertake it. They did so, however, and they also apportioned to him the sum of £20 for the purpose of getting a Report. A second meeting was held for the purpose of displacing the engineer who had been appointed, and to consider the appointment of a second engineer. The occupiers had done all in their power to obtain some satisfaction from the Department on account of which the present Vote was asked; they wrote to the Board of Public Works asking for an examination; the Board of Works returned despatches, and the Trustees held meetings, and it was stated that they were going to obtain a loan. But they had not obtained it, and the result would be that the people on the banks of the river, who were entitled to have the drainage carried out and their land rendered thereby of some worth to them, would receive no satisfaction. The effect of this obstructive action would be that the whole matter would be thrown over for another 12 months, as it had been before. That, he said, was a very great hardship, because, as he had already pointed out, the land was utterly valueless to the occupiers, inasmuch as instead of being, as formerly, worth from 50*s.* to 60*s.* an acre, it was now only worth a nominal sum. It was under those circumstances that he asked the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury to see whether he could induce the Board of Works in Ireland to compel the Trustees to carry out the necessary works.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, with reference to the point brought forward by the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy), that if the hon. Member would furnish him with particulars, he would inquire into the matter. He did not for a moment underrate the importance of this question of arterial drainage in Ireland. He found from the last Report of the Commissioners of Public Works that their duties and powers at present were somewhat confined. The Commissioners stated that in respect to the matter of maintenance their functions were confined to advising the Trustees, and to distributing the charge amongst the proprietors of land in the district. As he understood, some Members would wish to see larger powers vested in the Commissioners. The Committee would remember that a Consolidating Bill, which would have had, he believed, the effect of enlarging the powers of the Commissioners, had failed to meet with the support it deserved. He should certainly desire that a similar Bill should be introduced next Session; and there would then be afforded an opportunity to the hon. Member for Kilkenny (Mr. Marum) to propose the alterations of the existing law which he considered necessary. The same observation applied to the remarks of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer). He did not see that there would be any opportunity of dealing with the subject in this Session; but he should be glad if anything could be done next Session for the purpose of improving the drainage system in Ireland. That was all he could at present say on this matter. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) had referred to the Loan Act, and to some Amendments which he thought might be introduced with regard to the working of that Act. He (Sir Henry Holland), speaking off-hand and without having had an opportunity of considering the question, thought that there seemed to be some force in what the hon. and gallant Member had put forward—namely, that tenants should be able to get loans for smaller sums than were granted under the Act, but that those smaller loans should not be granted unless the tenants combined together, so that one application might do for all. The other suggestion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, which seemed also worthy of consideration, was that one portion of the loan might be applied to buildings and the other to drainage. He (Sir Henry Holland) did not see why the loan should not be distributed in that way. The question, however, was one which must have been considered, and he assumed that there were practical difficulties in the way.

Colonel NOLAN asked, on a point of Order, for a ruling as to whether he would be able to discuss the question of harbours on the Report of the Vote? He was aware that the Speaker was not bound by the decision of the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN said, it was quite unnecessary for him to rule on the point of Order raised by the hon. and gallant Member. When any question arose he ruled it at the time. Mr. Speaker was responsible for his ruling, and he (the Chairman) was responsible for his ruling.

Vote *agreed to.*

Mr. PARNELL said, there were five Votes for Ireland upon which discussion would arise, and he should be glad to know whether the hon. Baronet would postpone them? He did not think, looking at the lateness of the hour, that they would be able to finish the discussion on the Vote for Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland, at that Sitting. There were, however, several non-contentious Votes that might be proceeded with.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY said, that the Votes on which the hon. Gentleman had said there would be some discussion would be taken on Wednesday.

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(4.) £66,222, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland.

Mr. GRAY said, he wished to draw the attention of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland to a matter very small in itself, but of considerable importance to those concerned in it. By a recent Regulation made by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue an Office had been opened in the Four Courts, Dublin, for the purpose, as was stated, of selling stamps and collecting duty. Those who were in the habit of selling the stamps previously raised no objection at first; but subsequently the office adopted a system of selling other stamps, forms, and papers, and those were sold at about half the price which commercial firms in Dublin who had hitherto sold them were able to afford, because, of course, a great Public Department could, by buying large quantities of goods at cost price, and by being content with a nominal profit, always enter into competition with and undersell private firms. He was not aware that there were any reasons of State why that should be done in Dublin; but, as a matter of fact, the Commissioners had entered into a trade competition with the law stationers of Dublin, whom it was, of course, easy to drive out of the field by State competition. But he asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether that was a class of commercial enterprize which held out any hope of great profit or great advantage to the Government, and whether it would not be better to revert to the principle of allowing the ordinary business of the country to be carried on in the usual way? Some months ago a number of the law stationers concerned presented a Memorial on the subject to the late Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hibbert), who in reply said that the documents were sold at a profit. They might be sold at a very moderate profit, and yet at such a price as an ordinary trader could not afford. Again, although there might be a reason for selling stamps, there was no conceivable reason for selling unstamped documents in Government Offices, and for cutting out ordinary traders who could not carry on business in the same way. One law stationer had written to him a few days ago to say that, in consequence of the change, he had had to destroy and sell as waste for next to nothing over two tons of printed legal forms which he had in stock and which had cost a very considerable sum. The law stationers only made a fair commercial profit on their sales; and he was sure that the Attorney General for Ireland would bear him out in saying that no complaint had been made by the members of the Legal Profession in Ireland as to the way in which the law stationers of Dublin carried on their business; and why they should be obliged, by the Regulation referred to, to enter into a ruinous competition with a Government Office, he had no means of knowing. He hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman would be able to say that henceforward those documents should be sold at a fair trade price, or, at all events, that the matter should be taken into consideration.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, that the law stationers in Dublin, so far as his experience went, had always carried on their business in a satisfactory manner. He presumed that the reason which led to the sale of unstamped documents at the Office at the Four Courts, Dublin, was that it would be for the convenience of practitioners who attended the Courts. The hon. Member had said that a Memorial had been presented to the late Secretary to the Treasury on the subject, and he would take an opportunity of looking into it, and if the circumstances were such as to show that there was a grievance, he had no doubt the arrangement would be altered.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that some of the items in this Vote appeared to be very much in the nature of illegal payments, inasmuch that they related to appointments made in defiance of the Act of Parliament.The Comptroller and Auditor General had made some comments upon those appoinments, as appeared on the face of the Estimates, and he thought the Treasury ought to see that such remarks from the Comptroller and Auditor General were unnecessary in future, and that some notification would be given to that effect. He trusted that the Department would be instructed that in distributing the pay they should confine themselves as much as possible to the provisions of the Act of Parliament.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, his attention had not been called to this matter before; but it should be looked into. There did certainly appear to be some irregularity with respect to the appointment.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £7,500, to complete the sum for the Court of Bankruptcy, Ireland.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he should like to have an explanation of the increase of £300 under Sub-head B for Costs of Official Assignees? He was not aware of any perquisites which would account for this increase.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, the amount of a Supplementary Estimate presented in August last had not been struck out of the Estimates, but the error was corrected in the Resolution.

MR. SEXTON said, he believed that an Official Assignee, who had been in the Public Service for many years and enjoyed a salary, had suddenly disappeared from his Office and left no trace behind him. He read in the newspapers that after the lapse of two months he as suddenly re-appeared. Whatever might be the explanation of the matter, it remained one of mystery. He believed that an investigation had been ordered and undertaken by a professional gentleman in Dublin, which examination, however, had been discontinued. The reason given for the discontinuance of the investigation was that there was no fund available for the purpose of the inquiry. But surely the right hon. and learned Gentleman would admit that the absence of the fund must have been patent to the authorities when the investigation was commenced. If there was no fund, why did they begin the investigation, and, having begun it, why did they discontinue it on the ground that there was no fund? He asked what was the result of the examination of the accounts?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, he was not aware of the result of the investigation; but he would refer the matter to the authorities.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £785, to complete the sum for the Admiralty Court, Registry, Ireland.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that although there might be some Admiralty cases in Ireland, the number would be insignificant, and it must be altogether unnecessary to keep up the Court. At one time it was very unpopular. He should like to know whether it could not be embodied with some other Court? In Ireland the Admiralty Court, it seemed to him, might very fairly be embodied with either of several other Courts. He should like to have an explanation from the right hon. and learned Attorney

General for Ireland as to why it was necessary to keep it up.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) stated that this had ceased to be an unpopular Court. There was no restriction now as to the advocates who practised before it. As soon as a vacancy in the Judgeship occurred this Court would be merged in the Probate and Matrimonial Division of the High Court of Justice, under the provisions of the Judicature Act. Inasmuch as the salary of the Judge must be paid as long as he lived, it was as well to avail themselves of his services as long as possible.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that, pending the absorption, if the heads of the Department went on appointing clerks and assistant clerks, tipstaffs, and so on, there would be large pensions and commutations to pay people on the final abolitition of the Court. That was the way the expenditure mounted up in the Civil Service in England. The Government said a Court or a Department or a branch of a Department ought to be done away with or abolished after the death of a particular man, and in the meantime they went on appointing to all the subordinate offices, and the consequence was that when, eventually, the Judge or the Head of the Department died, all the junior men had to be compensated. Those juniors were very often young men who went into the Service knowing that they would soon be compensated, and that then they could obtain other employment. He (Colonel Nolan) thought that, in Offices which were about to be abolished, when a subordinate retired or resigned, his place should not be filled up, otherwise they were enormously and ridiculously increasing the charges on the Estimates. He should like to know from Her Majesty's Government whether it was intended to go on appointing subordinates in connection with the Irish Admiralty Court now that they knew that the Court was to be abolished?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, that no new appointment to any of the subordinate offices had been made since 1877. He could not, however, say what course would be followed in the event of a vacancy arising. If vacancies arose, it would be a matter for serious consideration whether some of the duties of the officials of the Admiralty should not be transferred elsewhere.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £12,510, to complete the sum for the Registry of Deeds, Ireland.

MR. GRAY said, that a complaint was made last year with regard to the management of this Office, and a Committee was appointed by the then Government to investigate the matter. He had taken the liberty of writing to the Government to ask for the Report, which took the form of a Treasury Minute, and that Minute should have been on the Table of the House for 40 days. He had received an explanation, which was satisfactory so far as it went; but the result to the officers of the Department was that all promotion had been suspended for the past 12 months, and those gentlemen were in a worse position than they would have been in if no investigation had ever taken place. The officers complained of the slowness of their promotion and the inadequacy of their pay. The result of their grievance being inquired into was that they now got no promotion and no increase of pay. He earnestly trusted that the Treasury Minute would lie on the Table of the House in the next Session of Parliament. What had been the cause of the delay in presenting it he could not say, but he hoped the House would be permitted to see it next Session. The gentlemen on whose behalf he was speaking were in the position of not knowing what their prospects were. At present they had all chance of promotion barred against them, in consequence of the investigation which had taken place. A week or a fortnight would have been ample for that investigation; but seeing that the Committee was appointed in January, and that they were now nearly in August, it was an extraordinary thing that they knew nothing of the inquiry.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, the Government understood now that the Committee would report in August. When they did, the matter would receive immediate attention. The Report ought certainly to be laid on the Table next Session.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £1,538, to complete the sum for the Registry of Judgments, Ireland.

(9.) £90,817, to complete the sum for the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

MR. GRAY said, he did not wish to raise a very long discussion on this Vote; but really it was a very remarkable one, and one which should not be allowed to pass without a word of comment and protest from an Irish Member. The Dublin Metropolitan Police was exclusively a Governmental or Imperial Force, so far as its management and control were concerned. All the towns in England, with the exception of London, managed their own police, and were able to control the force for ordinary municipal purposes; but the Metropolitan Police in Dublin were a Governmental Force, and were not available for municipal purposes, save the maintenance of order in the streets. He would like to direct attention to the enormous cost of that Force. The Estimate for the present year was a contribution from the Imperial Exchequer of £145,148—it was £146,000 last year—but, in addition to that, the locality had to provide £52,000; so that, in round figures, the Metropolitan Police in Dublin cost £200,000 a-year. That enormous sum only supported something less than 1,000 constables, and, manifestly, the charge was a most extravagant one for such a result. He (Mr. Gray) had had the honour to sit upon the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the subject of the housing of the poor; and before that Commission the Dublin Corporation had declared that, if they had the management of the police of the City, they would be much more useful for sanitary and municipal purposes, and that they would be able to maintain the Force for almost the amount they had now to pay as a partial contribution towards it. The £145,000 contributed by the State was thrown away, for out of the money levied from Dublin itself an efficient force for the protection of that Metropolis could be maintained. He failed to see why Dublin should not be permitted to manage its own police force, just as Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and Edinburgh managed theirs. He failed to see why the State should be called upon to pay £145,000 for the maintenance of such an indifferent Force as this. £200 a-head for the Force was paid by the State and the locality—a strong example of the enormous expenditure which always took place when the Central Government attempted to manage local institutions which could be much better managed by the localities themselves. Eightpence in the pound was levied in Dublin for the management of the Force; but indirect taxes were levied for their maintenance. There was the Carriage Duty charged on all hackney carriages plying for hire. In every place in the United Kingdom except Dublin charges of that kind went to the municipality as a contribution towards the maintenance of the roads that were used by the carriages; but in Ireland the Imperial Exchequer took hold of the local Carriage Duty and put it into the Consolidated Fund as a contribution towards the maintenance of the police. Then there were various charges and fines levied in the Police Courts for various classes of petty offences. In other parts of the United Kingdom those charges went to the borough fund towards the rates; but the Government took them all in Ireland. It took the fines for drunkenness and petty offences, and put them into the Consolidated Fund. There was one tax peculiarly cruel, to which he wished to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary—because, though they might continue to take the Carriage Duties, the Police Court fines, and the publicans' Licence Duties, all of which were peculiarly local contributions, he thought the right hon. Gentleman ought to take into his serious consideration the circumstances of this particular levy on Dublin City. The pawnbrokers of Dublin had to pay £100 a-year each for their licences. Those gentlemen, he believed, were perfectly content to pay that sum—in fact, they said it kept the trade respectable; that was to say, it kept it in a comparatively small number of hands. The effect, of course, was that pawnbroking facilities in Dublin were not as nearly so good as they were in other parts of the United Kingdom. This tax levied on pawnbrokers was, in fact, levied on those who used the pawnbrokers' establishments—that was to say, it was a tax levied on the very poorest class of the entire community. People might decry pawnbroking as they liked, and declare that very often the pawnshop was used for the purpose of procuring drink; but those who best knew the habits and necessities of the poor knew that the pawnbroker was very often of very great assistance to the almost destitute in their hour of need, and that the pawnbroker was, in fact, the banker of the poor. It was, therefore, a cruel thing to levy on Dublin of all towns in the United Kingdom this enormous duty, a duty which fell on the very poorest. He did not suppose the right hon. Baronet knew anything of this—it would be unreasonable to expect that having only just succeeded to the post of Chief Secretary he should have a definite knowledge of the matter. He (Mr. Gray), however, would press the subject upon the attention of the right hon. Gentleman and the Committee, for he believed that if they realized what a cruel injustice this comparatively petty levy in Dublin was to a poor and defenceless class they would, if the State was to continue to maintain the police as an Imperial Force, so far as this £3,000 or £4,000 a-year was concerned, seek some other means of raising it than levying it upon the people who were least able to bear such an exceptional burden.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): I can assure the hon. Member that several points he has raised will receive my best attention.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he thought it would be advisable to point out to the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury that there were two entries in the Estimates, one having reference to the Comptroller and Auditor General, and the other to the Dublin Metropolitan Police, which showed in one paragraph that the provisions of an Act had been overriden. In another paragraph financial irregularities were shown. It was right to bring these matters before the notice of the Secretary to the Treasury, because it seemed to him that the Acts of Parliament relating to the expenditure of money in Ireland were set at defiance. According to the Comptroller and Auditor General the provisions of the Act had been overridden, not occasionally, but habitually. He thought the point was one worth noticing.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, he was not aware of the point taken by the Comptroller and Auditor General; but sometimes those matters were found to be capable of explanation before the Public Accounts Committee.

Vote *agreed to.*

(10.) £4,347, to complete the sum for Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Ireland.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(11.) £1,213, to complete the sum for the Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland.

MR. SEXTON said, he wished to ask one question on this Vote. In former years it had been the practice to allow a sum of from £7,000 to £10,000 for the purpose of making payments of retiring gratuities to National teachers in Ireland; but since the pension scheme came into operation those yearly payments on the Estimates had been discontinued or had dwindled down to a very small sum. The pension scheme had been floated out of the surplus of the Irish Church Fund. There was a strong desire on the part of the teachers to appeal to the Government to consider whether the annual payment of this £7,000 or £8,000 should not be continued in aid of pensions. The ages at which pensions were paid were 60 and 65; but he thought that they should be altered to 55 and 60. He thought also that the retiring gratuities should be continued. He considered it a mean and shabby thing for the Government to take advantage of the Irish Church Fund to relieve the National Exchequer. Would those payments be continued?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, the question was under consideration, and he did not know what was likely to be done.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) was mainly responsible for the attempt to carry out the arrangement the hon. Member (Mr. Sexton) had referred to. The attempt had broken down in its operation, and the National teachers had some confidence that the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) would try to find out means for enabling legislation to pass on the subject in that House.

COLONEL NOLAN said, it did seem hard for teachers to have to wait until they were 60 or 65 before they were allowed to draw pensions. If the same practice were adopted in other Departments it would not, perhaps, be so hard on the teachers; but they knew that in other Departments the age of retirement in many cases was 40 and 45. In fact, in some cases in the Army the officers retired earlier. The teachers saw themselves obliged to work on until they were 60 or 65, and that had not only a bad effect on those who might wish to be retired, but it had a bad effect on the promotion of junior teachers. There had been some calculations made showing that the sum at the disposal of the Government out of the Church Surplus Fund was inadequate to allow the teachers to retire earlier; but, as his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had pointed out, if this sum of £7,000 or £8,000 were granted by the Treasury—and it would not be a fresh charge, for it had already been paid out of the National Exchequer—and were put with the amount derived from the Church Surplus Fund for pensions, which was at present insufficient for the purpose, a sum adequate to the necessities of the case might be the result. There was a similar case to this under another Estimate which he wished to refer to. When the allotment in respect of teachers' salaries was made out of the Irish Church Surplus Fund, a similar sum had been taken by the Treasury for another Department. So that the allotments from the Church Surplus Fund to interests in Ireland—whether to teachers or others—had all been for the benefit of the Treasury; and he thought that, under the circumstances, the Treasury might fairly increase the pensions so as to put the teachers in a somewhat better position than they enjoyed at the present moment, and enable them to retire at the age of 50 and 55, instead of 60 and 65.

Vote *agreed to.*

(12.) £470, to complete the sum for the Endowed Schools Commissioners, Ireland.

(13.) £1,701, to complete the sum for the National Gallery of Ireland.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the extremely meagre sum—he thought about £1,000—which was granted for the purchase of pictures in Ireland. He did not see why the people of Dublin should not have an opportunity of looking at pictures just as the people of London had. He did not wish to be unreasonable and say that the people of Dublin should have as much money allowed them for the purchase of pictures as the people of London. He quite recognized that London, with its 4,000,000 inhabitants, had a right to a much larger sum than Dublin with its 300,000; but he did not see why the money could not be voted in fair proportion. How much had been allotted to the English National Gallery this year? He had been told that the other day the Government gave £80,000 for two pictures for the London National Gallery. They were excellent pictures, no doubt, and he did not say that they were not worth the money given for them; but when they had £80,000 allotted to England in one year, it did seem to him that the allotment of only £1,000 to Dublin was not a fair proportion. If Dublin had a fair proportion, from the point of view of population, she would receive £6,000 or £7,000. The hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury would say that this was an exceptional year, and that the ordinary amount given to the English National Gallery would not, as a rule, be more than £7,000 or £8,000. However, he certainly would like to see a number of good pictures in Dublin. He should like some Member of the Government connected with the Board of Works, or whoever was responsible for the National Gallery, to verify a statement he had heard. He had heard that a large number of pictures were packed up in the National Gallery—in the cellars of that place—and were, consequently, of no use to anyone. He should think the pictures would be much more liable to damage in the cellars than if they were on the walls of some Gallery. If that statement was true—and he had either been told of it or had read it—he thought it would be only fair to allow one or two Irish and Scotch Members, and Members from Lancashire, from Birmingham, or other parts of the Provinces, to verify the matter; and if they found those pictures in the cellars, there was no reason why they should not be taken to Dublin, Edinburgh, or some to one place and some to another. At any rate, the pictures should do their proper duty of instructing the people, and that they would do in those Provincial towns much more efficaciously than if packed up and put away in the cellars of the National Gallery in London. He should like the Minister representing the Board of Works to say whether there were any pictures in the National Gallery which were not on the walls? If there were, he would propose that they should be temporarily distributed amongst some of the other important towns of the United Kingdom.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, the sum relating to the Irish Academy, to which the hon. and gallant Member referred, had been voted since 1871 down to 1882. Whenever there was a special picture the National Gallery of Dublin desired to purchase, they applied for a special grant, and some arrangement was made. As to the pictures put away in the National Gallery, he believed there were a certain number in what were called the cellars, and that was why, he understood, that large structural additions were being made to the National Gallery. The matter, however, did not rest with the Secretary to the Treasury, but with the Trustees of the National Gallery.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he would appeal to the Minister responsible. He believed the Minister representing the Board of Works had to do with the matter. He would ask whether Dublin could not have some of the pictures in the cellars of the National Gallery? He would not for a moment exclude Edinburgh, or other Provincial towns, from any arrangement which was made for the distribution of these pictures.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman appealed to him and declared that it was desirable that he should cause some pictures in the National Gallery to be transferred to Ireland. Personally, he (Mr. Plunket) should be very glad to transfer pictures in that way; but, unfortunately, he had no power whatever in the matter. His authority extended only over the National Gallery building, in which the pictures were located, and he did not suppose that the hon. and gallant Gentleman would desire him to transfer that to Ireland. That, however, was all he had authority over; but if the hon. and gallant Member would make application on the subject to the Trustees of the National Gallery, he would promise him his support and sympathy.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he did not altogether sympathize with the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Nolan) in desiring that a few of the worst pictures in the National Gallery, which had been sent down to the cellars of that Institution, should be given to Ireland. He did not think the people of Dublin would care to have those pictures unearthed by such a paltry show of generosity. They did not want any cast-off pictures. But the question which the hon. and gallant Member had raised as to the utter absurdity of devoting £1,000 to works of Art for Ireland, whilst £80,000 or £90,000 was spent in the same way for England, was a thing which ought to be ventilated and condemned. He did not consider it any proof of the desire of the Government to treat the two countries on terms of equality. He thought that if there were any more good pictures in the market which could be bought for £70,000 or £80,000, they ought to be purchased for Ireland. He remembered very well the discussion which had taken place in Committee with reference to the purchase of a picture for £70,000 or £80,000, when it was suggested that if the Irish Members acquiesced—as they ultimately did—in the purchase, they should be occasionally transferred from London to Dublin for the benefit of the people of the latter City, and to Edinburgh for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Scotch capital. He should like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works whether it was the intention of the present Government to carry out the expressed determination of the late Government in this matter, and whether they would cause those pictures, which had cost such a vast sum of money, and which were now in the National Gallery, to be sent for a portion of the year for exhibition to Dublin and Edinburgh for the benefit of the Irish and the Scotch public? When the purchase of those recently-acquired pictures was being discussed, the suggestion to which he was referring was thrown out and was met by the late Government in a friendly manner. £70,000 or £80,000 was a vast sum to pay out of the National Exchequer for two pictures. No doubt they were worth it; but when such a sum was spent out of the funds of the United Kingdom, it was altogether unfair that the benefit of the expenditure should be confined exclusively to London. Would the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) inform him as to whether it was the intention of the present Government to transfer those pictures for a portion of the year to Dublin and Edinburgh? If he could not answer in the affirmative, it was very likely that very strong opposition would be offered to any future expenditure on pictures for the National Gallery.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, he wished to point out that the pictures referred to by the hon. Member were of very great value. If the course suggested could be safely undertaken, he should be very glad to agree to it; but it must be remembered that a picture which had cost £50,000—[An hon. MEMBER: £70,000.] The two were bought together. [An hon. MEMBER: One cost £70,000!] That was all the better for his argument. It would be rather a dangerous thing to allow a picture which had cost such a sum as that to spend a large portion of its time travelling between London and Dublin, Dublin and Edinburgh, Edinburgh and London, and so on. He should be glad to do anything he could to encourage and develop Art in Ireland, but he certainly thought that pictures so valuable as those should not be sent travelling about the country. If the pictures were to go to Dublin and remain there permanently, well and good; let them go and remain there. But as they were bought for the National Gallery in London, he thought it would be a dangerous thing to remove them. They did not find other capitals sending pictures out of the Galleries to which they belonged. [Colonel NOLAN: Oh, yes, you do.] The hon. and gallant Member for Galway said they did. He should like to know whether the hon. and gallant Member had ever seen the "Transfiguration" in any other place than Rome? If he had, he (Sir Robert Fowler) would be glad to listen to the hon. and gallant Member. Pictures of this kind always remained in the Galleries in which they were placed; and he certainly thought the suggestion of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. W. Redmond) was impracticable, and quite incapable of being carried out.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that the right hon. Baronet had appealed to his recollection of modern Art Galleries. It could not be expected that he should go through all the important works in Europe; but certainly, if his memory served him right, he had seen valuable pictures in Paris which had made the journey from Seville for the purpose of temporary exhibition. [Sir ROBERT FOWLER: During the war!] One of those transfers had taken place during the war, but he had seen one of those pictures in Paris after the war. Besides this, he had heard that pictures had been carried long distances—from Venice to Paris, for instance—for purposes of exhibition. The journey between Venice and Paris was a much more dangerous journey than that between London and Dublin. He could not agree with the hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. Redmond) who objected to pictures being sent over to Dublin from the cellars of the National Gallery. Damage was being done to those pictures in the cellars of the National Gallery, and it would be surely better to send them out for purposes of exhibition than to keep them hidden and suffering damage. But that was not the most important point. The Government, he thought, should put down £10,000 for Fine Arts in Dublin. He did not profess to be an authority on Fine Arts himself, though he quite saw how useful they were whether in the Galleries of this country or the Galleries of Ireland. So far as he understood the matter, he believed the mass of the population in Ireland were more inclined to visit Picture Galleries and received more benefit from them than the mass of the English people.

Vote *agreed to.*

(14.) £1,000, to complete the sum for the Royal Irish Academy.

MR. HEALY said, he had several times put questions with regard to the condition of the Annals of Ulster, and he had more than once been assured that they were about to be completed. He found, however, that the matter had now dropped out of the Estimates. An arrangement, he believed, had been made by which the Council of the

Academy could carry on the work with the materials at their disposal, and the Government had always given a pledge that it was on the point of completion. He had great respect for the Royal Irish Academy, but he did think that a little more vigour required to be infused into some of its members. No one in the Academy seemed to know anything about the Annals. Mr. Isaac Butt had been refused admission on the Body; also Mr. A. M. Sullivan and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray). In that way the Academy was practically a close Corporation. He did not wish to go into that question; but he did think that some more life required to be infused into the work carried on by the Academy. The Academy was properly supported by the Government, and was a most important institution. It deserved all the support it could get, yet he did think that some little stimulus—by money or in some other way—was required to induce its members to carry out the great historical labours for which the Institution had been founded. In the case he had referred to, the Academy had been years and years at the work. Some of the members were very old and could not put on steam to any great extent. He believed that something like unnecessary delay had taken place, and that probably the work would be expedited by granting a larger sum of money.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, everyone regretted that the delay the hon. and learned Gentleman referred to had taken place; and it was, no doubt, generally desired that a desire for more expedition should be infused into the Body. A representation should be made to them on the subject.

Vote *agreed to.*

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question is that I report these Resolutions to the House.

MR. SEXTON said, that on that Question he wished to call attention to Vote 18 in this Class—the Vote for the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. This was always an important subject, but this year it acquired special importance, because the authorities of the Catholic Church in Ireland had passed a most important Resolution dealing with the question of higher education in Ireland. It would be the duty of the Irish Members to call attention to the subject, and he thought the Government would find it convenient, therefore, to set apart a special Sitting for the discussion of the question of the Queen's Colleges. He (Mr. Sexton) made that proposal with the assent of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), who was fully sensible of the importance of the matter.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): We will not take it on Wednesday.

MR. SEXTON: When will it be taken?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY: I will consult my right hon. Friends on the subject.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I stated some time ago that the Army Estimates would be taken on Wednesday. We find, however, that that would be inconvenient; therefore we propose to take the remainder of the other Estimates, and not the Army Estimates.

MR. SEXTON: What Irish Votes?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: We propose to begin where we have left off. We will take the Queen's College and the other Votes.

COLONEL NOLAN: When will the Report of Supply that we have voted to-night be taken?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: To-morrow.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Postponed Resolution [14th July] *considered.*

(19.) "That a sum, not exceeding £230,710, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for Superannuation and Retired Allowances to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service, and for Compassionate or other Special Allowances and Gratuities awarded by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury."

MR. SEXTON said, there seemed to be some misunderstanding on the part of the Government with regard to this Vote. They had promised to make an explanation with regard to the pension of Mr. Anderson, Crown Solicitor, which appeared on this Estimate. Irish Members were somewhat puzzled with that, because if the gentleman in question was fit for the Public Service he ought to be kept on at full pay, and if he were not he (Mr. Sexton) could not see why he should have a pension. Then he had a question to ask with regard to a pension, on page 472, of £125 given to P. J. O'Connor, clerk in the Public Works Office. He thought that that gentleman had been treated in a most harsh and inconsiderate manner; he had been transferred from the Education Department to the Board of Works, by way of signal promotion, at a salary of £300 a-year; but scarcely had he been transferred than his office was abolished, and he was cast on the world at the age of 42—an age when a man did not find it easy to get employment. Mr. O'Connor had asked for a commutation of his pension, but that had been refused. Had he been an incompetent man, he would not have been allowed to remain in the Service; but his ability had been his ruin, and he had been transferred to the Board of Works, only to be turned out on this beggarly pension of £125 a-year. He said there was no more able man in the Service of the country, and that it was a shame and a scandal that at the age of 42 his future was gone, and he was without any adequate provision for old age.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, that he understood the explanation of the point raised by the hon. Member for Sligo to be that Mr. Anderson received the allowance in question in consideration of the abolition of his office, under which, in addition to his salary, he received certain fees. Mr. Anderson was not by the terms of his engagement obliged to devote the whole of his time to the Public Service, and it had been considered desirable that an alteration should take place, and a gentleman had been appointed at a salary of £1,000 a-year who devoted the whole of his time to the duties of the office. Mr. Anderson's office having been abolished, his case was taken into consideration by the Treasury, and it had been decided that it should be dealt with under the Superannuation Act.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, that the case of Mr. O'Connor should have reconsideration.

MR. HEALY said, he was very glad to hear that the Secretary to the Treasury would look into the case referred to by the hon. Member for Sligo. He was, of course, ready to admit that the necessity of making tranfers from one Department to another sometimes arose; but, at the same time, he thought that there was a great deal of needless waste caused at the Castle when those transfers took place. Irish Members on those Benches also wanted to know why it was that Mr. George Bolton was in one particular place and receiving pay for another? He said that when those curious transfers took place which no one could understand, there should be some Papers presented to Parliament. He thought that the Estimates should be accompanied with something like a printed explanation, and he trusted the hon. Baronet would see his way to having that done in future. It was hard that the present Government should be attacked for those shortcomings, and he did not intend to do it; but it was certainly in the interests of public purity that those things should be made perfectly clear. He regretted that the Predecessors of Her Majesty's Government were not, for this occasion only, on the Treasury Bench; but he thought that, with regard to the future, he and his hon. Friend would be bound, when cases of this kind occurred, to move for Papers.

Resolution *agreed to.*

POOR LAW UNIONS' OFFICERS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 214.]

(*Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. SEXTON said, this was a Bill enabling Boards of Guardians to make allowances to the officers of Poor Law Unions in Ireland on abolition of office. The Bill had been framed to meet cases of Union amalgamation in Ireland. He considered the scheme a bad one, and had expected some reply on the part of the Government to the arguments that had been put forward on the subject; but the Chief Secretary had not made any reference to them. He (Mr. Sexton) thought it unfair that a Union which up to the present had only been paying a rate of 1*s.* 8*d.* in the pound should find itself suddenly saddled with a rate of 7*s.* in the pound. To give the Government time further to consider the case, he would move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, he was sorry that the hon. Member for Sligo was not present when he replied with respect to the Unions proposed to be amalgamated. He should not be in Order in going into this question on the present Bill, but he thought he might say that the matter had been practically settled. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would not think it necessary to press his Motion.

MR. HEALY said, he thought it hard that the Union of Newport should be saddled with a 7*s.* rate. He said that relief must in some way or other be found for the unfortunate ratepayers of that Union, who were quite unable to bear the charge. There was force in the suggestion of his hon. Friend that perhaps some better scheme might be discovered. He was informed last summer by a local Inspector that the greatest unanimity and desire existed in the Union to adopt this scheme. He would suggest that the Bill should be passed for a short period of time only, in order that they might have an opportunity next year of examining into the action of the Local Board officials in this matter. There was no doubt that this question of Poor Law Union amalgamation was a very large one. There were in Ireland 160 Unions, and, of course, when the county government scheme came forward, this question would have to be settled. He thought the Bill might be made more definite in scope, because it was not the Westport Union that had to pay the salaries, it was the area of the abolished Union. Why should the Westport Union have to pay the retiring allowances of doctors and officers at the Newport Union, seeing that they had not had the benefit of their services. But the proposal was unfair to the officers themselves, because the Westport Union could refuse to pay them. He thought the Bill had not been sufficiently examined by the Local Government Board, and perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would concede a little time for the purpose of putting down Amendments. While he considered the Bill necessary, he still thought that a better scheme could be arrived at, and he suggested that by some arrangement the Bill should be made to go further.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, the Government were very desirous of making progress with this Bill, which, he pointed out, had nothing to do with the question of amalgamation. The important point provided for was that the officers of an abolished Union should receive adequate remuneration. It would be very undesirable to throw the superannuation of the officers of the Newport Union upon the people of Westport. He believed that was provided for in the Bill. He hoped the hon. Member for Sligo would allow the Bill to proceed.

MR. SEXTON said, they were aware that the Bill had been brought before the House under peculiar circumstances. He thought it unfair that the Local Government Board should press this scheme upon them. The right hon. Gentleman had not said one word to show why the rate of 1*s.* 2*d.* paid in the Union of Westport should suddenly become 3*s.* 2*d.* in the pound; but he hoped that the Government would be able to arrange for some modification of the scheme, and he asked them to assent, for that purpose, to the Motion he had made to report Progress.

MR. HEALY said, if the Government would give a guarantee that the matter should be looked into with a view to redressing the grievance under which the people of Westport laboured, progress would be made with the Bill.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART-DYKE) said, his impression was that the amalgamation of the Unions of Newport and Westport would not have upon the latter anything like the effect which the hon. Member supposed. Of course, he should be glad if he could get information upon the subject in a more complete and accurate form than he had at present.

MR. SULLIVAN said, if, as the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland had stated, this question had been settled, he should be glad to know whether it had been settled to the satisfaction of those who were intimately concerned in it? If it had been settled, he thought it had been settled very improperly.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT PRACTICES) BILL.—[BILL 148.]

(*Mr. R. H. Paget, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr, Bulwer.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. R. H. PAGET said, he wished to move to leave out Clause 1, in order to move the insertion of the clause on the Paper.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1 be omitted."—(*Mr. R. H. Paget.*)

Question, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

MR. R. H. PAGET: I now beg to move the second reading of the following Clause:—

> "Nothing in the Law relating to Parliamentary Elections shall make it illegal for an employer to permit Parliamentary electors in his employment to absent themselves from such employment for a reasonable time for the purpose of voting at the poll at a Parliamentary election, without having any deduction from their salaries or wages on account of such absence if such permission is, so far as practicable without injury to the business of the employer, given equally to all persons alike who are at the time in his employment, and if such permission is not given with a view of inducing any person to record his vote for any particular candidate at such election, and is not refused to any person for the purpose of preventing such person from recording his vote for any particular candidate at such election."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."—(*Mr. R. H. Paget.*)

MR. HEALY: I presume the Government have considered this new clause in the light mentioned the other night?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER): We have considered it, and see no objection to it.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, he had another new clause on the Paper—namely—

> "This Act shall continue in force until the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, and no longer, unless continued by Parliament;"

but he had been assured by the authorities that it was not necessary. It had been put down in consequence of an observation of an hon. Member who felt the necessity of something of the kind. He would not move the clause.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 21st July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—National Debt*; Artillery and Rifle Ranges* (193); Public Health (Members and Officers)* (194).

Committee—Land Purchase (Ireland). (184-197).

Committee — Report — Metropolis Management Acts Amendment* (162).

Report—Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment* (192); Housing of the Working Classes (England) (177-196).

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Order (Municipal Corporations)* (166); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3)* (167); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7)* (168); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9)* (169); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 5)* (173); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6)* (153); Poor Law Guardians (Ireland)* (176-195); Marriages (Saint John, Cowley) (187); Local Loans (Sinking Funds)* (175); Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2), now Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (65); Secretary for Scotland (178), and *passed.*

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES (ENGLAND) BILL.—(No. 177.)

(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

REPORT.

Amendments *reported* (according to order).

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, it was a most important and excellent Bill, and was proposed with the best intentions. But, at the same time, in its present shape, in regard to several of its clauses, it was difficult to be understood, being entirely unintelligible to the ordinary lay mind; and he would suggest that the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) should prepare an explanatory Memorandum, which would clear up the references to many other Acts on the same subject.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, that the suggestion of his noble Friend (the Earl of Longford) might be a very reasonable one, if the matter of the Bill were entirely new; but only a few weeks ago there had been laid before the House the Report of a Commission, containing not only an account of the changes that were proposed, but of the reasons which justified them. If he (the Marquess of Salisbury) were to prepare and circulate such an abstract as the noble Earl suggested, he should only be reprinting what had been laid on the Table in the language of the Commissioners only a few weeks ago.

On the Motion of the Marquess of Salisbury, the following Amendments made:—In Clause 1, page 1, line 17, leave out ("from") and insert ("published by"); page 2, line 15, at end of line insert ("except after a fresh application, inquiry, and certificate"); line 31, leave out ("further") and insert ("fresh"); page 3, line 17, after ("declared") insert ("at the time of the publication of the certificate"); line 38, after ("works") insert—

("And in the application of the said Acts to a rural sanitary district, 'district' shall mean the said district, and 'board' the rural sanitary authority");

and in Clause 2, page 3, line 42, at end of line insert—

("And the purposes of the said Act shall be deemed to include the provision of such houses and cottages").

Amendment moved,

In Clause 3, add at the end ("Provided that the price shall not be less than the price paid for the land when it was purchased on behalf of Her Majesty or of the county of Middlesex respectively").—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Lord BRAMWELL said, it was clear, whether the land was sold at a reduced price, or whether a sum of money was given out of the Government funds, the effect was precisely the same, provided a site was found with the money given. The noble Marquess said that the benevolent intention of the Bill was to redress certain wrongs apparently sustained by the working classes through the demolition of buildings in the Metropolitan area for railways and other public improvements. Why should we wait to do that until Millbank ceased to be a prison? If a site were found, why should not the money be given at once? If it were right that the thing should be done, why should it not be done at once? He trusted that there was enough money in the Treasury; and, if so, it might as well be applied at once to the benevolent purpose which the noble Marquess desired to carry out.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, if the noble and learned Lord were not a member of the Legal Profession he should ask him whether he had ever heard of such a thing as double costs? It was difficult to argue the point with one who professed an innocent ignorance of the nature of solicitors' bills. If the money were given at once to buy a new site, and it were to be recouped afterwards by the sale of the old site, there would be two sets of solicitors' bills; and the Report of the Select Committee showed that solicitors' bills were an enormous element in the cost of such operations, and had stood much in the way of their being carried out. He preferred when the land became available, that it should be used for the purpose, thereby avoiding the costs upon the sale of one site and the purchase of another. He believed that the process proposed in the Bill was the more economical, and the suggestion of the noble and learned Lord would lead to a much larger expenditure. If this humble scheme did not succeed, then the more ambitious scheme of the noble and learned Lord could be taken into consideration.

Amendment *agreed to;* words *added* accordingly.

Earl FORTESCUE said, he learnt from a medical man, who for years had had exceptional opportunities of knowing, that gipsies were singularly exempt from zymotic diseases, and, indeed, were a very healthy race. The sanitary visitation and inspection proposed by the Bill would be quite superfluous in the case of the gipsies, and would be correspondingly offensive to them; and he therefore would move the omission of the word "tent" from various parts of the Bill. His object was to make the necessarily inquisitorial power given by the Bill as little oppressive as possible.

Amendment *moved,* in Clause 10, page 6, line 34, to leave out the word ("tent").—(*The Earl Fortescue.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he was afraid there was evidence that the condition of dwellers in tents was not quite so Arcadian as the noble Earl seemed to suppose; but, at any rate, he doubted the desirability of giving them special privileges. He could not understand why the dwellers in tents should have more licence to commit a nuisance than those who lived in vans. The question was quite as much a moral as a sanitary question.

Amendment *negatived.*

LORD BRAMWELL said, he wanted to know what was the meaning of the words in Clause 12, Sub-section 2—

> "Any corporate body holding land may sell, exchange, or lease such lands."

Did it mean to give them power to sell where they had no power to sell at present, or did it empower them to sell at a lower price without committing a breach of trust, or did it mean both?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, the clause undoubtedly bore the interpretation which the noble and learned Lord had put upon it. It was intended to give public Corporations, with public objects in view, a clearer power than they had now.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS asked whether there would be any limit to the benvolence of any owner in London, say, near the River, near Salisbury Street; in fact, would there be any check to the devotion of the whole of such a property to the benevolent purpose of building working-men's dwellings, or any benevolent undertaking of that kind?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he did not know what check the noble Earl could have, other than the personal interest of the owner of the land, which had been found to be a very strong one.

Bill to be read 3^a on *Friday* next; and to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 196.)

MARRIAGES (SAINT JOHN, COWLEY) BILL.—(No. 187.)

(*The Earl of Beauchamp.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^a."—(*The Earl of Beauchamp.*)

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, he could not help observing the frequency of the recurrence of these individual Bills. In his opinion, it would be much better to deal with the cases of marriages in unlicensed buildings, which this Bill, with respect to one such building, was intended to ratify, by a general law, than by such a Bill as this.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, he could not concur in the suggestion of the noble and learned Earl opposite (the Earl of Selborne). For himself, he believed that a general law on the subject would lead to the same uncertainty as to the Marriage Laws which prevailed prior to the passing of Lord Hardwick's Act, and which that Act was passed to prevent.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a, and *passed.*

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

(NO. 184.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, this Bill, as now introduced to your Lordships, is of such great importance, and has been so little discussed, that I am sure your Lordships will excuse me for offering a few remarks upon it. It is true that the amount to be advanced is limited to £5,000,000, for the purchase of their farms by the occupiers in Ireland; but whatever steps are taken with regard to the mode in which these purchases will be carried out will have to be adopted in any measure which may hereafter be passed with the same object. It is of great importance that your Lordships should fully consider the matter, and, therefore, I do not apologize for making some observations before going into Committee. The question which, in connection with the matter, has occurred to my mind, is, what your Lordships mean when you say that you want to create peasant proprietors in Ireland? Is it intended that all peasants' rents should be at once and forthwith commuted, in the same way in which copyhold tenure has been commuted, and is being commuted, in England? Is it your Lordships' intention to carry it out at once in Ireland? My belief is, that there is no such intention. We want to proceed gradually and in a sound way in increasing the number of proprietors in Ireland. We do not wish to sweep into our measure of purchase all tenants, bad as well as good; but we desire to strengthen and to raise up in that country an intelligent, independent, and enlightened class of small proprietors. I am aware there are some persons who wish to introduce this measure simply in order to relieve the landlords of Ireland. I regret to think that, in Ireland, there are many landlords in very embarrassed circumstances. Some of them, perhaps, are unfortunately embarrassed by their own extravagance, or by the extravagance of their predecessors; while there are many others who are embarrassed from circumstances over which they have had no control, and for whom everybody must have the greatest sympathy. For that reason, I should rejoice if a measure of this sort could relieve those landlords, while carrying out a wise and sound Act for Ireland; but, my Lords, we must take care that, in doing that, we do not encourage agrarian agitation and raise political and financial difficulties. What, I ask, are the political difficulties connected with a scheme of the sort now proposed? It may be proceeding to the amount of only £5,000,000 now; but we may hereafter largely increase this amount and practically buy up all the farms in Ireland. The political difficulty is a very serious one, inasmuch as you are placing the State in the position of landlords in Ireland, and that, it seems to me, is a grave responsibility for the State to assume. We know, unfortunately, by sad experience, that there has been a cry of "No rent!" and a strike against rent due to individual landlords in Ireland; but we may have to cope with a worse difficulty should there be a strike hereafter against the payment of an annuity to the State from the small and the new owners of land. That annuity will almost come into the shape of a Land Tax in Ireland. I am afraid, from the past history of that country, that it may not be unlikely that, at some future day—if that country does not prosper, and if law and order are not maintained—there may be a strike against payments to the State. Then we have the financial difficulty and danger connected with a scheme of this sort. We are, in fact, placing a heavy burden on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom, and we ought to be very careful to see that, for any advance we may make, full and proper security is obtained. Now, my Lords, I come to consider how these objections and difficulties may be most safely met; and the first question is, whether we ought to advance the whole of the purchase money to the tenants? Is it safe and prudent to do so? Under the present law three-fourths only can be advanced, and this has to be repaid with 5 per cent interest in 35 years. I have to frankly confess that I see very grave objections and considerable difficulties to advancing the whole of the purchase money, and that I see considerable difficulties in doing so. If we only advance two-thirds or three-fourths, we take it for granted that the tenant has the money in hand to repay the remainder, or that he has sufficient interest in the country to be able to secure a loan of the remaining portion. Thus we should get a much more thrifty and better class of proprietors than we should if we advanced the whole of the purchase money. If you advance only a part, yon have other parties besides the State who are interested in keeping up the annuities; whereas, if the Government should advance, practically, the whole purchase money, the Government are the only persons concerned with the purchaser in the transaction, and the securities are, therefore, reduced. I am bound to admit, however, that those who understand the subject say that little or nothing can be done with regard to the purchase of farms by the tenants, unless the whole sum is advanced. Therefore, I reluctantly come to the conclusion that we must go further than has been previously proposed we should go, and must advance, in some shape or other, the whole of the purchase money to the tenants. Then comes the question, How is that to be done, and what is the best way to do it? Under the Bill of last year, greater encouragement was given to a tenant who sought for a partial advance than to a tenant who sought for an advance of the whole of the purchase money. The tenant who received an advance of three-fourths was to receive the loan at £4 10*s*. per cent for 40 years; whereas a tenant who received an advance of the whole amount was to pay 5 per cent for 33 years. In their measure last year, Her Majesty's Government also proposed that, when there was an advance of the whole of the money to the tenant, there should be a joint guarantee supported by a local body, as well as by the Government. The noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Ashbourne) said that that was unworkable in Ireland, and I admit that there are considerable difficulties in the way; but I venture to think it would get over the political and financial difficulty which I have tried to point out better than any other method, for not only should we get better security for our money, but there would be a local body interested in seeing after the farm, and having full knowledge of all the circumstances of the new occupier. They would be enlisted on the side of the payment of the annuity, and it would be an important consideration to have a kind of buffer between the Imperial Government and the new occupier. I regret, therefore, that the noble and learned Lord thought this local guarantee could not be adopted now; but if there are difficulties at the present time, then, at some future time, when there will be, as I sincerely hope, strong local bodies formed in Ireland, as in other parts of the United Kingdom, this idea of local guarantee will, I think, be again revived. It has been said, with reference to a local guarantee, that a ratepayer in Ireland would resent very much paying for the deficiencies and delinquencies of his neighbour; but surely the taxpayer who lives in a remote part of Scotland or England would have greater ground of complaint if he had to pay for the deficiencies of an Irish owner. Again, the terms on which advances are to be made may be too liberal, and may practically offer a bribe, tending to drive persons whom you do not want to become owners into becoming owners. I am willing to admit, however, that the terms offered are too onerous, and will not encourage them to come forward. The noble and learned Lord proposes that the whole of the purchase money should be advanced, and that one-fifth shall be retained by the Land Commission—the body which is to represent the Government. With regard to the one-fifth being retained and the manner of dealing with it, I do not object to the proposals, assuming that the whole of the purchase money is to be advanced without guarantee. It is only another way of advancing four-fifths with good security. By advancing the whole of the purchase money, you prevent the tenants from falling into the hands of usurers, who would seek to obtain a high rate of interest for their advances, and thus you will increase the security of the State. The object should be to encourage the thrifty and intelligent tenant to become an owner, and not to draw into your net a thriftless or bad tenant. To this part of the scheme, therefore, I do not propose to offer any hostile criticism. I now come to the period of the advance, which I look upon as the most important part of the scheme. I think that great danger may arise if proper terms are not made for the repayment of the loan. In order to test this part of the scheme, I will compare the annuity which the tenant will have to pay under the provisions of this measure with the amount of his present rent. Upon this point I maintain that if you give the tenants too great an advantage over those who are simply occupiers, you will draw within the operation of your measure men whom you would rather not see owners of their holdings, and you will create great political dangers in the future in times of national agitation. In dealing with this point you will have to take into consideration three conditions of things—first, the number of years' purchase which the landlord ought fairly to receive; secondly, the period during which the payment ought to be spread over; and, thirdly, the actual amount of the sum to be repaid. Of course, a great deal will turn upon what may be considered the fair value which the landlord may expect to get for land in Ireland, and this will largely depend upon the market price of land in that country. Then, again, there is a danger that the Bill, in consequence of the provisions contained in it dealing with this matter, will tend to an interference with and institute an artificial increase as regards the value of land; for if you lengthen the period of repayment unduly, or diminish too much the rate of interest, you will artificially increase the value of property, and will throw a considerable difficulty in the way of arriving at the actual value of land in the country, besides preventing a rapid absorption of the debt. As far as I can ascertain, the fair value of his land in Ireland which the landlord expects to obtain is something under 20 years' purchase, which, owing to the difficulties of the last few years, your Lordships will find is the outside price of land in that country. Under the provisions of the Bill of the noble and learned Lord, the tenant is to repay the advance in 49 years, at the rate of 4 per cent on the total sum, which is to include principal and interest. In order to see how the provisions of the measure will work, let us take the case of a tenant who pays £100 a-year rent. That rent, at 20 years' purchase, represents a capital value of £2,000. In order to repay the advance and interest, therefore, the tenant will have to pay £80 per annum for 49 years, to which must be added £7 10*s.* as the landlord's share of the rates and taxes, which the tenant will then have to pay, in addition to his own share of them, making a total payment by the tenant of £87 10*s.* per annum, instead of £100 per annum, which he now pays. In some cases, however, the landlord may be willing to sell for 15 years' purchase, or even less, and then the tenants will only have to pay £67 10*s.* per annum. The consequence is, that you will draw in a very large number of tenants within the operation of the measure, if you show them that they can obtain such an enormous boon as a reduction of their rent by £32 10*s.* per annum. I think that this is too great a bribe to offer. In these circumstances, therefore, I should prefer a different scale of repayment, under which the tenant shall pay £4 10*s.* per cent, and the repayment to be spread over a period of 40 years only. Of course, a great deal depends upon the number of years' purchase allowed. If it is 20 years it is much too little. Twenty-five years is sufficient; but the period proposed by the Bill—49 years—is much too long a period. That would entail a dissatisfaction as regards other rents, and would be a new danger. It is a new thing to spread the repayment of an advance of this kind over a period of 49 years, and I object to so long a period, as it prolongs all the risks that the State must run, besides creating a new and very grave danger to landlords who do not wish to sell, and whose tenants will naturally object to pay £100 a-year rent, when their neighbours are only paying from £67 10*s.* to £87 10*s.* for the fee simple of their land. On the other hand, if the annuities, taken together with the rates and taxes, are made to amount to somewhere about the same sum as the present rent, the difficulties and dangers to which I refer will not be created. Then the security is to be that of the Irish Church Surplus. That is certainly a novel way of applying that rather elastic fund. It has been constantly resorted to when the Government have been in difficulty, and wished to make a grant to Ireland without coming on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom; but, hitherto, all payments have had to be made in specific sums. We have had Intermediate Education, Emigration, Schools, and Arrears of Rent. But in all these cases, where money has been granted, the amount has been definite. This Bill, however, will, on the other hand, lock up the whole surplus of the Church Fund for 49 years to meet the claims under this measure. It is an entirely new principle, and I believe that, of itself, it will cause great dissatisfaction in Ireland. I sincerely trust the tenants will pay; but, if they do not pay, or do not generally adopt this scheme of purchase—and I do not think they will—as possibly they may be content with their present tenure, which is on extremely liberal terms, the whole of the rest of the Church Surplus of £750,000 will be locked up, for the sake of a few thousands borrowed, and Ireland will be deprived of the benefit of a fund which might do material good to the country in various ways. Upon this point I hope your Lordships will be furnished with some explanation, or possibly some defence, from the noble and learned Lord in charge of the Bill. I now come to the question of the tribunal which is to work this measure;

and, if in nothing else, I am of opinion that unless a satisfactory, loyal, and intelligent tribunal is found to work the measure, the Bill, notwithstanding the facilities given by the removal of technicalities, will, probably, become a dead letter, like its predecessors, and will end in failure. I do not deny that the Church Commissioners have done their work with great energy and diligence, and with much credit to themselves; but it must be recollected that they have hitherto succeeded in a peculiar way, and the money was got in under great pressure. I think the noble and learned Lord has done quite right not to interfere with what has been recently decided in Parliament—namely, to put this power in the hands of the Land Commissioners rather than in those of the Estates Courts Judge. I think the Land Commissioners, though not more successful, have had great difficulties to contend with. They have been extremely occupied with their pressing duties, and I think that they will be able to conduct this with skill, energy, and loyalty. Now, I should like to ask the noble and learned Lord what are his intentions with regard to these Commissioners? I presume that he intends that these two new Commissioners whom he proposes to appoint shall be made available for the ordinary work of the Land Commission—that they will go to various parts of the country to hear appeals. That is a very important fact. I have full confidence that any responsible Government will feel the necessity of appointing men who are impartial and competent to discharge these very onerous duties. The noble and learned Lord referred to this very onerous duty last night, and to the great danger arising in Ireland, if new Commissioners are appointed with views totally at variance with the present Commissioners. I quite agree with that, for nothing would more shake the confidence which, I believe, exists in many parts of the country in the decisions of the Commissioners, than the introduction of elements of discord into their body from the introduction of two men of very strong views. I point out this, not in the belief that the Government intend to put men in this office who would take up this position. I do not attach any importance to the rumours going about London, for, having had experience of more than eight years in Dublin, I know that when these appointments are about to be made these rumours are afloat, and are devoid of foundation. I, therefore, believe that the Government will appoint the proper men to fulfil these important posts; but I think it right to refer to the grave effect of any miscarriage of the kind to which I have referred. At the same time, I think that Parliament will have a right to demand, before this Bill becomes law, to know the names of the gentlemen who are to fill the Offices. In my own opinion both of them should be laymen. I was, I must confess, somewhat surprised that the noble and learned Lord considers it necessary that two Commissioners should be appointed. Perhaps it is because that, in Ireland, appointments go something in the nature of see-saw. No confidence is reposed unless an appointment is given, one to one side and one to the other—one to one religion and one to the other religion. I should have thought that one able and impartial Commissioner might have been found to command the confidence of all Parties. A man, no doubt, difficult to find in Ireland, but not impossible, and one, I think, which would have been amply sufficient to carry out this experiment, large as it may be. The legal difficulties as to the sale of land should be diminished as much as possible, and in this respect I am glad that the principles of Mr. Trevelyan's Bill have been embodied in this measure; but there are some difficulties which I do not see how the Bill will meet. Take the case of large rent-charges, for instance. How does the noble and learned Lord intend to deal with these charges? If you break up an estate into 50 plots, this difficulty will be greatly increased. How does he intend to deal with that? Does he intend to commute in cases of this sort. I do not see any machinery in the Bill intended to deal with them, and the consequence may be that a mortgagor may foreclose, and thus put an end to the matter. There is another point to which I wish to refer. An owner of an estate wishes to dispose of three or five farms out of 50. These are all-important points which I think I am justified in bringing before your Lordships. I have, however, made these criticisms in no hostile spirit; for it would give me the greatest satisfaction, if a Bill of the kind on sound principles were carried through

Parliament, that it should be a success. A great deal depends on the condition of Ireland. If Ireland is prosperous and law and order are maintained in that country, if intimidation is kept down, and if men of various classes may follow their lawful occupations without interference from voluntary and unlawful associations, then I think this Bill will have some chance of success, and certainly no one wishes it more success than I do.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, it is impossible for us to be otherwise than gratified by the way in which the noble Earl the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has dealt with the Bill laid before your Lordships. Neither can we fail to appreciate the valuable character of the observations he has addressed to us with regard to it. The Bill is one that, at first sight, will no doubt excite astonishment and perhaps misgiving by the unusual character of the provisions which it contains; but those provisions it shares with a Bill introduced to the House of Commons last year, and therefore they have received the sanction of the highest authority. The idea of allowing a tenant to purchase his holding, and advancing to him the whole of the purchase money, and allowing him to pay it off by the manipulation of the public credit by no other process than continuing to pay his existing rent for a certain number of years, does, undoubtedly, seem a process which requires some vindication; and it would not be acceptable to Parliament except on the highest authority. I am glad to say on the present occasion that that authority does not exist. Two or three years ago a Committee of this House was appointed, and it was placed, at the instance of a noble Friend who is here, under the Chairmanship of one who is no longer among us, but one of the ablest, most acute, and most impartial men who ever sat in this House—one who knew Ireland well, and who was thoroughly competent to measure the effect of any legislation that was proposed for that country. It is a great recommendation of this measure that it comes with the *imprimatur* of the noble and learned Earl (the late Earl Cairns). And I may be allowed to say that it is an advantage almost equal that we have the approval of the noble Earl who has just sat down, who occupied a position the duty of which he lifted much above ordinary Party struggles. I think the general verdict of his countrymen is that he acted up to his duty, and to the model he was bound to set before him. He has shown—while we differ from him much—we have not followed the whole of his policy—in fact, in this House, more than once, we have felt it our duty to resist it according to our conscientious convictions—still, we on this side think that he has shown, through the course of his Viceroyalty, a high and manly courage, and that he administered his functions with the fairest and most equitable intentions, which have been as much recognized upon this side of the House as upon that. It is a great advantage that the main principle of the Bill comes with the *imprimatur* of two such men as the noble Earl (Earl Spencer) and my noble and learned Friend (the late Earl Cairns). I have only risen to deal with the principal suggestion of the noble Earl, not indeed fatal in itself to the Bill, but rather complaining of an omission in the Bill which raises some important and far-reaching principles. The noble Earl approved of most of our provisions; but he lamented that we had not the guarantee which he thought might have been provided by some arrangements of local government. He indicated the kind of local government he meant; and, to protect his observation from misinterpretation, he said that it was the sort of local government that ought to prevail in this country as well as in Ireland. His belief evidently was that such local bodies, if set up, would furnish a valuable buffer between the State and the tenant, and would also furnish a guarantee on which the State could rely. That is an argument which will require very carefully weighing before it can be accepted. We must not judge local bodies as they would be in Ireland by what we know of the working of similar institutions in this country. Local bodies will eminently share the passions, the feelings, and the interests of the particular local community by which they are elected; and if they are elected by tenants, the greater part of whom are indebted to the State, I am afraid the idea that their sympathies will be with the creditor state rather than with the debtor tenant is somewhat far-fetched and unjustified. If local bodies were to declare themselves, if I may so put it, on the side of the State, they would, no doubt, be a valuable buffer between the State and its debtors, and withdraw from the State some of that unpopularity which the exaction of debt in every country, and especially in Ireland, is sure to excite. But if, as is more likely, their sympathies will be with the non-paying tenant, you will only be providing an organ by which the resistance of the tenant can be made more dangerous and powerful. I am afraid the local body would gather to itself an organized resistance with which you would find it rather difficult to deal. This is a question of extreme importance, and I earnestly hope that those who have a knowledge of Ireland, and are interested in its welfare, will weigh well before they attach too much importance to the idea that they can constitute local bodies freely elected by the population in Ireland which will range themselves on the side of the State. There is another consideration to which the noble Earl alluded which has considerable weight—the dislike of people to pay rates in order to make good the shortcomings of other people. If your local body is made to furnish a guarantee, of course the ratepayers will have to make it good; so that, when the tenants are behind with their payments, the ratepayers will look to it that they were made. On this point, I only turn to a question of experience. Your Lordships will remember what took place on the abolition of church rates 15 years ago. The principle was to make it no longer compulsory to pay church rates. In parish after parish, one or two ratepayers only, generally the Railway Companies, declined to pay the rates; and the result was, in almost every instance, that the parish having to pay for them, church rates were abolished because the rest of the ratepayers absolutely declined to pay for the shortcomings of other people. It would be an analogous feeling that would be raised if the ratepayers had to pay for some of the shortcomings of some of the debtor tenants. There are one or two other observations in the speech of the noble Earl to which I may refer. For instance, he found fault with our scheme, because we have assumed that, in a number of years, the rate of purchase would be higher than at present. I hope that the effect of this measure, if it passes, will be that it will produce that state of things, and that it will tend to raise the number of years' purchase that can be obtained for land in Ireland. But what is the cause of its low value? If I may be allowed to say so, without introducing controversial matter, I think that the legislation of the last few years is accountable for the low rate of purchase now prevailing. The noble Earl also demurred to our use of the Church Surplus; and his first objection was, we had not fixed the sum which we were going to draw from it as had been done before. If you take out of a certain sum a number of fixed sums, a point at last must come when the residue has to be applied. We have got to the bottom of this "Widow's Cruse," which has furnished such incessant supplies, and I suppose no future Legislature will be able to obtain a portion of this inexhaustible resource. The inevitable result of that is, that the clause must be indefinite, and the sum taken uncertain. Nor can I agree with the noble Earl that this is an improper application of the Church Surplus. He must recollect our debate in 1869, as to the application of the surplus. He will remember that originally it was provided the fund should be applied to "inevitable suffering and distress;" but after much conflict that provision was struck out, and it was left to the future judgment of Parliament to decide the application of the fund. But, surely, if any human beings have experienced inevitable suffering and distress, to which they have been reduced by Act of Parliament, it is the Irish landlords. I could add to them, not less surely, the unfortunate tenants whose means of subsistence have been, to so large an extent, destroyed by the state of disorder and lawlessness into which society has been thrown, and of which many of them were not in any way the cause. They, equally with the landlords, claim our sympathies. I pray you, my Lords, not to look upon this Bill as a final and complete measure, or as anything which affects to be a panacea for the evils from which Ireland is suffering. It is an experiment, and a further experiment, on the path which many have travelled; and I trust, from what we have now learned by the failures of the past, that this experiment will at last succeed. If it does succeed it will give birth to further legislation in the same direction; and I have no doubt, in that future time, that Parliament will take care that all the precautions necessary to prevent its liberality going too far and defeating the object in view shall be taken. There is no doubt that if the great good we seek is to be attained, it must be by measures on a considerably larger scale than we have yet taken. The defence of this Bill is not so much that the measure is a remedy for the evils under which Ireland labours, as a means of ascertaining the mode in which a remedy can be applied. Again and again we have tried to ascertain it, and again and again we have failed. I earnestly join in the concluding words of the noble Earl—that it is on condition that Ireland obtains those blessings by which alone industrial life can be maintained that any success can be hoped for this Bill. If a condition of disorder is to be perpetuated; if men cannot pursue their daily toil free from the danger of molestation and intimidation, and cannot exercise their rights under the protection of the law; if the Government is not administered equally, firmly, strongly, and justly, then I fear that this Bill, or indeed any Bill inspired by the same hopes, must inevitably fail. But it is because we still cherish the hope that there is before Ireland a future in which these conditions will be fulfilled that we also express with confidence our hope that this Bill will meet with success.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, it is impossible, after listening to the speech of the noble Earl the late Viceroy of Ireland (Earl Spencer), not to feel that this Bill is full of dangers to the country. I observe, however, that my noble Friend did not oppose the Bill, but, on the contrary, concluded by blessing it, and he further stated that he earnestly hoped it would succeed; but none of the dangers to which my noble Friend referred can arise unless the Bill succeeds, and succeeds on a large scale. The political danger which my noble Friend pointed out has long been a familiar one to your Lordships' minds—that of the State becoming, on an extensive scale, the landlord of the country; and that danger cannot arise unless this Bill succeeds to an extent and on a scale that none of us at present anticipate. I cannot help asking why it is that such dangerous experiments as this have become necessary in Ireland? Let me direct your Lordships' attention to a few facts about which there neither can nor should be any controversy, and not to matters of opinion. The first is this—that the ownership of agricultural land in Ireland—I say agricultural land, because, of course, the observation does not apply so strictly to urban land, or land half urban and half agricultural—the ownership of purely agricultural land has become practically unsaleable in Ireland. The noble and learned Lord in charge of the Bill (Lord Ashbourne) has brought forward facts which are incontestable. He has shown that, up to 1881, the date of the passing of the Irish Land Act, land was saleable in Ireland at a fair price. The average sales, according to the noble and learned Lord, then amounted in value to £1,500,000 a-year. He went on to point out this most significant fact—that in every subsequent year the sales of agricultural land have steadily diminished, until, last year, the sales amounted only to a few hundred thousand pounds, composed, to a great extent, no doubt, of urban property. Why is it that people have ceased to be willing to purchase land in Ireland? A number of my old Friends in this House have said that agricultural distress is the cause. Well, there is one answer to that which seems to me to be conclusive. While the ownership of land has become unsaleable, the occupancy of land which is purely agricultural has risen enormously in value. I say that, if the unsaleability of land is due to agricultural distress, it is impossible that this contrast should exist. I do not know whether your Lordships noticed a fortnight ago a statement bearing upon this point in *The Times*. A property was exposed for sale in Ireland, and no bid beyond two or three years' purchase was received for it, and the property was therefore withdrawn. It was mentioned, I believe, at the same time, and with reference to the same property, that the occupancy of a holding was put up for sale. There was an eager and contentious bidding for it, and the occupancy, which was rented at £80, was sold to the new tenant for between £800 and £900. These few facts show that the ownership of land has become unsaleable, and that the occupancy of land has risen enormously in value. Is not the conclusion to be derived from these two facts perfectly plain? Your legislation has rendered ownership, as compared with occupancy, an unsaleable article. The block in the land market arises from this—that the article which you sell is not worth a man's while to purchase. An utter want of confidence in the stability of our legislative wisdom and principles as regards ownership is the real cause of the block. There can be no question about it. Taking the two facts I have mentioned — namely, the utter unsaleability of ownership, and the high value of occupancy, and looking at the effect of your legislation, can you for a moment doubt what the cause of the block is? The noble Earl the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland used in his speech a word which I should not have used myself, but which, at the same time, I believe is strictly applicable in the present instance. He said that the Bill provides tenants with a bribe to put themselves into ownership. I quite agree with my noble Friend that it is a real and serious danger to offer an immense bribe to every tenant in Ireland; but if you are to try this experiment, I do not myself see how you are to avoid applying it to the impecunious and lazy, as well as to the industrious and skilled. There is another fact to which I wish to direct the attention of your Lordships, and which is a further indication of the block in the land market. I refer to the fact that all improvements by landlords are stopped in Ireland. No man with any sense now lays out a sixpence on his land in that country, except that which is in his own occupation. Is not that a most melancholy state of affairs? The landlords, in times past, laid out large sums of money for the improvement of their land, and the progress of events tended more and more to an increase of improvements. The evidence taken before the Bessborough Committee was clear upon that point.—namely, that a yearly-increasing number of landlords had gone in for agricultural improvements in order to encourage their tenantry. Now, I say that every shilling is stopped and every tendency on the part of landlords to improve their land has been absolutely terminated. I am not directing the attention of the House to theoretical objections, but I am looking to practical effects. One particular clause of the Land Act was fatal to the carrying out of improvements; but Mr. Gladstone, I may say, did not intend to stop them. It was provided that, after the judicial rent had been fixed, the landlord and tenant might agree upon a further sum, as interest on improvements, and it was further laid down that the rent should be revisable every 15 years. Now, if you wish to make improvements in Ireland under that law, you must charge a rate of interest which will recoup you your capital with interest during 15 years, and not less than 8 or 10 per cent is requisite for that purpose. I need hardly say that this is an additional rent charge upon the tenants which very few will be willing to pay. My noble Friend the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland seems to anticipate a very dangerous success on the part of this measure. I suppose, however, Parliament will keep this matter in its own hands. This Bill commits us, I think, to £5,000,000 sterling. If we find there is a great rush for the possession of land, on the easy terms the Government promise us, we shall be able to take the steps we may consider necessary in order to establish additional securities on that behalf. I, however, have very great doubt whether tenants in Ireland will be induced to become owners, even under this Bill. Their position as occupiers is so favourable, as compared with that of the landlords, that they know it is infinitely better for them to remain tenants than to change that position and become landlords. A friend of mine has told me of a conversation he once had had with a tenant in Ireland. My friend said—"Why don't you purchase this holding?" To which the tenant replied — "Why should I? I have already got a large slice of the property which belonged formerly to my landlord; and I have great hopes that in course of time, in consequence of further political changes, I may get another slice handed over to me. Why, then, should I change my position of tenant to that of proprietor, when the position of tenant is popular, and the position of an owner is exposed to all sorts of risk and public obloquy?" Those are the reasons that prevent men from going in for the purchase of their holdings in Ireland. Of course, no one will purchase land that has existing tenants upon it; but men may be persuaded to purchase their own holdings, because it has no tenants except themselves, and they can let the land under what are called "future tenancies?" Now, what are the conditions of future tenancies? Certainly, they are not so onerous, so complicated, and so limited as in the case of a man who buys land with existing tenancies; but the owner who wishes to let land which is bought under this law will still be under the most grievous limitations. Under the Irish Land Act a man who purchases land cannot let any portion of it without giving a right of sale to his tenant. That is an intolerable limitation, and no man in his senses would buy land with such a condition. I will venture to make a suggestion to the House—I cannot, of course, make it to the Government, because it is, of course, impossible that they should enter, at this period of the Session, on any matter that would raise difference of opinion—but I venture to suggest to the House that a measure may be passed that will restore, or tend, at least, to restore, the saleability of land in Ireland, without all these great sacrifices on the part of the State, and without any risk of the serious political dangers to which allusion has been made by the noble Earl the late Lord Lieutenant. By the Land Act you have secured a large amount of property to peasant occupiers; it was their interests you looked to and fully secured. Mr. Gladstone, speaking in regard to that Act, has said that there is no country in the world which would derive more profit from the establishment of free trade in land than Ireland, only political difficulties stand in the way. Now, why not enact that every tenant who purchases his own holding should hold that land, not as a limited, but as an unlimited holder? In this way let him feel that, in the future, his land will be dealt with in the same way as land is dealt with in England and Scotland. Irish Peers and Members of Parliament say Irish tenants do not look so far ahead; but it is to be remembered that this legislation is not confined to the poorer class of tenants. It applies to the holders of farms of £3,000 rental, and many of them are very intelligent men, and men of some means. I cannot help thinking that if my suggestion were acted on, and these men were enabled to become unlimited owners, it would do much to restore the value and saleability of land in Ireland. You would not have to bribe men to buy the land, and the article, in short, would be restored to its pristine value—the value which it has in every other country. The change would also free us from these dangerous experiments of giving advances, and making the State the universal landlord on a large scale for 50 years or so. I wish to direct the attention of your Lordships to one danger which even the late Lord Lieutenant did not hit upon. It seems to me quite possible that, under this Bill, some of the larger tenants in Ireland may purchase their holdings on the very favourable terms which you are offering, and which amount, as my noble Friend has said, to a bribe, for the express purpose of sub-dividing and sub-letting them.

EARL SPENCER said, the sum was limited to between £3,000 and £5,000.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: That may be a holding which a landlord might very well sub-let. The Irish Land Act prevents sub-division on the part of a tenant; but, of course, there is nothing to prevent a landlord doing so, and he may divide a holding as much as he pleases. This legislation, therefore, among other risks, involves the possible setting up of small holdings, from the rents of which those who purchase under this Bill may derive large profits. I shall not, neither do I wish to, oppose the Bill; it is an experiment that I heartily wish to succeed; but if it succeeds on a large scale, Parliament may have to legislate for the purpose of avoiding or evading the serious consequences that may follow from its operation, and to which it is calculated to give rise.

LORD CARLINGFORD: My Lords, the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) has made use of this Bill to make a speech against the Irish Land Act of 1881, and has expressed views upon it against which I shall, in a word or two, make a protest. He assumes that the whole necessity for this Bill is due to the legislation of the Irish Land Act. The noble Duke fixes his whole attention on the Act of 1881. What was that Act? It does not stand alone; it was intended to be, and it has been, a great and trenchant remedy for the most formidable evils that could press upon a State. My noble Friend thinks of nothing but the remedy, the surgical operation; he pays no attention to the disease that was to be cured. The Act of 1881 certainly has not done all we could wish; but, in my belief, it has done a vast deal. It has restored the payment of rent in Ireland for one thing. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes; speaking of the country as a whole, it has restored the payment of rent in Ireland. The Land Act has put an end to what was, and would have continued to be, a state of absolute anarchy among the agricultural population of Ireland; it has improved the relations of landlord and tenant; it has greatly stimulated industry; and I believe, to a great degree, it has increased the contentment of the agricultural population. ["No, no!"] I admit that the state of affairs is still unsatisfactory and not free from danger; but, considering the condition of Ireland at the time the Act was passed, and the formidable agitation that has gone on since, I say that the Act has done great things. One thing, however, it has not done. It has not, up to the present time, made land saleable in Ireland. But it is no condemnation of the Act that it has not done everything that we could wish. In a large part of England land is not saleable. The noble Duke passes that fact by, with the observation that in Ireland the tenant's property is saleable. Yes, no doubt it is; but that has no bearing on the causes of the present unsaleability of the property of the landlord.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: I specially dwelt upon the fact that the saleability of land did exist up to the time of the passing of the Land Act.

LORD CARLINGFORD: That is exactly the way of putting the case against which I protest. Land was saleable in Ireland until there came a period of agricultural distress, and an unparalleled agitation set in against a Land Law which could not be maintained without radical change. I say that, in that state of things, the Act has had a most salutary effect. It was intended to deal with an agrarian agitation accompanied by crime and violence. The noble Duke has no right to talk of the saleability of land up to the passing of the Act, as if there were nothing but the Act to be considered. Land has really become unsaleable, partly as a consequence of the crisis produced by the period of depression which has visited the country, and partly from the existence of a dangerous agitation, all the evil results of which I freely admit the Land Act has not been able to cure. As to the other points on which the noble Duke condemned the Land Act, they have nothing to do with the Bill now before us. He spoke of the stoppage of improvements by landlords; but the importance of landlords' improvements in Ireland is enormously exaggerated by those who are accustomed to the system of England and Scotland. The security of tenure created by the Land Act is of far more importance than any diminution of those improvements. In this respect, the Act has done far more for the good of the country, in the way of the tenant's security, than landlords' improvements could possibly have done.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Earl of REDESDALE): No, no, no.

LORD CARLINGFORD: Well, that is a form of argument to which I can hardly reply. The noble Duke asks whether it could be expected that anyone would buy land on which the tenant had the right to sell his interest under what is called the future tenancy? My answer is very simple. I appeal to any Ulster landlord in the House to say whether the system of saleable tenant right has not existed for generations in that part of Ireland which has been most prosperous, and where the value of land has been highest? I do not desire to say much about the present Bill beyond this, that I wish it all possible success. I am bound, however, in frankness to say that I greatly share some of those misgivings which were stated by my noble Friend the late Viceroy (Earl Spencer). I fear that, by this Bill, we are going beyond the bounds of wisdom and prudence in the enormous temptations that will be held out to Irish tenants to purchase the land they occupy. The Bill has this peculiarity—that the only check upon its operation is one that cannot act in any way upon the tenant, and can act only upon the landlord. The only check which the Bill provides, over and above the checks which we may believe to exist in the nature of the case, and in which I have little confidence—the only hope of preventing an indiscriminate operation, the sweeping into the net of all tenants, good and bad alike—is the retention in the hands of the State of one-fifth of the purchase money, which the landlord cannot touch for 12 years, and which he will run the risk of losing altogether. But that will not in the least affect the desire of the tenant to purchase his holding. Evidently, we have before us here the possibility of a very grave and serious difficulty. If the tenants shall convince themselves that they are not to get their holdings for nothing, or for half their value, an immense popular movement may very possibly arise, under the advice of interested leaders, for the purchase of land, and the risk of such a state of things has been stated as well as it can be by my noble Friend the late Viceroy. It is not necessary, however, to dwell further on the case of landlords who do not wish to sell, and we know that there are proprietors who are content with their situation. ["No, no!"] I mean landlords who, in spite of the tremendous difficulties through which we have all come, are content to remain Irish landlords. There are landowners who are attached to their homes and property, and do not desire to sell them. That I state with confidence. But I can easily conceive a popular agitation producing a state of things in which there may be such an amount of popular pressure brought to bear on them, that they will be deprived of that freedom of action which it is desirable they should possess. My Lords, I will not dwell upon these misgivings, although I sincerely feel them; I hope that all such forebodings may prove to be without foundation, and that the Bill will meet with all the success which such an undertaking deserves, and which the noble and learned Lord (Lord Ashbourne) himself desires.

Lord FITZGERALD said, he wished to bring back the attention of the House to the real issue before it. Reference had been made to the Land Act; but that Act was the established law of the land; and it was their Lordships' duty to give effect to it. No discussion of that Act would lead them to a right conclusion on the question before them; but he might remind their Lordships that the real character of that Act had not been, he thought, fully appreciated by the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll). The great aim of that Act was to give to the Irish tenant security of tenure. When the historian came to deal with the question he would point to that, and to that alone, and would also point out that, before the passing of the Land Act, the occupier of the soil was a mere serf, who held his position simply at the will of the landlord. Indeed, it had been a not uncommon practice to write a notice to quit at the back of each receipt for rent. That state of things was altered, and the tenant was now a free man, and held his land in perfect security. He did not wish to say one word in hostility to the measure of his noble and learned Friend (Lord Ashbourne), and he did not intend to follow his noble Friend the late Lord Lieutenant (Earl Spencer) in his criticisms, many of which he himself fully adopted. He would remind his noble Friend who had spoken on the Bill from the Cross Benches, and had shown so thorough an appreciation of the subject, that he was, by the course which he was adopting, imperilling a very valuable measure. The justification of the Bill was, that it was an attempt to redeem the country from an intolerable state of things. The ownership of land in Ireland had been for some years past perfectly unsaleable. There was an enormous amount of capital locked up in land. One of the results of the present Bill might be to create a change in that respect and make land saleable—a consummation which was absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the country. At the present period of the Session, therefore, he would not interfere by proposing a single Amendment, but would leave the credit, as well as the responsibility of the measure, entirely to the Government. But there was one important consideration which ought not to be lost sight of. The Bill was emphatically one of finance; every clause of it involved finance, and it ought to have originated in the Commons. The Bill would go down to the House of Commons, and whatever Amendments were introduced there would have to be accepted. The House of Commons might increase or reduce the charge on the Imperial Exchequer. The £5,000,000 might be increased to £20,000,000 or reduced to £1,000,000. The 49 years might be reduced to 40 years. In view of these possible changes, he would have been glad if there had been more time to consider it; and, in that case, he would have been disposed to suggest its reference to a Select Committee; but under the circumstances in which they were placed, and considering that it was really a

Money Bill, which ought to have been initiated in the other House, and that their Lordships must either reject the Bill altogether, or accept it as it came back from that House—and he hoped it would be accepted there—he advised noble Lords, especially the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Milltown), not to insist upon Amendments which would have the effect of imperilling a Bill that might do much good. It was also to be hoped that it would be found possible to make use of existing machinery, and that the knowledge and experience of the staff in the Land Registry Office would be made available for the purpose of the Bill. This Bill was a tentative measure; it went in the right direction, and he wished it God speed. He could only hope that it would prove to be, as it was intended to be, advantageous to the country.

The LORD CHANCELLOR of IRELAND (Lord Ashbourne): My Lords, I must say that it is not my intention to criticize or discuss the provisions of the Irish Land Act, or the policy connected with what has been called the Coercion Act, or the condition of affairs that has led to them. If I were to do so, I should have to occupy more time than is desirable; and, therefore, I decline to avail myself of the generous, if somewhat insidious, invitation that has been addressed to me from the other side of the House. When a question like that involved in the present Bill comes up, you must regard it boldly, broadly, and from a practical standpoint; and it is impossible to discuss, at this time of day, any great question connected with Ireland from an ideal point of view. You must look boldly at it, with a sense of the reality of things, and the only logic by which you must be governed in criticizing it is the logic of facts. Applying these common-sense observations to the present Bill, I may put this practical question—Have not the Government of to-day a right to consider the past history of this subject, and to ask whether the previous efforts to settle the question, however honestly they have been meant, have failed to come up to the benevolent intentions entertained by their authors; and whether the time has not admittedly come for another, a broader, and a bolder effort to deal with this question? If that be so, it is right to ask your Lordships to rise above the consideration of small technical matters, and to look at what are the difficulties to be met. The chief difficulty is essentially this—that land in Ireland is at present substantially unsaleable, that there is such a block in the land market that it interferes with the whole well-being of the country, and that it should be one of the first principles of practical statesmanship, putting all Party considerations on one side, to try to grapple with that evil, and to present a measure—not, it may be, an ambitious measure, but one which, at all events, will indicate that its authors had before their minds an earnest intention to present to Parliament a measure which shall be short, practical, and workable, and which, as far as may be, shall avoid contentious matter. After the debate which has taken place I cannot say that we have avoided all debatable topics; for, in dealing with a complicated question like this, we must present topics and clauses which must be regarded from many points of view. The answer I have to address to many of the criticisms which have been made, of which I acknowledge the justice, is that time is a necessity in the case. It is desirable that every effort should be made to expedite the passing of a measure like this; and the intelligent criticism to which it has been subjected by your Lordships will, I trust, facilitate the discussion of it in the other House. With regard to the speech of the noble Earl the late Lord Lieutenant (Earl Spencer), I recognize, in its closing words, that which was its governing spirit—namely, a desire that this Bill may be passed, and that it may be attended with every possible success; but several of the noble Earl's criticisms were, I think, made more or less to save his conscience, because the measure introduced by the late Government was to be passed by, and buried out of sight, with an admission that it was not workable. The other night I criticized Mr. Trevelyan's Bill with what I intended to be well-considered moderation; and when I mentioned the Guarantee Clause and its failure, I said that that proposal, which was originally well meant, and which received some small support on both sides of the House, was not, as experience shows, in itself workable. The noble Earl himself has to-night indicated that a guarantee requires a system of local government which does not exist in any part of the Empire. Has the noble Earl suggested any substitute for a guarantee, besides the substitute to be found in this Bill—namely, the retention of one-fifth of the money? That retention of one-fifth is far safer, more convenient, and more available than any system of guarantee. The noble Lord also criticized the terms on which an advance is to be made. Those are questions which may be discussed from many points of view; and I admit at once that the terms are extremely liberal. When the late Government announced, in the other House of Parliament, that it was their intention to make certain proposals with regard to this question, that must be taken as an indication that they intended that their new proposals for facilitating the working of the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act should be in advance of those which they brought forward last year. What those proposals might have been we cannot say; but we are answerable for those which we ourselves have thought it right to bring forward; and I think the Bill provides, perhaps not the best, but a fair and workable substitute for the guarantee contained in Mr. Trevelyan's Bill of last year. The noble Earl opposite expressed his opinion that the terms of this measure are so liberal as to amount, in fact, to a bribe. Acquainted as we both are with the condition of Ireland, I am rather surprised to hear such a statement made. In reply to it, all I can say is, that my settled conviction is that no one acquainted with Ireland will for a moment entertain the view that this measure will cause a headlong rush to buy out the land in Ireland; but if such a rush does result from it becoming law, the effect will be at once to cause some circulation with regard to the price of land, so that the law of supply and demand with regard to it may again come into a healthy state of operation in that country. Our object in bringing forward this measure is to make a beginning, at all events, in the direction of re-opening the land market of Ireland. I am myself far too intimately acquainted with the past and present history of my country to indulge in any wild language of confidence with reference to the results of this measure; but I have a reasonable and a moderate hope that it may be attended with reasonable and moderate results. I do not think that I should be justified in entering at this stage into a reply to the detailed criticisms which have been passed upon the provisions of the Bill, and, therefore, I shall leave that to the Committee stage. I may, however, say, in reference to the provision of the Bill which makes the Church Surplus Fund available as a last resort, that the Treasury have always a hankering after a last resort, and that I do not think that that fund will ever be called upon to meet deficiencies under the Bill. I hope, however, your Lordships will permit the clause to stand as it now does, so that the matter can be discussed in "another place." As to the appointment of the new Commissioners, I cannot, unless I wish to make my life a burden for the next few days, do more than say that the Government will be conscious of their responsibility as to the selection of two capable and upright men to discharge the functions intrusted to them; and they will not be influenced in those appointments by any consideration that will interfere with the legitimate, fair, and impartial working of every clause of the Land Act. In conclusion, I trust that this measure may tend in some degree to a settlement of the Land Question in Ireland; and if it should, indeed, prove an opening for a settlement of that important question I should, in truth, be satisfied, as well as greatly gratified.

Motion *agreed to.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Advances by the Land Commission.

Clause 2 (Advances to tenants under the Act) *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Deposit of money as guarantee fund).

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, he wished to call attention to the position under this Bill of those persons who had purchased their estates in the Landed Estates Court.

LORD CARLINGFORD also expressed a hope that the Land Commissioners would be required to exhaust all means at their disposal to recover the price from the tenants before the landlord's one-fifth was touched.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Terms of repayment of advances) *agreed to.*

Sales of Land.

Clause 5 (Purchase of estates and holdings) *agreed to.*

LORD CASTLETOWN proposed the insertion of an Amendment giving power to the tenant for life to leave a portion of the purchase money outstanding.

Moved, In page 3, after Clause 5, insert as a new Clause :—

(Power to tenant for life to leave part of purchase money outstanding.)

"Where a landlord of a holding is a tenant for life, or has the powers of a tenant for life within the meaning of those expressions as used in the Settled Land Act, 1882, and is selling such holding to the tenant thereof, he may exercise, to the same extent as if he were an absolute owner, the power of permitting any sum not exceeding one-fourth of the purchase money to remain as a charge upon such holding secured by a mortgage; and in case any advance is made by the Land Commission to the tenant for the purchase of such holding, any such mortgage shall be subject to any charge in favour of the Land Commission for securing such advance: and any such mortgage shall be deemed to be part of the purchase money payable in respect of such holding, and the money secured thereby when paid shall be dealt with as if it were capital money arising under the Settled Land Act, 1882, or purchase money otherwise payable under this Act."—(*The Lord Castletown.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE) said, he would accept the clause.

Motion *agreed to;* Clause *inserted* accordingly, with an Amendment.

Clauses 6 to 14, inclusive, *agreed to,* with Amendments.

Supplemental Provisions.

Clause 15 (Injunction to put purchaser in possession).

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, he objected to the proposed mode of applying the Irish Church Surplus to the purposes of the Bill, in that it would lock up the fund for 10 or 11 years.

EARL SPENCER asked whether it was intended that the interest, as well as the capital, of the Church Surplus Fund should be locked up for the whole nine or 10 years?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE), in reply, said, that he regarded the exact mode of dealing with the fund as a matter for the Treasury to decide; and he should, therefore, leave the question open for the present.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 16 to 24, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Schedule *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 197.)

In reply to Earl SPENCER,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE) said, he preferred not to give the names of the two new Commissioners on the Report.

TRAMWAYS ORDER IN COUNCIL (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 65.)

(*The Earl Spencer.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Earl Spencer.*)

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Earl of REDESDALE), in moving, as an Amendment, "That the Bill be read the third time that day three months," said, it had first been introduced as a Provisional Order, and had gone as such properly before a Select Committee of the House; but, having been rejected by that Committee, now it was changed into an Order in Council, and the decision of the Committee declared to have no effect, because, if the Bill had been so called when introduced, it would not have been sent to it. The promoters of the Bill were alone responsible for the mistake; and the House, after the inquiry to which it had become properly subject, was now asked to pass a measure which had been, according to their orders, declared to be objectionable.

Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months.")—(*The Earl of Redesdale.*)

THE EARL OF SELBORNE explained that the measure had been proceeded with as a Provisional Order in the first instance.

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? Their Lordships *divided:* — Contents 29; Not-Contents 17: Majority 12.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

Bill read 3ª accordingly: An Amendment made: Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

(NO. 178.) THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª." —(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that the arguments against the Bill had never been heard. They were so numerous that it would take an hour and a-half to marshal them before their Lordships. He would, therefore, ask the noble Earl in charge of the Bill whether he would not postpone the Bill?

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in reply, said, that he had postponed it two or three times; and knowing the exceptional nature of the Rules of the House, however early he might postpone it, he always found it at the bottom of the List. He, therefore, could not agree to the postponement, and he would have the greatest pleasure in listening to the noble Earl for as many hours as he chose to speak.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that he did not intend to inflict a long speech upon their Lordships.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 3ª accordingly.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"

THE EARL OF MINTO, in moving, as an Amendment, that in the Title of the Bill the word "Vice" should be left out before "President," and that the Title should read, "An Act for appointing a Secretary for Scotland and President of the Scottish Education Department," said, he would subsequently also move that wherever the word "Vice" occurred in the Bill it should be left out. In supporting the Motion, he said that those Amendments were of the simplest possible kind, and were intended to give the Bill something of the character which it had borne when his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) introduced it, and which had been partially lost by giving the new Secretary the title of Vice President, instead of President of the newly-constituted Scottish Education Department. He thought the general principle of the Bill had been admitted by all Parties. It was to transfer to the new Scottish Secretary from the Home Office, the Treasury, or other Departments, various duties which were enumerated in the Schedule. He would merely mention two of these—the Poor Law administration, which was at present under the Local Board of Supervision, and the Lunacy Board. It had been objected to the transference of Education to the new Minister, that that would involve removal from the Treasury of the administration of money; but he would remind them that, as a matter of fact, considerable Parliamentary grants were at present given for the administration of the Poor Law and the Lunacy Acts, and also for the County Constabulary of Scotland. He, therefore, could not conceive why this principle could not be acted upon in the matter of Education. His Amendment was simply to leave out the word "Vice" wherever it occurred, so that the Minister for Scotland might have charge of Scottish Education in reality, and also so as to avoid a conflict of a very absurd kind, resulting in that division of authority which was sometimes attended with unfortunate results.

Amendment *moved,* in Title, page 1, to leave out the word ("Vice") before the word ("President.")—(*The Earl of Minto.*)

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK) said, that his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) had complained of the misfortunes which had attended his Bill; but there were certain rules which had to be observed. The whole character of the Bill was now to be changed on its third reading, in an almost deserted House, after it had passed in Report, and that, too, by the omission of a single word. The whole question was this. As the Bill now stood, the Secretary for Scotland would be in the same position with respect to Education as the Vice President of the Council on Education in England. He would have the administration of all the Scottish Education, but under the President of the Council, just as the Vice President was in England. Without expressing himself too strongly on the general merits of the Bill, although he was not so enamoured of it as some of his noble Friends opposite, he yet could not help thinking that what the noble Earl (the Earl of Minto) now proposed was very objectionable. What it amounted to was this—that no one but a Scotsman was to be considered fit to administer Scottish Education. He (Viscount Cranbrook) wished to know whether the noble Earl would like to exclude Scotsmen from interfering with, or exercising any influence on, English Education; or would take it out of the power of Scotsmen to administer Education in England—from his noble Friend (the Duke of Argyll), who had been head of the Council, or from his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery), who had attained a distinguished position as a Scotsman—a position which they did not at all grudge him? But now the position seemed to be this—that they were to set up a separate Department to which only a Scotsman was to be appointed, and to get rid of that admixture in one Office which enabled them to consult one another on many questions connected with Education, to talk over improvements, and to deal with Scottish Education, without, however, attempting to put down that system which had flourished in Scotland for centuries, and with which there had been no disposition to interfere in the Department. But suddenly the noble Lord proposed to change all that at the last moment, and to set up a totally separate establishment—a new Department which would have to be created from beginning to end. He (Viscount Cranbrook) must leave the matter entirely to the House. The Bill was not in the hands of the Government; it was brought in by the late Government, and the present Government were ready to accept it in the form in which it had passed through Committee; but he was not able to accept the noble Earl's Amendment. It would be quite a different question in that event taking place, and it were adopted.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he did not think that the contention of his noble Friend the Lord President of the Council—that this was a very unexpected proceeding on the part of his noble Friend (the Earl of Minto)—was quite justified by the facts, of which he (the Earl of Rosebery) would proceed to give his noble Friend a gentle reminder. He must make it quite clear to the House that the noble Earl was not doing anything that was outrageous, or anything but what was justifiable. The clause which he (the Earl of Rosebery) had originally introduced was exactly what the Amendment of the noble Earl now proposed to effect; but after he entered the House on the day of the Committee stage, the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Cranbrook) said to him that, technically, it could not be carried out; because, if the word "President" were left in, there would be two Presidents of the Council, and therefore, at the last moment, he (the Earl of Rosebery) had consented to insert the word "Vice," of which very general, and he thought just complaint had been made on the part of his noble Friend behind him (the Earl of Minto). As a matter of fact, he (the Earl of Rosebery) had examined more into that question since his noble Friend had insisted on leaving out the word "Vice;" and he must say that all the highest authorities on the subject—not the political authorities, but all the real authorities—would tell the noble Viscount that it was not unheard of that a Committee of Privy Council for a particular object should have a President. There was a President of the Local Government Board; there was a President of the Board of Trade; and he did not think that, as regarded the technical point, there was anything to object to. But his noble Friend the President of the Council said that the Amendment of his noble Friend behind him would make it impossible for anybody but a Scotsman to have control of the Scottish Education Department; but he had also told them, in the earlier part of his speech, that the Vice President was to have complete control of the Scottish Education Department. He (the Earl of Rosebery) would go a little further, and say that, if they were to adhere to the words that the Lord President used on the first occasion on which they discussed this subject, and which were to the effect that if the thing were to be done it had better be complete and total in its nature, then the Amendment of the noble Earl was a great improvement on the Bill; or, rather, the restoration of the clause which he (the Earl of Rosebery) had formerly introduced. Why, if it were really intended to separate Scottish Education from English Education, why should they not do it thoroughly? Why put in the word "Vice President," unless there was still some idea of keeping up fancied connection with English Education? It was neither one thing nor the other, putting in "Vice President." It was not taking it out of the Education Office, and it was not putting it under the control of the Scottish Secretary. He had been quite prepared, he had submitted, to accept the word "Vice" when proposed by his noble Friend the Lord President; but the more he had looked into it, the more he had thought of it, the more convinced he had become that there was something more in that word than met the eye. But there was a further obstacle. If the separation of Education in England and Scotland was really wanted, there could be no objection to the Amendment of his noble Friend; and if the separation of English and Scottish Education was not really wanted by the Government, it would give no satisfaction to Scotland. He had one word further. There was this small objection. It was that there was a very grave inconvenience in having two Vice Presidents of the Council. It was quite obvious—one could see how many practical objections might arise from such a state of things. They might put one Vice President in the Cabinet, and unfortunately the other Vice President might be left out, which might cause ill-feeling; and, further, if they had two Vice Presidents, they might have any number of them. The Childers' Committee had been largely relied upon by those who wished to put Education under a popular Scottish Minister as Vice President, and who objected to the word President. In fact, the whole object of the Childers' Committee was to get rid of the Lord President's predominance over Education in that country. But now, by putting a new Vice President of Education under the Lord President, they were bolstering up and stereotyping the very arrangement which the Childers' Committee wished to do away with. He would say that without fear of contradiction. He would only say one thing more. He believed that those who were permanently connected with the Education Department, those who really had to deal with this matter, were certainly in favour of the Amendment of the noble Earl (the Earl of Minto) that the Minister should be a President. They believed that, if the separation was to take place, it should be complete. It might be better to keep it entirely in the hands of the President and the Board of the Privy Council; but if it were to be separated at all, it should be separated altogether. He therefore entirely preferred his original clause being restored to the Bill than have the Bill as it now stood.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, he was entirely in favour of transferring the Education of Scotland to the Scottish Minister; but he was also desirous that the Bill should pass, and, therefore, he thought his noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Rosebery) was not exercising a wise discretion in putting the Bill into a hostile or aggressive position again. He thought the noble Earl would do much better to accept what was in the nature and phrase of a compromise, which would create less disturbance of the machinery of the Department, and, while it would procure a separation between the conduct of Scottish and English Education, would not distract too violently the arrangements of the Government Departments. He (the Marquess of Salisbury) certainly would much regret if there should thus be created a danger to the passing of the Bill. After all, considering the matter not only from the general standpoint, but from the special standpoint of the 22nd of July, he thought it was not desirable, nor did he believe that, at that period of the year, so wide an administrative change as the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Minto) contemplated could be safely carried out. He hoped, however, that the House would assent to the second mind instead of to the third mind of the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery); and if the House decided otherwise, he could not promise that the Government in the House of Commons would do otherwise than adhere to the view he had now expressed.

The Earl of WEMYSS said, that the Bill was a great disappointment. What they had agitated for formerly was to have a Scottish Secretary in the Cabinet.

The Earl of ROSEBERY: Never.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that the noble Earl had said in that House that if they would put the Lord Advocate into the Cabinet, that was all they wanted. Having failed in that, what did they do? They tried to get as much work and as high a position as they could for this mongrel Minister for Scotland. Education had been added this year, and now his noble Friend (the Earl of Minto) was not satisfied with the position of Vice President, but was insisting that the Scottish Secretary must be President. Was the new Secretary to feed and clothe the children, and give higher education and facilities for secondary education at the expense of the rates? He understood that that was the intention, and he objected in the strongest manner to that proposal.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, that the noble Earl who had just sat down (the Earl of Wemyss) was altogether wrong in the matter. He (the Marquess of Lothian) claimed to know more about the movement in Scotland than the noble Earl; for he had presided at the great national meeting in Edinburgh, when the wishes of the people of Scotland were unanimously expressed on the subject, while all they had on that occasion from the noble Earl was a letter, in which he expressed his disagreement with the object of the meeting. All Scotland approved of the Bill, and at the meeting to which he had referred the question whether the Secretary for Scotland should be a Cabinet Minister was raised; and he, for one, had pointed out that it was impossible to pass a resolution that any given officer of State should of necessity be in the Cabinet. Therefore, he thought he might fairly say that the noble Earl was quite wrong on this point. On the question of rating for Education, he did not think that would fall into the hands of the Minister in charge of Scottish Education; but, if it did, he did not think the rate would become heavier than at present. He was sorry his noble Friend the Lord President of the Council had not seen his way to accept the Amendment of the noble Earl (the Earl of Minto), and his own reasons for supporting that Amendment were those stated by the noble Earl in charge of the Bill (the Earl of Rosebery). From what his noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) had stated on a former occasion, he (the Marquess of Lothian) understood that the Government were anxious that the Bill should be interpreted in the most liberal way possible, and that they accepted the addition of Education as forming part of the Bill. But after what had now fallen from the noble Marquess he felt that it might be a great mistake if their Lordships divided upon the question; and if the Lord President was able to give satisfactory assurances in reply to questions which he would now put to him, he thought that the object of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Minto) would be attained, and he would ask him not to press his Amendment. He would like to ask the Lord President of the Council—first, whether it was intended that the Scottish Education Department should be wholly distinct and separate from the English Education Department in form, substance, and organization, and that there should be a separate permanent Secretary for Scotland; and, secondly, whether the patronage and the sole control of the Department should rest with the Scottish Minister and Committee? He did not think his noble Friend (Viscount Cranbrook) had yet given any direct assurance on the question of patronage; and he held that if the Scottish Education Department was to be separated from the English Department, and be, practically, under the control of the Scottish Minister, the patronage ought to be in his hands. He trusted that, after what had fallen from his noble Friend, he would be able to answer the question in the affirmative.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY said, he must press on his noble Friend (the Earl of Minto) not to divide the House on this question. He (the Marquess of Huntly) understood that there was a general feeling among the Scottish Peers in favour of the Bill, mainly because it proposed to place Education in the hands of the new Minister; and that being so, they might have made the Secretary for Scotland in name what he would actually be in substance; but, looking to the future of the Bill, if it were not supported by the Government, he thought it might be advisable not to insist upon the Amendment.

LORD DENMAN said, he was half a Scotchman, and hoped this Bill would be carried in accordance with the wish of the people of Scotland; and if the noble Earl's Amendment were pressed he would vote for it.

Lord HERRIES said, that he, for one, had had a serious objection to the proposed change in the interests of Education in general; for he thought that Denominational Education would suffer from the change, and it was not to the advantage of the Denominational Education in Scotland that Education should be made over entirely to a Scottish Board. He, therefore, hoped that the new Department for Scotch Education would not direct its efforts to the discouragement of Denominational Education. There was nothing to prevent the new Minister deciding that English certificates should not extend to Scotland. Such a step would be fatal to the Scotch Roman Catholics, because the Training Colleges from which their teachers came were all situated in England. He desired to make these remarks to the House, as he had had no opportunity of voting, otherwise he should have preferred to give a silent vote in favour of the Amendment moved by the noble Earl on the second reading of the Bill.

The Earl of WEMYSS said, he must deny the statement that all the Scottish Peers were in favour of transferring Education to the new Minister. For instance, his noble Friend (Lord Balfour) had said——

The Earl of ROSEBERY rose to Order. The noble Earl had already spoken twice on the Amendment.

The LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Viscount Cranbrook) said, that, at the risk also of being told that he had spoken twice, he would like to answer the question of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lothian). What he supposed was meant was this—that the Vice President who would be Secretary for Scotland would have exactly the same control over Scottish Education which the English Vice President had always had over English Education. Now, as the President of the Council was President of every Committee of the Privy Council to which there was a Vice President, so he must retain that authority in this case. It was not with him (Viscount Cranbrook) a personal matter—he was only speaking of what appertained to the position of President, and that view had been held by the Education Commissioners — namely, that the President must retain the supremacy. As to the patronage, he thought the less the Minister had to do with it the better for him. But, apart from that, he could not divest the present holder of patronage, unless it was taken from him by Act of Parliament. It could only be expressed through an Act of Parliament.

The Earl of ROSEBERY: There is the Board of Trade.

The LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Viscount Cranbrook) said, that the Board of Trade had it under an Act of Parliament. A noble Lord had spoken of the possibility of a Vice President setting up a new system for Scotland. Well, he presumed that, with a separate establishment, a new Minister for Scotland would issue his own Code and Regulations, and would not be bound in any sense by the Code which was now in force. That was something which he certainly was not anxious to affirm. As to being distinct and separate in form and substance, he might say that Scottish Education was one and English Education another thing; but, in substance, it was the same thing, and was paid for and dealt with in the same manner. The organization of Scottish Education would be the same as now. The administration of the present Vice President would cease, and the administration of the new Vice President would come into force.

The Earl of MINTO said, that as the noble Marquess at the head of the Government (the Marquess of Salisbury) had told them that if this Amendment were pressed he would no longer be responsible for the welfare of the Bill——

The Marquess of SALISBURY (interrupting) explained that what he had said was, that he would not be responsible for the welfare of the Amendment.

The Earl of MINTO said, that as he had interpreted the noble Marquess to mean that the measure might be rejected as a Government measure in the other House if the Amendment were persisted in, he did not now propose to move the Amendment. He would rather see the Bill passed as it stood than see it opposed by the Government. He would therefore withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Amendments made.

Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at half past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 21*st July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered*,— *First Reading*—Revising Barristers * [237]; Evidence by Commission * [238]; Moveable Dwellings [239]; Patent Law Amendment [240].

Second Reading—Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) * [233]; County Officers and Courts (Ireland) (Pensions) [112].

Select Committee—Pluralities [22], Mr. Caine and Mr. Atkinson *added*.

Committee—Report—Medical Relief Disqualification Removal [232]; School Boards * [235]; Greenwich Hospital * [222].

Considered as amended—Exchequer and Treasury Bills * [229].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) [180]; Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices) * [148], and *passed*.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

——o——

SOUTHWARK AND VAUXHALL WATER BILL [*Lords*].

SECOND READING.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the case of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill [*Lords*], Standing Order 235 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he thought the House would do well not to suspend the Standing Order on the present occasion, or, at any rate, not to read the Bill a second time. The Standing Order was of a very simple and reasonable character, and why there should be such a hurry in regard to the Bill he was at a loss to understand. The Standing Order was this—

> "Three clear days' notice in writing shall be given by the agents of the Bill to the clerks in the Private Bill Office of the day proposed for the second reading of every Private Bill; and no such notice should be given until the day after that in which the Bill has been ordered to be read a second time,"

That was a very simple condition, and it interposed a very limited obstacle to the progress of any measure which could not be defended upon its merits; and why the ordinary course had not been pursued on this occasion he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) did not very well see. The Bill, on its merits, would deserve very serious consideration before the House would be induced to pass it. In view of the prospect of fresh legislation dealing with the whole question of the water supply of the Metropolis, it became a very serious question whether it was right to enable any of these public ventures and vested interests to increase the capital by which, under existing statutes, they were unable to secure so high a rate of interest as those which the Metropolitan Water Companies and Gas Companies were now enjoying. The proposal involved in the present Bill was to increase the capital of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company by an additional sum of no less than £250,000. He would submit that it was inexpedient to grant to this Company or to any other Company facilities for increasing their capital stock in the ventures already sanctioned by Parliament, especially when it could not be proved that a further expenditure was necessitated by any real public want; and, further, when it could be proved that clear injustice would be done to certain private interests affected by the measure. He would submit that there was no necessity whatever for the construction of the new works now proposed. It was stated by the Company that the new works were necessary in order to enable them to afford a better water supply to parts of the parish of Wimbledon, which were not yet supplied by this Company. Now, the whole of that parish was included in the supply provided by the Lambeth Water Works Company, and a considerable part of the parish was already supplied by that Company. He was also assured that the Lambeth Company were in a position to give a constant supply, at high pressure, to the rest of the parish of Wimbledon from their existing water works. The Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company had obtained power in an Act to supply the same parish with water last year; but, on that occasion, they made no application for the construction of any additional works. They appeared to have discovered since that it was absolutely necessary to construct works, of which, at the time they obtained their Act, no indication whatever was given; and for that purpose they now proposed to increase their capital to the extent, as he had said before, of £250,000. The original proposal, under the Bill, was to take a certain portion of land, consisting of a messuage and gardens in private occupation in the neighbourhood of Forest Hill; but, in consequence of the opposition of the owners of that property, the original plan had been considerably modified. It was found that the Company would be obliged to purchase, probably, the whole of that private property if they had persisted with their original scheme. That scheme would have enabled them, so they said, to store some 9,000,000 gallons of water for use. But in consequence of the opposition to that part of their Bill they modified their plans; and they now proposed not to take any portion of that particular property, but to take a piece of land immediately outside of it, which would, of course, very materially affect the value of the property; and the storage power, which, under the modified scheme, they would have, so far from being equal to 9,000,000 gallons, would not provide for 1,000,000 gallons. He believed that the storage power, under the present scheme, would amount to something like 750,000 gallons. It was perfectly obvious that if the Company were right in their original contention, that it was necessary to have this large tank or reservoir given, so that they might have the control of 9,000,000 gallons daily in this particular place, the present scheme, under which they would be able to supply or store less than 1,000,000 gallons, could not, by any means, meet the requirements of the case. The original position of the Company, therefore, was altogether inconsistent with that which they had now taken up. The public necessity, which was the ground upon which they came forward in the first instance with their original scheme, was, according to their present admission, proved to have been very considerably overrated. But, in view of the fact that the Lambeth Water Company were quite capable of supplying the district aimed at with whatever water was required for the present, it was a matter which appeared to him very much open to doubt whether any new provision on the part of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company was required at all. But, suppose they were allowed to carry out their present scheme, there could not be the slightest doubt that they would have to come to Parliament hereafter for further powers under a new Bill to enable them to take in the adjoining pieces of land and include them in their works. The land the Company now sought to take would form the thin end of the wedge; and, ultimately, they would be able indirectly to carry out that very serious injury to private property which they were prevented from doing when they tried to make a direct attack upon it. That, however, was only the private interests' aspect of the question. The public interests were very much more important, if this Company were to be allowed to increase their capital now by so large a sum as £250,000. Surely, if that would have been sufficient to enable them to take the larger piece of land which they originally sought to acquire, it could not, under the modified scheme, be necessary at all to increase their capital to so large an extent, especially when it was borne in mind that the whole question of the water supply of the Metropolis must be dealt with shortly; and one important element in dealing with it would be the enormous amount of public money which it would be necessary to advance in order to buy up vested interests. The passing of the present Bill would inevitably entail a considerably enhanced charge upon the public when the powers of the Water Companies were taken over; and he, therefore, asked the House to refuse its sanction to the present scheme, because, by so doing, they would ultimately save a very considerable charge upon the public purse. If he were in Order he would move, as an Amendment to the Motion before the House, that the Bill be read a second time on that day three months.

Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE said, that he wished also to oppose the second reading of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill, but on somewhat different grounds from those which had been urged by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Arthur O'Connor). His own feeling was that the proposal of the Southwark and Vauxhall Company in regard to the supply of Wimbledon, with a reservoir placed on high ground for that purpose, was one that might very advantageously affect the value of property in the neighbourhood. He had no opposition whatever to make to that part of the Bill. Anyone acquainted with the condition of the London works of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company would be able to understand the objection of the Wandsworth Board of Works, who represented 250,000 inhabitants of the Metropolis, to some of the proposals of this Bill. Hon. Members would be aware that, as the train proceeded out of the Victoria Station, shortly after crossing the Thames, they came to a number of large sheets of water, which formed the filter beds of the Southwark and Vauxhall Company. But on the right-hand side, in immediate proximity to these reservoirs, were the gigantic dust heaps of Mr. Covington, where nearly the whole of the dust from the West End of London was deposited and sorted. The Wandsworth Board of Works had felt for a long time that the proximity of these dust heaps to the supply of drinking water, which the people they represented had to drink, formed a most palpable nuisance; but the attempts which had hitherto been made to get rid of these dust heaps had unfortunately failed. In 1872, the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company, to whom the dust heaps belonged, were proceeded against for a nuisance; but the magistrates held that dust was in the nature of an article in the process of manufacture, and that these premises and dust heaps were necessary to enable the manufacturer to carry on his business. These dust heaps were in close proximity to Battersea Park; but if they had been in the immediate vicinity of Hyde Park he was satisfied that they would not have been allowed to remain there for 24 hours, and very few Members of that House would be prepared to support their retention. The Southwark and Vauxhall Company had no control over the dust heaps; but what they undertook, at the instance of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board of the late Government (Sir Charles W. Dilke), was to introduce, in the Bill now under discussion, a clause giving them compulsory powers to acquire the dust heaps. The Company did introduce a clause to that effect in their Bill; but it was not a clause to which they were particularly attached. They gave it an exceedingly luke-warm support, and the learned counsel, who appeared on behalf of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company, spoke of the dust heaps as being merely a sentimental grievance. It was hardly to be wondered at that, under those circumstances, the House of Lords struck the clause out. No one acquainted with the facility with which water was polluted could deny that dust heaps in the vicinity of reservoirs containing water for domestic consumption might have a most serious and injurious effect on the water itself. The Company, he believed, relied upon the fact that the filtering process which the water would undergo would deprive it of any injurious effect which might be produced upon it by the contiguity of these dust heaps. Surely it was hardly necessary in these days to point out that the germs of fever which were often contained in polluted water were not of a nature to be removed by filtration. The minute organisms which produced fevers and other diseases could not be removed by filtration; and, therefore, it was a most objectionable thing to have reservoirs and filter beds in the immediate vicinity of dust heaps. The reservoirs employed for holding the drinking water of the Metropolis ought to be in some place where the water could be stored in a perfectly pure state, and so distributed. He did not think it was at all an exaggeration to say, having regard to the condition of two European countries in our immediate neighbourhood, that there was serious danger of an outbreak of cholera in this country. A patient might be seized with cholera in the streets. That was a circumstance which often happened in visitations of cholera. If such a patient were to vomit upon the pavement, and the vomit were to dry up, it would be carted away with the dust of the street, and from those very dust heaps there would be danger of its finding its way into the water stored for drinking purposes. By this means a serious outbreak of cholera might be brought about. What, he thought, the Water Company ought to do was one of two things. If it were possible, they ought to cover in the filter beds, so that it would be impossible for dust from these dust heaps to find its way into, and injuriously affect, the purity of the water. Probably that would be a very difficult business; the Company maintained that it could not be done; and that in regard to the large quantity of water collected in this locality, it was somewhat unreasonable to ask them to cover in the filter beds. If that were so, he (Sir Trevor Lawrence) thought the Company should agree to re-introduce the clause which had been struck out of the Bill by the House of Lords, so that they might be able to take over the dust yard at Battersea, and thus prevent it from continuing to contaminate the water. It was nothing less than a great public scandal that a large collection of dust should be allowed to be made in close proximity to the water stored for the consumption of 250,000 of the inhabitants of the Metropolis. He hoped that, under these circumstances, the obligation would be imposed upon the Company, if the Bill were allowed to be read a second time, of dealing with this serious evil. The clause which had been struck out provided that, subject to the provisions of the Act, the Company might acquire and compulsorily enter upon this piece of land at Battersea Park, now used as a dust yard. Then followed in the clause a full description of the land in question. He understood that the promoters of the Bill were not unwilling to assent to the re-introduction of this clause; and, if so, his opposition to the Bill, as its provisions now stood, would be in a great measure removed, because he was quite prepared to admit that, however great the objection might be to the formation of reservoirs in a great City like London, it was altogether impossible to place upon the Water Company the obligation of removing the filter beds which already existed. That subject might have to be considered hereafter; but, so far as he was concerned, he would not oppose the further progress of the Bill if the Company would agree to revive the clause which had been struck out by the House of Lords.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he thought that every proposal which came from a Water Company ought to be looked upon with very great suspicion. This Water Company brought in their Bill before the House of Lords. The Metropolitan Board of Works, as the guardians of the interests of the ratepayers of the Metropolis, appeared before the Committee of that House, and proposed certain alterations in the provisions of the Bill. Those alterations were opposed by the Company, and the House of Lords declined to concede the points demanded by the Metropolitan Board of Works, or by the representatives of the ratepayers. He thought there were two points raised by the Metropolitan Board. The first was this. The Water Company were, as was well known, allowed to earn, without any reduction of rates, a dividend of 10 per cent on their capital; but in the case of this Company, for a considerable time they did not earn 10 per cent, and, therefore, they maintained that they had to charge for the deficiencies of past dividends—that whereas, during a period of 30 years, they had not made 10 per cent, all the excesses they now obtained over 10 per cent should be devoted to making up past deficiencies. Practically, if this principle were allowed, the public would never get any sort of advantage in the reduction of the price of water when a Water Company came to earn more than 10 per cent. The proposal of the Metropolitan Board of Works in this case was that if the Company succeeded in obtaining permission to raise more capital, they should, instead of carrying the deficiencies in past dividends over for 30 years, only carry them over for three years. This proposition was rejected by the House of Lords. The second objection of the Metropolitan Board was to the mode in which the Water Company proposed to raise the new capital. It was proposed to be raised by debentures at 4½ per cent. Now, it was well known, as a matter of fact, that they could raise the capital at par at 4 per cent, and that would have been more in accordance with the provisions of their general Act. Finding that the premium at which the shares would be issued—a premium, he believed, of 15 per cent—would in no way benefit the public, although they would in some way benefit the shareholders of the Water Company, the Metropolitan Board, as the natural guardians of the ratepayers of London, proposed two clauses. It was urged that the Bill ought to be sent to a Select Committee of the House of Commons, where all these matters could be more properly discussed. But everybody knew that it cost a considerable sum of money to discuss these Bills before a Committee either of this or the other House of Parliament. The Company refused the fair and legitimate terms offered to them by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and were sustained in their refusal by the Committee of the House of Lords. He, therefore, did not think that the Metropolitan Board, who had already appeared before one Committee, ought to be called upon to appear before another, and to expend more of the ratepayers' money in Parliamentary and legal procedure. It ought to be understood by these Companies that when they came forward with a Bill, they must, in the first instance, come to terms with the Metropolitan Board of Works, or their Representatives, and obtain the assent of the Board to their proposals. If they did not, then let the House of Commons always refuse to read their Bills a second time. For those reasons he hoped his hon. Friend, who objected to the suspension of the Standing Order, would go to a division, and that the House would refuse to allow the Bill to be read a second time.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, that if the promoters of the Bill would consent to the re-introduction of the clause creating compulsory powers to purchase the dust yard he should not oppose the measure; but if the clause were not re-introduced he should oppose it. It was a matter which had long been under the consideration of the Local Government Board. As far back as 1872 a Report was made by one of the Inspectors of the Board, showing that this dust yard was a nuisance of great magnitude, and that it was dangerous to the health of the Metropolis. The Inspector stated that the plot of ground in question was used for the storage of dust collected from St. George's Hanover Square, and other parts of the West End; that after it was deposited small microscopic particles were constantly blown from the yard to the filter beds of the Water Company; and that some of the particles so blown, being of organic origin, could not be removed by filtration. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour), under these circumstances, thought it would be his duty to oppose the Bill, unless the Water Company gave the promise asked for, that the clause rejected by the House of Lords should be re-inserted in the Bill.

COLONEL MAKINS said, that although the Bill had been attacked all along the line by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), who had moved the rejection of it, the question before the House had now narrowed itself to the re-insertion of the clause giving the Water Company power to acquire compulsorily the land now used as a dust yard. The position of the Company in regard to that matter was this—they had *bonâ fide* intended to carry out that undertaking, and had introduced a clause in the Bill which went before the House of Lords. But the clause was opposed by the Railway Company, and thrown out by the House of Lords; and, therefore, the Company had no power of introducing it in the Bill as it now stood before the House of Commons. If, however, the Local Government Board would send down a clause to the Committee, the Water Company would not object to it, but were prepared to leave the matter to be dealt with by the Committee. He took that to be the practice of the House in regard to these matters, and it was the limit of any pledge which could be given. He would not enter into the questions which had been raised by his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Surrey (Sir Trevor Lawrence), or that which had been raised by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), in regard to back dividends. The last was a point which had been settled by the House of Lords, who decided upon following former precedents in similar cases. The Water Company, in that respect, were not initiating anything new; and, considering the formal pledge he was able to give on their behalf, he thought the House would do well to allow the Bill to be sent upstairs to a Committee, where every point which had been raised could be dealt with. As he had explained, it was impossible for the Company to insert a clause in the Bill of their own Motion; but they would offer no objection if a clause was proposed to the Committee. He trusted that, under these circumstances, the House would allow the Bill to be read a second time.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, there were other questions involved in the Bill besides that of the dust heaps. There were two most important matters which had been noticed by his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere)—namely, the effect of the clauses of the Bill which related to the raising of capital. It would, he thought, be apparent to any hon. Member of the House that some £600,000 of back dividends ought not to be kept back, because it might be possible hereafter for the Municipal Authority of the Metropolis to buy up this Company. He also objected, on behalf of the Metropolitan Board of Works, to the Auction Clauses of the Bill, which provided that the debenture stock, created under the powers of the Bill, when offered for sale by auction or tender, and not sold, should be offered to the holders of ordinary shareholders of stock. The ground of objection was, that this Water Company ought not to have the power of issuing fresh dividends, of which the shareholders would obtain the full and entire benefit. If there was any profit realized, beyond the interest upon the borrowed capital, it ought to be put into a fund, so that, when the time came for the Municipal Authorities to buy up the concern, this additional capital should not become an extra charge. He would only add that the Metropolitan Board of Works had done all in their power to fight out the matter in the interests of the ratepayers; and seeing that the Company had not felt it right to accede to the proposals of the Metropolitan Board, or in any way to help them, he hoped the House would throw out the Bill, which he certainly did not think was worthy of a second reading.

Mr. M'COAN said, he thought that very scant justice had, by some of the speakers who had already addressed the House, been done to the promoters of the Bill. He (Mr. M'Coan) was satisfied that no injustice had been done intentionally; but hon. Members had passed over all the evidence which had been laid before the House of Lords on the matter. What were the actual facts of the case? They had either been ignored altogether, or incorrectly submitted to the House. The chief objection to the Bill, as he understood from the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), was to the proximity of the dust yard to the filter beds of the Company at Battersea. As a matter of fact, the Committee of the House of Lords heard evidence upon that question from experts and medical men; and the effect of that evidence was that the proximity of the dust heaps to the filter beds had no injurious effect upon the water supply, because the waterworks in the neighbourhood of the dust yard were not reservoirs, but filter beds. Important evidence to that effect was given by Dr. Tidy and other eminent men; and it was conclusively proved that such particles of dust as passed from the dust heaps to the filter beds did no injury whatever to the water. That evidence was accepted by the Committee of the House of Lords, after due examination and consideration, and conviction was brought home to the minds of the Committee that the Bill ought to be passed. The result was that the Committee yielded to the objection raised by the London and Brighton Railway Company, who strongly opposed the clause which gave compulsory powers to take the dust yard, and made it a condition of passing the Bill that the clause should be struck out. The Company, so far as they were themselves concerned, went to the House of Lords with a clause asking for power to buy up this dust yard; but the Lords, of their own Motion, at the instance of the London and Brighton Railway Company, refused to pass it. He (Mr. M'Coan), therefore, thought that it was somewhat late in the day to make the omission of that clause a ground of opposition to the progress of the Bill in the House of Commons. An objection had been taken by the hon. and gallant Baronet the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) that the Bill did not contain the ordinary Auction Clauses. Surely the hon. and gallant Baronet could hardly have read the Bill, or he (Mr. M'Coan) was quite sure that the hon. and gallant Gentleman would have been too candid to have concealed from the House that a clause tantamount to the usual Auction Clauses was inserted in the Bill. Clause 24 of the Bill provided that—

"The Company may, for the purposes of this Act, and for the general purposes of their undertaking, subject to the provisions of Part II. of the Companies Clauses Act, 1863, raise any additional capital not exceeding in the whole two hundred and fifty thousand pounds by the creation and issue of debenture stock at par, and may attach to such stock any fixed

> and perpetual interest not exceeding the rate per centum per annum at which the Company may from time to time be enabled to issue the same at par by public auction or by tender in such manner at such times and subject to such conditions as the Company shall from time to time determine."

There was no premium, therefore, which would go into the pockets of the shareholders of the Company, as was suggested; but the debentures would be issued at par, not to shareholders only, but to the public at large. It was unfair to attempt to impose upon those who had not read the Bill, and were not familiar with the evidence taken by the House of Lords, that this was a job to issue new stock for the advantage of the shareholders. Although he had, of course, no authority for saying so, he believed that the promoters of the Bill, while they could not, in good faith to the Committee of the House of Lords or to the Brighton Railway Company, volunteer to re-introduce the clause which the Lords had struck out, in regard to the acquisition of the dust yard, were perfectly ready, if the House of Commons made it a condition of the passing of the second reading, that the clause should be revived, to consent to the whole question being remitted to the Committee upstairs to hear evidence upon it, and decide whether the clause should be inserted or not. They could not offer to restore the clause themselves, because it would be an act of bad faith, not only towards the Brighton Company, but towards the House of Lords. He submitted that the most equitable course would be to read the Bill a second time, and to remit it to a Committee upstairs in the usual way, leaving it to them to say what should become of the question of the dust yard.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 71; Noes 119: Majority 48.—(Div. List, No. 235.)

QUESTIONS.

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MINES REGULATION ACT—CLIFTON HALL COLLIERY EXPLOSION.

MR. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the following facts brought before the jury at the inquiry into the Clifton Hall Colliery Explosion, whereby 177 lives were lost:—That one of the firemen whose duty it was, according to the Mines Regulation Act, to examine the working places, and to keep a written record of their condition, could not read or write; that gas had often been seen in the mine; that the Trencherbone seam, in which the explosion took place, is the same as the Wigan nine-foot seam, in which many very serious explosions have occurred; that naked lights were generally used, and the miners were allowed to take pipes and tobacco into the working places, whether they worked with lamps or with naked lights; that, even when lamps were ordered, there was no uniformity of system, sometimes the Davy, sometimes the Clanny, or other lamp being used, at the option of the workmen; that Mr. Dickinson had repeatedly urged upon the owners, apparently without avail, the general use of safety lamps throughout the mine; whether he is aware that the Davy lamp, which was the lamp mostly in use at the Clifton Hall Colliery, gives a very imperfect light, and has been proved to be utterly unsafe when the ventilating current exceeds six feet per second; whether his attention has been called to a communication sent to the late Home Secretary by the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Accidents in Mines in December 1880, in which the following statement is made—

> "The employment of the ordinary Davy lamp, without a shield of metal or glass, in an explosive mixture, when the current exceeds six feet a second, is attended with risk of accident almost amounting to certainty. The Clanny lamp, when tested in a similar current, has proved to be scarcely, if at all, less dangerous;"

and, whether, under all the circumstances, he will order a further inquiry into the management of the Clifton Hall Colliery, or whether, in any case, he will take steps to ensure that in future only safety lamps of the best kind are used in the colliery?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS), in reply, said, that his attention had been called to this accident, and his Predecessor in Office had very properly sent a special counsel to inquire into the matter; but he had not yet received the Report. With regard to the second paragraph, it was quite true a fireman was employed who could

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN BOARD SCHOOLS.

Mr. PICTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether he has seen a statement in *The School Board Chronicle* of 11th July, to the effect that there has been presented to the School Board of Slinfold, near Horsham, a Report of an examination of the children by the Chichester Diocesan Inspector, which Report states that they were examined in the "Catechism and Liturgy;" and, whether such examination is not contrary to the section of the Act of 1870 which enacts that

> "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school;"

and, if so, whether steps will be taken to prevent a recurrence of such examination?

The VICE PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Mr. E. Stanhope): I have made inquiries into the case mentioned in *The School Board Chronicle* of July 11—that the children of Slinfold school were examined in the "Catechism and Liturgy." The rector of the parish of Slinfold writes to me—

> "The school buildings in this parish belong to the rector and churchwardens, and they lent them to the school board from 9.45 to 12.30 and from 1.30 to 4.15 on five days of the week. The religious instruction is given previous to the hours belonging to the board. The examination takes place on one of the holidays allowed by the board, proper notice of which is posted at least 14 days previous, and opportunity is thus afforded to parents to withdraw their children in accordance with Clause 76 of the Elementary Education Act."

The section of the Act to which the hon. Member refers applies only to the hours during which the school board has, under the terms of the transfer, control over the school; and I can see nothing in the case which in any way constitutes an infringement of the law. The rector, being also chairman of the school board, apparently thought it right to communicate to his colleagues, for their information, the satisfactory report which he had received.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—REMOVAL OF PAUPERS FROM SCOTLAND TO IRELAND—CASES OF ANN MAGEE, AND THOMAS CARLIN.

Sir HERVEY BRUCE asked the honourable Member for Buteshire, Whether he will inquire into the case of a pauper named Anne Magee or M'Cormac, who it is alleged was sent as a deck passenger, on March 18th 1885, from Greenock to Stranorlar Workhouse, in the county of Donegal; attended there by James E. Cowan, after living all her life in Scotland, twenty years of that time in Abbey parish, in the township of Paisley, her husband having died in November 1883, a lunatic for two years in Scotch asylum; the woman having with her five children, the eldest twelve years; and, also into the case of Thomas Carlin, who it is alleged was sent to same Union from Paisley, November 1884, after forty-two years' residence in Scotland?

The LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. Dalrymple), in reply, said, that the original documents had been furnished him regarding both these cases. Both removals were effected by the Parochial Board of the Abbey Parish, Paisley. The woman in question was a native of County Donegal, and if she obtained she never had retained any settlement in Scotland. All the information furnished showed that her removal with her children, under the charge of an officer of the parish, was effected both legally and humanely. With regard to the man, he was a native of the town of Donegal in the Union of Stranorlar; and although he had certainly resided many years in Scotland, he had never resided for any length of time in one place, and therefore had never acquired a settlement. He was persuaded that his removal was also perfectly legal.

SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, What steps were being taken with reference to the future position of Bechuanaland, in order to bring to a close the large expenditure of British funds in that country?

The SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Colonel Stanley), in reply, said, steps were being taken to reduce the force in South Africa. That reduction would be gradually carried out, and a force of police substituted for the military force now there. He was afraid that he was not in a position to give full details as to the question at the present time; but, consistent with the security of Bechuanaland, no effort would be spared to effect a reduction as speedily as possible.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. O'BRIEN, M.P.

MR. M'COAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on the 18th of June 1884, the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland made an order imposing a fine of £500 on Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P. for Mallow, for contempt of court; whether, on the 1st of July 1884, a warrant was duly issued in pursuance of that order, and was lodged for execution in the hands of the Dublin Metropolitan Police; whether such police are subject to the Irish Executive; whether the said warrant ordered the levy of the fine off Mr. O'Brien's property, or, that failing, his arrest and committal to prison for twelve months; and, whether it has been executed; and, if not, by whose authority or direction its execution has been stayed?

MR. SEXTON: I rise to a point of Order; and upon this Question, Mr. Speaker, I beg to submit to you that the hon. Member for Wicklow has already this Session asked a Question which was substantially the same as this, and he was informed that the matter was not one in which the Government could interfere, inasmuch as it lies with the Court of Justice to deal with the matter. As this is the second time upon which the hon. Member for Wicklow has put this Question, I would ask you, Sir, if he is in Order in pressing further a matter upon which he has already received a reply?

MR. SPEAKER: The Minister who is to answer the Question will, no doubt, be prepared to say whether the Question has been already answered or not.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): This is not the first Question put to me since I became concerned in Irish affairs, and it is difficult for me to say whether this Question has been put before or not; but, in answer to it, I may say there are no records in my Office connected with this matter, and I am, therefore, not able to say whether the facts are as stated or not.

MR. M'COAN: I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman to tell the House whether the Dublin Metropolitan Police are under the control of the Irish Executive; and if he has not already means of ascertaining whether the warrant was placed in their hands or not?

[No reply.]

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT—THE WRECK REGISTER, 1883-4.

MR. ATKINSON asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, When the Wreck Register for the year ending the 30th of June 1884 will be issued; and, why the issue of this number of the Register has been delayed so long?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS): Dummies of this Return were laid on the Table on the 16th instant. It is hoped that the MSS. will be in the hands of the printers by the end of this month, and that the Return will be ready for distribution about the same time as last year—namely, the beginning of September. Every effort is being made to hasten the work; it has, of course, been much hindered by the preparation of Returns for the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at Sea.

REGISTRATION ACT, 1843—APPOINTMENT OF REVISING BARRISTERS.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the remarks made by Sir Henry Hawkins at Maidstone on the 16th instant, and reported in *The Times* of the 18th instant, with reference to the power of appointment of revising barristers; whether such power of appointment is, by the Registration Act of 1843, vested in the "Senior Judge for the time being in the Commission of Assize" of every county but Middlesex; whether such senior judge is the Lord Chief Justice of England; and, whether, if the view of Sir Henry Hawkins be correct, it is proposed to rectify a state of things never contemplated by the Legislature?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER): In reply to the hon. Member for Rutland I have to say that my attention has been called to the remarks of Sir Henry Hawkins. The appointment is, by the Registration Act, vested in the senior Judge for the time being in the Commission of Assize. Up till a few years ago the names of two Judges going the Circuit only were inserted in the Commission; but in pursuance of the recommendation of the Judicature Commission, and in order to avoid inconvenience in the event of illness, the names of all the Judges were included. As the Commissions now stand, the senior Judge named in the Commission is the Lord Chief Justice of England; but I am desired by the Lord Chief Justice to say that he never made the slightest claim to, nor had he any intention of claiming, the right to nominate the revising barristers on the Circuits; but in each case the appointments have been made and will continue to be made by the senior Judge going the Circuit. I have given Notice to-night of a Bill dealing with the matter.

NAVY—NAVAL ACCOUNTANT AND ENGINEER OFFICERS.

Mr. GABBETT asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, When he expects the alteration in the existing rules for counting junior service of accountant and engineer officers of the Royal Navy (stated on the 16th March last by the late Secretary to have been sanctioned) would be brought into effect; whether it would be retrospective to the commencement of the financial year; and, whether it is a fact that the list of paymasters is to be increased by the immediate promotion of a certain number of assistant paymasters?

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Ritchie): We are now in correspondence with the Treasury on the subject, and I hope but little further delay will result. With regard to the second Question, I have to say that I have no knowledge of any such intention as that referred to.

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—ALLEGED CASE OF ABDUCTION.

Mr. PICTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a case brought before the Bow Street Police Court, on Saturday the 18th July, in which a complaint was made of the abduction and seduction of a girl alleged to have been, at the time of the offence, under twelve years of age; whether the complainant is the stepmother, and the father dead; and, whether, having regard to the peculiar circumstances of the case, the Public Prosecutor will take the matter up?

The Attorney General

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross), in reply, said, the Treasury Solicitor would watch the case. He had received a letter shortly after the meeting of the House purporting to be from the brother-in-law of the girl alleged to have been abducted, in which a denial was given to most of the statements made in the paragraph.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER.

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has seen the following paragraph in *The Standard* newspaper of the 20th instant, namely—

> "There is some reason for believing that although Russia is so persistent in her demand with regard to Sulficar, the real object coveted is Memchak. A proposition is not unlikely to be made for a concession to the Russian claims in the latter quarter, in return for the recognition of the Ameer's rights at the former place;"

and, if it is the intention of the Government to make or entertain such a proposition?

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Lord Randolph Churchill): Perhaps I may be allowed to answer this Question. No proposition of the kind indicated in the Question has been made to Her Majesty's present Government, and Her Majesty's present Government have no intention to make any proposition of the kind.

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD: May I ask whether the noble Lord will answer the other portion of the Question—namely, if such a proposition is made by Russia Her Majesty's Government will entertain it?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Lord Randolph Churchill): The hon. Gentleman will, I am sure, see that that is a very hypothetical Question, and I cannot answer it.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—SIR HERBERT STEWART'S FORCE.

General OWEN WILLIAMS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of the gallantry displayed and of the great hardships endured by the Force under the command of the late Sir Herbert Stewart, during the Desert march to Gubat, and in the various engagements with the enemy, he will cause a special decoration to be given to the officers and men of this Force?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH): This point will be considered in connection with the general question of rewards for the campaign, on which I shall make a statement shortly.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will have instructions served to the Maamtrasna police to prevent Casey (Big) of Bunnacine and his son from leaving the district, pending the decision of the Executive, will he obtain a report from the authorities as to whether these parties had not all their preparations for absconding made last October, until they learnt of the determination to refuse inquiry, and have the English police any information as to the whereabouts of Lyden the third alleged murderer?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): I am advised that the Maamtrasna police would not be legally justified, in present circumstances, in preventing Casey or his son from leaving the district. Nor do I see what object can be served by obtaining a report such as that referred to. I am not aware whether the English police have any information as to the whereabouts of Lyden.

IRELAND—THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPALIAN CHURCH OF IRELAND.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Will instructions now be issued to the Registrar General and other Government Departments in Ireland as to the style by which members of the disestablished religion of that country are to be officially addressed, in accordance with the decision of the authorities that the title "Church of Ireland," no longer belongs to Protestant Episcopalianism?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): Her Majesty's Government, on succeeding to Office, found that their Predecessors had come to the conclusion to adopt the title of Protestant Episcopalian Church of Ireland. No orders have been given on the subject, and, owing to the great press of Public Business, the Lord Lieutenant has not yet been able to deal with it.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS.

MR. MUNDELLA asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, What course it was proposed to take in respect to the School Board Elections that fell due in the month of November?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr. E. STANHOPE): The right hon. Gentleman is aware that the case of school board elections in London and in the country is materially different. In the country generally, if a school board election would naturally fall in November, it is in the power of the board, with the consent of the Education Department, to anticipate the ordinary day of election by not more than 50 days. In the case of London, the margin of discretion is much smaller, as the elections must be held in the month of November. I have accordingly communicated with the Chairman of the London School Board, and have inquired of him if any inconvenience is likely to result this year. He informs me that, having consulted many of his colleagues, he is of opinion that no difficulty will arise, and that the London School Board elections can be held early in November, it being understood that the Parliamentary cannot take place at the earliest till the third week in November. In these circumstances, I have not thought it my duty to propose any amendment of the law on this subject, nor are there any facts at present before me which appear to render that course necessary.

THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS—MEDLEY'S CHARITY.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, If he is aware that the Trustees of Medley's Charity, Tidd St. Mary, Lincolnshire, have advertised to let the land of the charity by auction on Thursday July 23rd for a term of five years, instead of offering it to the labourers of the parish, as directed by the Allotments Extension Act, 1882; and, whether the Charity Commissioners will take immediate steps to prevent the letting of the land by auction, and will compel the

Trustees to carry out the provisions of the Act of 1882?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr. E. STANHOPE): This case was brought to the notice of the Charity Commissioners for the first time yesterday by the labourers. The Commissioners have issued a warning to the Trustees by telegraph as well as by letter, and an Inspector will go down to Tidd St. Mary to-morrow with instructions to inquire into the matter.

IRELAND—FAILURE OF THE MUNSTER BANK.

MR. PARNELL asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, in view of the monetary situation created in Ireland by suspension of payment on the part of the Munster Bank, and considering that the Bank of Ireland enjoys special facilities under the Law, and exceptional advantages from the Government, and has at its disposal unused note-issue power to the extent of above a million sterling, whether the Government will use its influence to cause the Bank of Ireland to assist the Munster Bank to recover its position, and thus avoid liquidation, if the different classes of persons interested in this Bank as depositors and shareholders should undertake to do their part, and the affairs of the Bank should be found in a condition to warrant assistance from the Bank of Ireland?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): The hon. Member has asked me a Question to which I could not give an affirmative reply without the risk of raising hopes which, so far as I see, could not be realized; but I may say that, in my opinion, the exceptional position of the Bank of Ireland entails upon it at times such as these special duties, and I have good reason to believe that this is recognized by the Directors of the Bank, and that they are ready to help in promoting the very desirable object referred to by the hon. Member, so far as may be possible consistently with due regard to the safety of the Bank.

MR. GRAY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been called to the 1st Geo. 4, chap. 39, intituled—

> "An Act for the assistance of Trade and Manufactures in Ireland, by authorising the advance of certain sums for the support of commercial credit there;"

and, whether he would consider the propriety of, if necessary, introducing a Bill based on similar principles for the purpose of aiding in the resuscitation of the Munster Bank?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Yes, Sir, my attention has been called to the Act in question; but, having regard to the revival of confidence in Dublin, and the vigorous efforts being made to resuscitate the Munster Bank by its shareholders and others primarily interested, I think I should do much more harm than good by holding out any hopes that I could comply with the hon. Member's suggestion.

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

MR. PELL asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in the Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill, the term medical assistance is intended to cover what is generally known as medical extras—namely, wine, spirits, malt liquor, beef, and other butcher's meat; and, whether, in order to avoid misconception, he will in the Bill define what is meant by medical assistance?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR): The term medical assistance is not intended to cover the medical extras referred to. The words used are the same as those in the Registration (Ireland) Act, and it does not appear to me to be necessary to introduce in the Bill any definition of the term.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Will the Bill not cover everything ordered by the medical officer, no matter what the articles may be?

MR. CAUSTON: Will the Bill cover surgical appliances?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD: These are all matters to be debated in Committee. It is not convenient to enter into a discussion now.

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—SALE OF OBSCENE LITERATURE.

MR. STAVELEY HILL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, For how much longer it is intended to acquiesce in the sale by men, women, and children of this indelicate literature in the streets of London? The hon. and learned Member added: The namby-pamby word "indelicate" is not my word. The word I used was "filthy;" but if that is thought inadmissible, I choose to describe the literature as obscene.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): If this Question refers to what appeared in a newspaper some time ago, I have nothing to add to the answer which I gave to the Question at that time. If obscene literature is spread abroad the persons who spread it do it at their peril.

MR. STAVELEY HILL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that illustrated copies of this filthy literature are being sold in the streets of London?

MR. ONSLOW: If the right hon. Gentleman is not aware that this literature, accompanied by pictures, is being sold, I beg to hand him a copy of the publication.

The SECRETARY of STATE refused to receive the print.

MR. ONSLOW: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman how much longer he, as responsible for order and decency in the streets, is going to allow these vile prints to be sold in the shops and streets of London? If the right hon. Gentleman cannot give an answer now, I will put the Question down for tomorrow.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that perhaps it would be for the convenience of the House if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would state what Business was likely to be taken tomorrow and on Thursday; and also when it was proposed to take the Army Estimates?

MR. PARNELL asked whether the Government would fix a day for the discussion of the question with respect to the Queen's Colleges in Ireland?

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he could afford any facilities for the Motion which he had on the Paper for Thursday night with reference to Heriot's Hospital?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH), in reply, said, that that must depend upon the condition of Business on Thursday evening. If they could, consistently with the convenience of the House, allow the Motion to come on about 12 o'clock, they would endeavour to do so. If the Motion could not come on then, he would try and find a later date for it. With regard to the Question of the noble Lord opposite, the intention of the Government was to take the remaining Estimates to-morrow, except those for the Queen's Colleges and the Army Estimates. The Army Estimates they hoped to take on Monday, and the Queen's College Estimates on Friday; but that must depend upon the time at which they were reached. He was aware of the importance of the Vote for the Queen's Colleges.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE asked if the Telegraph Bill would be taken on Thursday?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Yes, Sir.

MR. BUCHANAN said, last week the right hon. Gentleman had referred him to the hon. Member for Buteshire (Mr. Dalrymple) in connection with his Motion about Heriot's Hospital, and as the matter was still undecided, it was desirable to know when the Motion could be proceeded with?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the Report or the third reading of the Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill would stand as the first Order on Thursday, and the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill as the second. They hoped also to make some progress with the Telegraph Bill. With those three measures, it would be extremely difficult to break off at 12 o'clock, so as to allow the Motion of the hon. Member to be proceeded with. If the hon. Member wanted a definite promise, he would much rather find an opportunity some time next week, which would be in plenty of time.

MR. PARNELL said, he would like some definite arrangement to be made with regard to the Queen's College Estimates, as several prominent ecclesiastics were coming over from Ireland to hear the discussion.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I understand from my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland that he will be prepared to proceed with the Vote on Friday.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.—[Bill 232.]

(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Dalrymple.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Mr. COURTNEY, in rising to move—

> "That this House cannot approve of a measure which removes an incentive to independence, and fundamentally changes the principle of the Poor Law under which pauperism has steadily diminished since 1834,"

said, that after the majority by which the House refused the other night to prolong the discussion on the principle of this measure, some apology might, perhaps, be expected for the attempt to renew the debate this evening. He thought the House would agree that no private end could be served by taking the unpopular side in this question, and that those who took it were rendered liable to some misunderstanding, and perhaps misrepresentation. But upon that ground alone he hoped that the House would not be impatient if, under the circumstances, those who were opposed to the Bill desired somewhat further to discuss some of the questions that were raised on Thursday. He would say nothing about the Parliamentary history of that subject, except that it was in some respects extraordinary and even painful. When the proposal was first submitted to the House it was opposed, not merely on the ground that it was one that was unfit to be discussed on the occasion on which it was then brought forward, but also because it was unsound in principle. It was opposed upon both sides of the House. The hon. and learned Member for Taunton (Sir Henry James) and the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) both opposed the proposition, on the ground of its public inexpediency; and he might say of one of them, without any breach of confidence, that he was so impressed with the impropriety of the proposal that he appealed to Members who had strong views against its adoption to take part in the debate and submit arguments against it. The late Attorney General absented himself from the division last Friday morning; but the right hon. Member for Chelsea took part in the majority in favour of a proposition which he had before strenuously resisted upon its merits. They were, he thought, entitled to ask his right hon. Friend to explain this evening whether he had changed his opinion on the policy of the question. They had a right to ask whether one who had been so long and so honourably associated with the administration of the Poor Law, and who thought the proposal to allow the franchise to be conferred, irrespective of the reception of medical relief, was a most injurious proposal, had changed his opinion upon the policy of the question, and, if so, upon what grounds he rested that change? He would not enter into what he regarded as the contemptible question whether the enfranchisement of those who received medical relief would tell for the Liberals or for the Conservatives; nor would he examine into the numerical extent of the change proposed. He would simply remark that before the statutory provisions in the Reform Act of 1832, it appeared to be a well settled principle of the Common Law that the receipt of alms—that the dependent condition of any person receiving aid from the Poor Law authorities disabled him from taking part in borough elections. Parliamentary Committees had changed their opinions from time to time; but still the balance of authority had been clear, and it had been laid down with precision that those who had received alms or Poor Law relief were unable to to vote for Members of Parliament. It was now sought to reverse what appeared to be the sound proposition that the unfree man, the man who was unable to support himself, who was in a dependent position and in the receipt of public charity, was not a person on whom it was expedient to confer the electoral right. The Bill which was now before them embodied in it something of that principle, because it contained an exception from its general enfranchising effect in this way—that those who were in the receipt of medical relief should not be enfranchised with regard to voting for Boards of Guardians or persons who administered the Poor Laws. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board had made a very extraordinary speech on Friday, a speech in which the right hon. Gentleman had not endeavoured to explain why it was expedient that those should have the right to determine as far as they could who should be returned to that House, were not to have the right of determining who were to be administrators of the Poor Law. Again, these persons were to have their share in electing Town Councils and other municipal bodies. As his right hon. Friend was aware, there were many schemes in the air which aimed at conferring upon Town Councils and other municipal authorities great powers of practically giving employment to those who were dependent upon public aid. The hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), who was the real hero of this Bill, and whose purpose had been single, simple, and honourable, had confessed that with respect to School Boards he looked for a considerable effect being produced by this Bill. This, however, he did not consider a cardinal point of the Bill. The calculations from various parts of the country brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman had corresponded in a very remarkable degree with the figures obtained by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) in 1870. The hon. Member had then come to the conclusion that about 60,000 persons would be affected, and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board had said that the proportion would be about 2·5 per 1,000. If this were applied to the population of the Kingdom it would amount to about 66,000, or, practically, an identical figure with that arrived at by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire. It would, no doubt, be brought forward as an argument that that was a very small number, but it was a number capable of indefinite increase; and the importance of this Bill lay in the belief which they entertained that that number would be considerably increased. It had only been brought so low by the action for 30 years of well-understood and well-observed principles of Poor Law relief. The insignificant numbers affected at present by this Bill would soon grow again into something like the large numbers which had prevailed before the reform of Poor Law administration, and they would find a serious danger arising from that multiplication of the numbers receiving relief. This brought him to what he especially wished to impress upon the House—namely, that he did not oppose this Bill because it enfranchised or disfranchised more or less, or because he believed that it would have a bad effect upon the legislation of the future, but because he earnestly believed that it would injuriously affect the character and position of the labourers of England. He pressed this point because the Bill appeared to show in this tendency a threat of the possibility of developing and increasing pauperism in the country, of retarding that steady progress which during the last 30 years had been made in reducing it, and of taking them back in their political action so as to produce those evils which had formerly existed, but which many of them were now too apt to forget. It was because of this evil effect on the working classes that he opposed this Bill so heartily and must continue to oppose it. The old Poor Law had greatly aggravated the natural tendency towards pauperism. A great step had been taken towards reforming Poor Law administration and putting it upon sound principles, so that the nation had been enabled to escape from the slough of pauperism and to attain a healthy improvement. Now, it was proposed to turn back to the old system, and what, in his opinion, was most shocking in the whole question was the thoughtlessness and levity with which it was now being treated after having occupied the attention and the minds of so many people so anxiously during the last generation. He would like to recall to the House a few words written some 12 or 13 years ago by one whose reputation had been great and well-deserved, and whose character for independence and sincerity was universally recognized. Mr. Fawcett, in 1872, had used these words—

> "The English Poor Law is distinctly Socialistic in its tendencies, and the extent to which this tendency operates depends upon the conditions upon which parochial relief is granted. If it is given with unwise liberality and injudicious laxity England would soon again suffer from all the ills which affected her under the old Poor Law. This is a danger from which it can scarcely be said that the country is safe,

when it is seen how strongly the current is running in favour of State assistance, and also when the eagerness is observed with which rival politicians make Socialistic bids for popular support."

Those were the words of Mr. Fawcett in 1872, and they would now be recognized as almost prophetic. He objected to the Bill because it would bring back upon us that laxity of administration in the Poor Law from which we hoped we had escaped, would lead to the revival of evils which we hoped we had got rid of, and would promote a tendency to rely on public relief from which we were slowly emancipating the popular mind. These were said to be the principles of doctrinaires; but the man whom he had quoted possessed large practical knowledge, and was acquainted with the characteristics of rural life, being himself the son of a farmer and one who had lived among farmers in one of the most agricultural counties of England, and who knew the virtues and the failings of the agricultural class. In connection with this subject he would remind the House that we had still left among us one of the Commissioners of the Inquiry in 1834—he referred to Mr. Chadwick—and what did that gentleman say? He said that this was a movement towards serious error, tending to the maintenance of what was really deadly error. This was a movement which diminished the self-respect and independence of the labourer, and would do him no good, because one of the clearest results of the Inquiry of 1834 was that all the assistance which the labourer received was taken away from him again in diminution of his wages. It was easily seen that if they relieved a labourer, or any other man, of a primary want, they removed from him the necessity of supplying something essential to his life, and at the same time deprived him of ideas of prudence and self-respect; they did not in any degree improve his condition, but left him precisely at the same level, gravitating downwards to the position he held before. The *status* of the labourer was, in fact, determined very much by the conditions under which he lived. Take away from him the necessity of providing for his wants and they lowered the scale of his remuneration until the remuneration he received was only just enough to supply the wants that were left unsatisfied. By the step they were now taking they were removing from the labourer the necessity of fulfilling one of the primary necessities of a self-supporting man, of providing for a contingency which befell everyone—that of sickness happening t himself or to some member of his family. This question of disqualification upon the receipt of medical relief had been raised now for the first time in relation to the counties, but it had existed ever since 1832 in respect of the vote for towns. Some five or six years ago, at the annual Conference of the Trades Unions, the question was brought before the delegates of the propriety of removing the disqualification, some thinking that it affected injuriously the enfranchisement of the working classes in towns. It was referred to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Societies, and nothing had ever come of it since. He believed that when this question came to be discussed by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Societies there was found to be such a division of opinion among the trades unionists themselves, so many opposed the alteration of the law on the ground of the injurious effect it would have in discouraging provident agencies, that the matter was dropped. So that here they had the practical testimony of the trades unionists themselves against the alteration of the law which a Conservative Government and Gentlemen on his own side of the House were now making. The editor of *The Lancet* sent him last week an earnest communication on the subject, and he would refer to an article which appeared in that journal in which the argument he had now submitted was pressed with great force. The article said that the more the poverty of the working man, if he supported himself the more was his credit. So long as the humblest labourer contrived to maintain himself and his family in sickness and health, they must consider him entitled to the highest political immunities. He had something to teach even a wealthy nation—namely, that it should live within its resources, and his views were entitled to expression and representation. In Bradfield, to which the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) referred the other night, medical relief was given at first as a loan. The result was that relieving officers seldom got an application for a medical order. If the party was able to pay he said he might as well pay his own doctor as take the order for the parish doctor on loan, or he joined the medical officer's club, in which, for a few shillings per annum, he could procure medical attendance for his family. In St. Neot's Union the sum expended on medical relief had fallen in the last 20 years, in consequence of a strict administration of the Poor Law, from £406 a-year to £101. Brixworth Union afforded another example of the salutary results of a strict administration of the Poor Law. The utmost number of cases of medical relief there in half-a-year was now about six; whereas at one time the number was 250. It was said by the advocates of the proposed alteration of the law that, while it would be hazardous to relax the existing conditions that regulated the general subject of outdoor relief, it was not hazardous to relax the conditions surrounding the question of medical relief. But was not the need for medical relief a need which, sooner or later, must come upon everyone, and was not the failure to provide medical relief for one's family a failure to provide one of the necessities of life? This necessary relief could be procured as a right, without any loss of independence, by labourers who chose to belong to clubs at a cost never exceeding 3*d*. a-week. The reception of medical relief was one of the most insidious modes of beginning a system of complete dependence upon outdoor relief. In fact, medical relief was the first step towards outdoor relief. This view was sustained in an interesting Report emanating from the Guardians of the Spalding Union. The following sentences occurred in that Report:—

> "Here is an ordinary agricultural labourer who, up to the present time, has not in any shape been chargeable to the Union funds. Either he or one of his family is stricken down by sickness. As a rule, in an event of this character, only one of two alternatives is presented to him—either he may on his own responsibility call in a medical attendant, in which case, even supposing there be no hesitation on the part of the doctor to attend him, he incurs a heavy pecuniary liability which for many months he will not be able to discharge, or he may, and generally does, adopt a much easier course by applying to the relieving officer for a medical order, which at once places him in the depressing and demoralizing atmosphere of pauperism. He forthwith loses very largely his previous self-reliance and social independence, and becomes with his whole family so habituated to parochial relief that he is sadly liable, whenever any difficulty or depression occurs, to seek periodically if not permanently to swell the pauper list."

To apply for medical relief was a form of degradation, for such an application showed that the head of a family had not placed himself in a position to supply what was one of the primary wants of the members of his family. The Rev. T. W. Fowle, Rector of Islip, a gentleman who had shown himself most zealous about the extension of the franchise, had written to him the following letters:—

> "I write in a sick-room—hardly able to hold a pen—to exhort you to resist the Medical Relief Bill so long as there is a ditch left to die in. Of me, at least, no one can say that I wish to deprive the country labourer of his vote; but I know the man and I know the Poor Law, and I denounce any relaxation of the latter as the most fatal curse to the former—historically and demonstrably so—that can be inflicted on him. It was from such trivial beginnings that all his woes arose under the old law. I am afraid the time, if any, for action will be over before I am well enough to volunteer help. The pauper voter will 'go' Conservative, and thus realize in outward shape and existence what has hitherto been a somewhat hazy dream, for he will be the first product of the Tory democracy."
>
> "Whatever I write is, of course, quite at your disposal, and anything that has the effect of separating my unimportant self from the serious mistake my Radical friends are committing is what I should like. The root of their error consists in their misapprehension of the character and position of the country labourer. Absurd as it was, the old 'happy and virtuous peasantry' notion was far nearer the truth than the new 'downtrod serf and pathetic figure' theory. The men I know, and of whose friendship I am proud, are worthy, sensible, good-natured folk whom the hardships of life for centuries have wrought into the soundest moral material of any class of men (so I believe) in Europe, and whose progress, owing to cheap food, declining numbers, education, and the Press, has been of late simply prodigious. But the taint of the old Poor Law (and of the new as well) still hangs about them, and they may at any time yield to the temptation of demanding out-relief, with which it is the interests of the employers and landlords to allure them."

He (Mr. Courtney) believed that all efforts to raise the position of the labourers would for ever be valueless if they were not encouraged to be independent and prudent, and if their moral character were not touched. We might multiply the wealth of the country by Free Trade, but we should still have this large cloud of paupers unless we could do something to touch the moral character of the people by inspiring them with a spirit of prudence and independence which would make them self-supporting. We might abolish the curse of drunkenness and the vice of drinking in this land, but still we should have at the bottom of our population this body of pauperized labour. It was only by touching the character of the people—and this alteration in the law threatened to touch it in a false and injurious way—and by raising in the minds of the people themselves the standard of their condition, and it was only by giving them prudence to look before and after that they could ever cure this nation of the curse of pauperism which clung to it. The late Leader of the Conservative Party, of whom that Party were justly proud, was seriously occupied with this question, and in several of his books dwelt on it again and again; and many men, and women too, had been working and thinking and striving for some solution of it for the last 20 or 30 years—all these he could call upon to condemn the change that was now being initiated. He did not oppose the measure on the ground that political danger might be involved in it; but he did oppose it because the people at large would be degraded by it, and because it would arrest that action for good that had been in operation for the past 30 years. [Mr. Jesse Collings: Working cruelty.] Cruelty! The Divine Government of this world is cruel, if it is cruelty to make the people feel the consequences of their own acts, to prevent them indulging in vice and pursuing improvidence! There was no cruelty in that. It was strength and sternness perhaps. This was not a subject upon which it was necessary only to appeal to recent experience. Juvenal had written in the same strain, as appeared from the following lines:—

> "Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare; semita certe
> Tranquillæ per virtutem patet unica vitæ.
> Nullum Numen abest si sit prudentia; sed te
> Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, cœloque locamus."

If they would raise the people of this country, they must tell them that their position in the world depended on prudence, and if they had prudence they needed no other magic to improve their position. It was through that old-fashioned teaching, and that alone, that we could raise their character and position. Otherwise, we should still have this dark fringe of pauperism which had so long disgraced our land, and which for the past generation men and women had so strenuously laboured to remove. It was because he believed that the step which was now being taken, and taken apparently with a large popular support, would produce this result and bring about the fatal consequences he had apprehended, that he proposed the Amendment which stood in his name.

Mr. CLARE READ said, he desired to second the Amendment, because he believed the Bill was a direct attack upon one of the main principles of the Poor Law. The President of the Local Government Board had in the debate on the second reading referred to the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) as an ancient philosopher. The right hon. Gentleman would most probably tell him (Mr. Clare Read) that he was an antiquated farmer, because he had been all his life long engaged in the administration of the Poor Law. It was said the other day that the Poor Law of 1834 was a charitable and benevolent Act, and that it was rendered harsh and cruel by the Guardians. That Poor Law was passed to remedy a great evil, and was a just and determined effort to curtail the wave of pauperism which demoralized and damaged the country, and the principle of it was that no man should be relieved unless he was destitute. As to the Bill before the House, it was introduced at 3 o'clock in the morning, and the President of the Local Government Board gave no reason for bringing it in, but simply compared it with that of the hon. Member for Ipswich, and told the House that its scope and duration were more comprehensive. When he had ventured to move the adjournment of the debate, the hon. Member for Ipswich had denounced him as an Obstructionist. For 20 years he had been connected with the House, and this was the second time he had moved the adjournment of the debate, and he did not think he could fairly be called an Obstructionist. The hon. Member for Ipswich seemed to imagine that the overseer of the poor was intimately connected with the poor; but in these days he was nothing more or less than a rate collector. All he would know would be that such and such a man had received parochial relief, but whether that relief had been in kind, or in money, or in medicine, he would not know. The clerks of the Boards of Guardians were the only men who would know anything about the matter, and they ought to be instructed to make out the lists of these voters. This disqualification had been universal in boroughs and in counties, and no complaint had been heard until quite recently. There had hitherto been a general concurrence that no pauper should vote. Most exaggerated statements had been made as to the amount of disfranchisement that would ensue if this Bill were not passed. The junior Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) had asserted that one-fourth of the new voters would be disfranchised. The hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) said one-fifth. [Mr. HORACE DAVEY: In some counties.] The hon. Member for Ipswich talked of tens of thousands. He (Mr. Clare Read) thought these estimates were very excessive. In his Union there was a population of 12,000; the paupers numbered 1,156, or 9½ per cent, and the persons who had received medical relief alone, 275, of whom 61 were men. Some of those had received it on loan, which would not disqualify them, and it might be taken that only about 4 per cent of the new voters would be affected. The sole reason given by the President of the Local Government Board for this "great and momentous change" was that the junior Member for Birmingham, had poisoned the minds of the new electors. That might be a great compliment to the junior Member for Birmingham; but it placed a distinct premium on agitation. The Bill would encourage the first step to pauperism, and would ultimately greatly increase the number of paupers in the country. It would also deal a fatal blow to benefit and medical clubs. *The Pall Mall Gazette*, which, until it took to writing obscene articles, was a fair exponent of the home policy of the late Government, pointed out that those who wished to increase the number of electors in the country ought to use their influence to make the people join benefit clubs, for it would keep them from resorting to parish relief. Those clubs were well within the means of the ordinary labourer. For 7*s.* a-year a man could secure the best doctor in the district for himself and wife, and 1*s.* a-year per child. He supposed that when County Boards—which would probably deal with allotments, indoor relief, and such matters—were established they would be elected by the same constituency. We should then have Parliament elected by a majority of voters who paid no direct taxes, and County Boards elected by a vast majority of voters who directly paid no rates, and with both of these there would be a fair sprinkling of paupers. Calling attention to the sudden conversion of the Government with regard to this question, he pointed out that on the 20th of May last he received a Whip, signed by Mr. Rowland Winn, asking him to support the Lords' Amendments to the Registration Bill, the chief of which was that rejecting the clause dealing with medical relief. On the 14th of July he received another Whip, which asked him to support the Bill of the Government, and he found that it was practically the clause which they had voted against when they supported the Lords' Amendments. It had been said that Lord Beaconsfield educated his Party; but he took a great many years to do it. In these days, however, they saw a much more wonderful result in the instantaneous conversion of the whole Conservative Party. A process of this kind might be understood in the case of the Liberals, as, having no fixed principles, they were converted easily; but it was much more startling when it became demonstrated in the case of the Party with which he was associated, who usually were not so easily converted from their principles. On the 6th of May a division was taken in the House, when the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch moved what he might call this Bill. On that occasion the proposal was rejected by a majority of 68. In that majority he found these honoured and respected names—Beach, Gibson, Giffard, Hamilton, Northcote, Smith, and Stanhope, two old Whips and two new Whips of the Conservative Party; but six Tories, and two Members of the Fourth Party—that absorbed or absorbing Party—voted in the minority. On the 12th of May, after a snatch division in the House, the hon. and learned Gentleman brought forward his clause on Consideration; it was then carried by a majority of 37. In the minority he found the names of Beach, Cross, Gibson, Northcote, and Stanhope. On the 20th of May, when the Lords' Amendments were agreed to by a majority of 41, he found in that majority the names of Beach, Cross, Gibson, Northcote, Smith, and Stanhope. They had also the following Members of the late Government voting in favour of the Lords' Amendments :—the late Prime Minister, the late President of the Local Government Board, the late Vice President of the Council, the late Secretary to the Treasury, the late Secretary to the Admiralty, and the late Government Whips. He was very much astonished and surprised at the conduct of his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. With his great experience in the administration of the Poor Law, with his thorough and complete knowledge of the rural labourer, he believed that his right hon. Friend in his heart still thought that this was a most dangerous experiment. No doubt, this was a very good horse to ride for the next Election. He did not believe, if there had not been a General Election pending, they would have had this Bill either from the one side or the other. He deeply regretted to see that there seemed to be no steadying, no restraining, no directing power in the State. The whole duty of one Party appeared to him to consist in outbidding and overtrumping its adversaries. He should not be surprised, if the hon. Member for Ipswich were in his discretion to move that a polling booth should be placed in every workhouse, that some kind-hearted Tory would move that there should be a polling booth placed in every gaol. He would be told that such a contingency as this was absurd; but he contended that it was not much more absurd than the recent legislation which had been passed, allowing the most degraded felon outside a prison to vote, but not allowing soldiers and constables to exercise the franchise. He believed that neither Party had pluck enough to be honest and truthful on this matter. He said that with great respect to both Parties. It was a good election cry, no doubt; but on reading election addresses to the new electors he could not find the candidates telling the people what their responsibilities or their duties were, or even what was best for the country or for Party, but simply an attempt to please the populace and to gain votes. This would probably be the last time that he would have the honour of making any lengthened observations to the House. He thanked hon. Members for the undeviating courtesy and kind attention with which they had always listened to his remarks. He hoped it would not be believed that he was afraid of Tory democracy; on the contrary, he believed in it. He thought the British workman would be as good a Tory in his way as a Duke was in his; but there was something he was afraid of, and which he detested, and that was State Socialism. Because he saw in this Bill what he believed to be the advent and germ of that detested principle he had ventured to raise his voice against the measure, and he intended to give his vote in favour of the Amendment of his hon. Friend.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House cannot approve of a measure which removes an incentive to independence, and fundamentally changes the principle of the Poor Law under which pauperism has steadily diminished since 1834,"—(*Mr. Courtney*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. Rathbone said, he felt most strongly the dangers which had been pointed out by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) and the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read); but from practical experience he did not quite agree that medical advice given to people who paid rates had necessarily the same effect as ordinary outdoor relief. In Ireland they had a very large extension of medical relief, combined with a very much more stern and very much better administration of outdoor relief than there was in this country. If the leisured classes in England had all done their duty, as they had done in the parishes which had been alluded to by the noble Lord the Member for North Derbyshire (Lord Edward Cavendish) and by his two hon. Friends opposite (Mr. Pell and Mr. Clare Read), there would be no ground for this law at all. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would revert to the proposal made in the first instance by the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), and confine the measure to one or two years, and that they would appoint a really strong Committee at the commencement of next Session to inquire thoroughly how those beneficial arrangements which existed in some parts of the country might be carried out; and in case that could be done generally he believed there would be no need for continuing this Bill. He spoke as the oldest but one Guardian of perhaps the largest parish in this Kingdom, and as a Guardian who had never willingly been absent from any meeting of the Relief Committee. He wished distinctly to urge upon his hon. Friend (Mr. Jesse Collings) to join in limiting the duration of the Bill, so as to give time to inquire whether they could not provide better for the wants of poor people than by such a measure. His hon. Friend had spoken somewhat harshly of Guardians in describing them as guardians of the poor rate. He assured him that in his native town of Liverpool the Guardians had erred rather by too lax than by too stern an administration of the Poor Law. One short leaf out of the book of his own experience might be given with advantage. In Liverpool they had a great demand for the labour of men, and much less demand for the labour of women, while in the manufacturing districts the labour of women was wanted much more than the labour of men. It had seemed to him strange that Liverpool should be burdened constantly with a number of women who would be welcomed by the manufacturing districts, and so he persuaded the Guardians to induce the Charity Organization Society to have one of their Visitors in attendance at the commencement of business when new cases were considered. He also got them to go through all relief cases on the parish, and pick out the cases in which there were large families of girls who would be suitable for migration to the manufacturing districts. He then engaged a friend of his to act as his agent in the matter, and go through the manufacturing districts and establish a connection where labour was required. The Guardians induced the Charity Organization Society to take charge of widows with families of girls, and insisted that where there were openings for these women in th manufacturing districts they should either go there or be deprived of relief. In two years by that system they migrated about 1,200 persons from Liverpool into the manufacturing districts, and he wished his hon. Friend to give a little notice to the results. Very few of those women ever came back to the city where they had been paupers or worse. In one family, for instance, there were five or six girls. The eldest girl had already had a child, and the second was reported to be in the same way, and the whole of these girls would have been on the town in five or 10 years; but within two years from their migration they were earning £5 a-week, and were practically removed from temptation. The Guardians by such means had converted about 1,200 people from pauperism, or the verge of pauperism, into well-doing people, and most of them in the course of a year or two were not only gaining ample wages, but had repaid the manufacturers the whole expense of their furniture, which had been advanced, and the whole cost of that, beyond the salary of his agent, was under £40.

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Gentleman that the subject before the House is medical relief disqualification. The hon. Member seems to be going into the general subject of Poor Law administration.

MR. RATHBONE said, what he was wishing to point out was the danger of a lax administration of medical relief. The effect of removing the 1,200 people to whom he had referred, and some of whom had been in receipt of medical or other relief, was that in two years the position of those remaining was so improved that it was difficult to get a charwoman at 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day. He was replying to the statement made in the course of the debate that the Guardians were hard-hearted in their administration of the Poor Law, and he used this case as an analogy. He thought that if his hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney) was right in pointing out the dangers of the system of relief, he was not going beyond the province of debate in showing that it was not hard-hearted to insist, as the Guardians in Liverpool had done, on removing those women, but that they were really doing a benefit to the working classes. What he wanted to urge on the Government and on his hon. Friend (Mr. Jesse Collings) was that they should not plunge at once into this question irrevocably, but that they should pass the Bill for only two years, and that the Government in power should at the commencement of next Session appoint a really strong Committee to inquire into the whole subject and see whether the working classes in all districts could not be placed in a position in which they were not yet placed in some districts, so as to provide medical relief for themselves without a greater amount of self-control than they could be fairly expected to exercise in all circumstances.

Sir GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, he should support the Bill. He maintained that the population of large towns had the advantage of hospitals and dispensaries, assistance from which, as long as they were not connected with parochial relief, did not imply any disqualification. This was not the case in country districts. In these circumstances, he looked upon the Bill before the House as a fair and righteous complement to the recent Act extending the household franchise to counties, and he hoped it would become law.

Mr. BRYCE said, he thought that the whole matter was one not of theory, but of experience; and he would ask the House to see exactly where the path would lead them upon which they were now entering. It had been the Liberal Party who had passed the new Poor Law Act of 1834, and who had supported the reforms it introduced against the constant opposition of the Tory Party, who had endeavoured to break down the administration of the Poor Law and bring back the old system of outdoor relief, partly, no doubt, from a charitable sentiment which did credit to their hearts if not to their heads, but largely also because they did not object to keeping the agricultural labourers in a condition of dependence. The motive which now induced the Tory Party to bring in this Bill was not merely a wish to outbid the hon. Member for Ipswich, but also a notion that the poorest class of voters, being most dependent on the squire, would be most likely to vote with the squire. He believed that the opinion expressed by the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) was correct, and that this Bill would increase the number of voters for the Conservative Party. Those who received medical relief were those who were most likely to come under the influence of intimidation, of money, or of the administrators of the poor rate itself. He had listened with great interest to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, and he had wondered what arguments a person of his cultivated mind would be able to bring forward in favour of a Bill of this kind. The right hon. Gentleman had brought forward two arguments. In the first place, he had argued that the number of voters added by the Bill would be very small. For his own part, he thought that that seemed an argument rather the other way. If the persons affected were few, there was all the less reason why the House should sacrifice a valuable principle. The right hon. Gentleman also used another argument, that the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) had so poisoned the consciences of the people that it was no use to appeal to them any more. His right hon. Friend would probably not cease to apply poison of that kind, when he found how it affected the action of the Ministry, but would be encouraged to do so more. They had heard much lately of schemes for the nationalization of the land and progressive taxation of landed property. Why should not the President of the Local Government Board say there was no use in defending property any more? But the argument most frequently used was, that the principle involved in the Bill had been conceded when the fees of poor parents, whose children were sent to school under the Act of 1870, were paid for them, and the provision inserted that such payment should not disqualify the parent for the suffrage. No doubt, we did pay the fees; but the reason of that was because we had made education compulsory, and we had thrown a new duty on the parent which, unless the fees were paid, he might not be able to discharge—that of sending his child to school. But inasmuch as we did not leave the parent to his own choice, he did not think we could be said to have conceded the principle of the Bill when we provided that the payment of school fees should not disqualify. But this case was an instance of the way in which political decadence proceeded from step to step. In 1870 no one argued for more than the particular point then raised. Now the instance of school fees was relied on to justify a further step in the direction of admitting to the suffrage persons who received public aid, and, probably, before long, having admitted that medical relief was no disqualification, we should be told that the receipt of Poor Law relief in any form should be no disqualification. Did his hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich think that the receipt of any form of Poor Law relief ought to be a disqualification? [MR. JESSE COLLINGS: I said nothing about it.] His hon. Friend might have said nothing about it, but what did he think about it? For they knew that what the hon. Member for Ipswich thought to-day the President of the Local Government Board would think to-morrow. He challenged his hon. Friend to deny that he held that the receipt of ordinary outdoor relief ought not to disqualify. If this Bill passed, there would be a considerable increase in the number of voters whose interest it was to have a lax administration of the Poor Law. He asked the House to pause before it took a step of that kind. In the United States—and no country could be more consistent in carrying out democratic principles—there was a considerable number of States the Constitutions of which declared that no person in receipt of Poor Law relief should have a vote. A great deal had been said about taxation and representation. We had lost our 13 Colonies in North America because we had insisted on taxing them without giving them representation. But now we were reversing the principle; we were giving representation without taxation. He had no fear of universal suffrage; but he had great fear of giving political power to those who were pensioners of the State and dependent on the rates for support. He had been a Representative of a popular constituency for five years. In that constituency the vast majority of the voters were working men, and during all those five years he had never heard a complaint of the disqualification in question, although the statistics produced by the Local Government Board showed that more persons received medical relief in the towns than in the country. He believed that we were perfectly safe in the hands of the working men, and during the five years he had represented his present constituency he had learnt more and more to respect and admire the working classes of this country. And why? Because he recognized in them a spirit of self-help and independence. He never heard in his constituency a word said against the strict administration of the Poor Law which had been lately introduced into the East End of London, and which had done so much good there, because the working classes knew that such an administration was for the real advantage of the poor. He believed that self-help, thrift, providence, independence, were the most valuable possessions the working men could have, and were even more valuable than the possession of a vote, and he therefore urged the House to pause before it passed a measure tending to impair those qualities. For the Bill brought in by the hon. Member for Ipswich something might be said. It was meant to meet the case of persons taken by surprise—disqualified because they had not known of the rule that medical relief involved disqualification—and he should have hesitated before voting against it. There was also a great deal to be said in the case of persons applying for medical relief when attacked by infectious diseases, because the State obliged people in such cases to obtain medical relief, so that the acceptance was not their voluntary act, but that of the law. But the present Bill went far beyond the case of persons surprised, far beyond the case of infectious diseases; it was a bold and reckless bid for popularity, and the Government were apparently resolved to secure this popularity, be the consequences to the country what they might. He regretted that the decision come to by repeated majorities in that House should now be reversed, and he only hoped he might be mistaken in predicting unfortunate results from the step which the House was taking with so light a heart.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER said, that after the speeches which the House had heard he could not help feeling that in supporting the measure of the Government they undertook a very serious responsibility. The hon. Members for West Norfolk and South Leicestershire and Liskeard were famous for the firmness with which they expressed their convictions upon all topics. They spoke from the heart their honest convictions, regardless of their own or their Party's interests. It seemed a curious thing that politicians who differed so very much as the Member for Liskeard and the Members on the Government side of the House who had opposed this Bill should be found agreeing upon this very important question, the whole history of which showed the grave danger of pursuing important subjects for the sake of making Party capital rather than in the interests of the questions themselves. The intemperate and unscrupulous speeches made outside the House, and especially by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), had raised passions which should never have been stirred up, and which had prevented the question being discussed impartially. The hon. Member for West Norfolk had been rather severe in pointing out the inconsistencies of the Government Bench on this subject. When the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. H. Davey) brought forward this Amendment it was opposed by the late Government, chiefly because it ought not to have been brought forward at that time. The question then being discussed was the Registration of Voters Bill, and the contention of the Government was that the question of medical relief disqualification did not arise upon the discussion of that Bill. It was, however, true that the late Attorney General went out of his way to say he did oppose the clause on principle. He (Sir Frederick Milner) had noticed that no Member on the Front Government Bench took part in that discussion, and the only Conservative Member who spoke was the hon. Member for Portsmouth Sir Henry Drummond Wolff), who spoke in favour of the Amendment. He might therefore assume that the present Government supported the late Government on that occasion on the ground that the question ought not to have been brought forward on the Registration Bill. Hon. Members opposite were delighted with the very witty way in which the hon. Member for West Norfolk pointed out the inconsistencies of Her Majesty's Advisers; but he did not think they could deny that the inconsistencies of the late Government exceeded those of the present. It was most remarkable how the hon. Member for Liskeard had at one time been supported by Representatives of all sections of that Party which sought to find shelter under that umbrella which was so graphically described by Lord Rosebery at Edinburgh. The clause disqualifying voters through receiving medical relief was originally introduced by the Liberal Government of 1832 into the law of the land, and since that time it had remained on the Statute Book with hardly any protest against it. It was true that 10 years ago the hon. Member who then represented Liverpool did call attention to the subject, and moved that the clause should be omitted, because he thought that it inflicted great hardship, and that at any rate it ought to be provided that medical relief for infectious or contagious diseases should not disqualify. It had been argued by the junior Member for Birmingham that the grave importance of this question was never brought home to Her Majesty's Government until the Registration Bill had gone to the House of Lords; but, as pointed out by the hon. Member for West Norfolk, as long ago as the 19th of June, 1884, the hon. Member for Roscommon (Mr. Commins) brought forward an Amendment that medical relief should not disqualify a voter and went at some length into the question. The President of the Local Government complimented the hon. Member on the clear statement he had put before the Committee, and went on to say that he considered that if this Amendment were adopted it would strike a very heavy blow at all friendly societies. The right hon. Gentleman suggested that the hon. Member should alter his Amendment so as to provide that no person who received medical relief for himself or his family for infectious or contagious diseases should be deemed to be disqualified as a voter, and he further recommended the hon. Member to include a provision allowing a man to send a child to an asylum without becoming disqualified. The right hon. Gentleman stated that if these Amendments were not accepted he must oppose the Amendment as it stood, and he went so far as to persuade the hon. Member not only to withdraw his clause but to allow it to be negatived so that it could not be reintroduced. Ever since that time, whenever this proposal was brought forward, it received uncompromising opposition from Her Majesty's late Government, and until the measure went up to the House of Lords that state of things continued. He, therefore, did not think any hon. Member opposite could have any justification in sneering at Her Majesty's present Government for having changed its mind. It was evident, from what the late Prime Minister had said in reply to a Question, that he was in agreement with the late Attorney General, and that if he had been in the House he would have opposed the Amendment proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. H. Davey), and therefore it was pretty clear that all sections of the House had been bitterly opposed at one time or another to that Amendment. He joined issue with the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), when he said he had never voted for the Disqualifying Clause. Every time the right hon. Gentleman voted for the Bill he voted for the Disqualifying Clause which was contained in the Bill. It was, therefore, a most extraordinary thing that the right hon. Gentleman had never before last week raised his voice in the House as to the injustice of the clause. It might be asked why, as both sides of the House had at one time or another opposed the Bill, he himself intended to vote for it? Well, he confessed that his reason was a more or less sentimental one. He could not help feeling that if a felon who had been discharged from gaol was to have the privilege of a vote it would be rather hard that an honest poor man, who only received temporary relief during sickness, should not be allowed the same privilege. He did not think that if the Bill were passed it would prevent a working man continuing to subscribe to clubs which would give him assistance in distress or when he was out of work; it was, in his opinion, a mistake to make a man a pauper who only received temporary relief. Some distinction ought to be made between a man who was in receipt of regular relief and a man who only received temporary relief in times of sickness. At the same time, the question was one which ought to be discussed on its merits; and if hon. Members considered there was any weight in the eloquent arguments of the hon. Member for Liskeard and the hon. Member for West Norfolk, they ought not to be influenced by any Party motive in registering their votes. If they thought that by passing the measure they would be setting a dangerous precedent, and would be adding to the pauperism of the country, they ought, regardless of consequences, to register their votes against the measure.

MR. HENEAGE said, he considered that the main question at issue was whether the person who received medical relief was or was not a pauper. He denied that the receipt of such relief made any man a pauper any more than his participation in the numerous charities organized for the benefit of the poorer classes. There was, in fact, no distinction between the two. A man might receive such relief and yet be perfectly solvent. What was the difference between the case of a man who received medical relief and the case of one who was given soup or wine by the squire or the clergyman of the parish? The receipt of relief was said to be demoralizing; but it was not so demoralizing as getting into debt, and when poor people obtained the assistance of a doctor they often ran up bills which they could hardly hope to be ever able to pay. He personally knew of a case in which a girl ran up a bill of £19 when her annual salary was only £10, and of another in which a man whose weekly receipts amounted only to 18*s.* found himself indebted to a doctor to the extent of £32. He was perfectly satisfied with the Bill brought in by the hon. Member for Ipswich; but as the Government had taken the matter up he was ready to accept their Bill, believing it was a fair and equitable measure.

MR. HALSEY said, he must congratulate the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) on his return to his allegiance to the doctrines of political economy, which he had been compelled to abjure when a Member of the late Government. He (Mr. Halsey) had always been in favour of the principle of the Bill, and if he had been in his place when the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) introduced his Amendment on the Redistribution Bill he should certainly have supported him. He supported the Bill because it appeared to him that medical relief stood on a totally different footing to any other form of relief. It might be necessitated, in some instances, by improvidence; but in the majority of cases illness came upon people suddenly, often at most difficult times, and its pressure was not unfrequently felt most severely by persons far higher in the social scale than agricultural labourers. Apart from a man's duty to his family, there was a duty that he owed to the public to prevent the spread of sickness; and, therefore, it seemed to him absolutely to the public advantage that no discouragement should be placed in the way of poor persons who applied for medical relief. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire had said that the qualification for admission to an infirmary was not destitution; but in his neighbourhood there was a hospital which was intended entirely for the destitute poor. They had heard a great deal also about the clubs and friendly societies, and they had been told that the passing of this Bill would discourage such institutions. He did not, however, anticipate anything of that sort, and he believed that all the more provident and well-to-do people would continue to use them. Many poor persons of the older generation had been regular subscribers to these clubs, but when the pinch came they found that the clubs having been established on a rotten footing all their money was gone. Surely such men ought not to be classed with the habitual and improvident paupers, because when overtaken by sickness they applied to the parish doctor for relief. They had given a large and extended measure of enfranchisement to the people, and it would be a very invidious thing to strike out a few of these poor people because from no fault of their own they had been compelled to apply for relief to the parish doctor. Were this disqualification persisted in, it would work most unequally, as in many districts the absence of a club or a dispensary would deprive a man of his vote, while in other districts no such thing would happen. The case of those who supported the Bill was far stronger than any that could be stated by those who favoured the principle of non-disqualification in consequence of the payment of school fees, a principle which already had the sanction of the law. He thought it most invidious to take the vote away from a few poor people on whom misfortune had suddenly fallen. Since the criminal was not denied his vote he did not see why the man who accepted medical relief should be disqualified. The arguments in favour of this Bill were quite overwhelming; and, in spite of the speeches of the hon. Member for Ipswich and of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, which tended to sow ill-will between class and class, he should give his vote in favour of going into Committee on the Bill.

Dr. FARQUHARSON said, it was fortunate that this Bill had a strong backing out-of-doors; because, if they were to judge from what had taken place in that House as well as in the other House of Parliament on previous occasions, he thought there was little chance of it passing into law. This question, however, had got far beyond the abstract and rigid lines of political economy. The people of this country, now thoroughly aroused, were determined that they would not be disfranchised in any large numbers because they or their families had received temporary or medical aid. He looked upon medical relief of this sort as totally different from ordinary Poor Law relief. In listening to the debate that evening he found himself compelled to say that he much preferred that the House should come back to the original Bill introduced by the hon. Member for Ipswich, to whom he paid a tribute for industry and unflinching courage throughout the contest. As, however, it was intended to extend its operation, he would vote for the Bill rather than that there should be no Bill at all. He was opposed, however, to the proposal which the hon. Member intended to move in Committee, that medical comforts should be included with medical aid without disqualification. To do that it seemed to him would be introducing a large pauperizing element. He maintained that Poor Law relief, as generally understood, was essentially different in its character from medical relief; medical relief was different on account of the sudden, unexpected form of the emergency which it implied. He asked the House to consider the case of a bread-winner of a family meeting with a sudden accident, or the case of a wife struck down with sudden illness. The family had found it difficult to make both ends meet, and this blow, so unexpected, made it impossible for them to do anything on their own account to meet the difficulty. It might be said that the man ought to have been provident; but he could not very well be so on 10*s.* or 12*s.* a-week. The parish doctor was called in and attended to a family of this kind, and the man found, by the action of his wife and quite unknown to him, that he had been disqualified from exercising the franchise. This he considered to be a case of great hardship. It was most desirable, in the interests of the public health, that people should, on the first symptoms of illness, obtain medical aid in order that if they were threatened with infectious disease it might be properly treated and not allowed to spread. He wished, therefore, to ask whether any man who in such a case was sent by a parochial order to a hospital for infectious diseases, which was supported by the State, would necessarily be disfranchised under the existing law on account of being admitted to such an institution? He did not think he would; but the idea was widely prevalent among poor people that it was a disqualification. The great argument in favour of this Bill was, in his view, that as they were now introducing a large number of new electors into the constituencies they should all be allowed to start fair; and while he, therefore, sincerely hoped that the measure would be passed into law, he expressed his regret that its provisions were not to be temporary in their character.

MR. HORACE DAVEY observed, that if he might offer a criticism upon the speech of the hon. Member for Liskeard he should say it was too big for the occasion. The occasion, he thought, did not call for such panic-stricken prophesies as those which his hon. Friend had indulged in with reference to the passing of that Bill. For himself, he regarded that as a very modest measure, and he saw nothing in it which could possibly have the effect which his hon. Friend had apprehended in the way of relaxing the administration of the Poor Law. He knew that in the country districts great strides had been made in reducing the numbers of persons who brought themselves under the Poor Law, and he rejoiced that it was so. He believed that the Poor Law had been the greatest curse to this country of any law that was ever passed. But he took things as they were, because as practical politicians they had to regard the existing order of things, and to regulate their political conduct in accordance with it. His hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard had described in glowing language the evils of the Poor Law system before 1834, and they had also been warned against State Socialism; but he denied that either the state of the Poor Law before the year 1834, or the subject of State Socialism, had anything whatever to do with the question now before the House. His hon. Friend was not very sparing in lecturing the supporters of that measure as to medical relief. The mildest thing he could find to say of them was that they were guilty of immoral thoughtlessness and levity. For himself, he did not feel entitled to use language of that kind towards those who did not agree with him. In the controversies he had to wage in daily life he allowed that those who differed from him were at least as honest as he was himself, and as anxious to form a fair opinion as he desired to be thought to be. The House would recollect the epithet which which Mr. Disraeli, in one of his happiest moments, applied to his hon. Friend's Predecessor in the representation of Liskeard (Mr. Horsman), calling him "a superior person." Neither his hon. Friend nor the hon. Member for West Norfolk had dealt with the practical considerations which attended that question. He did not remember either of those Gentlemen rising in his place when the Irish Registration Bill was under discussion and protesting against the introduction into the Irish Registration Bill of a clause based on precisely the same principle as that on which the present Bill was founded. Neither his hon. Friend nor any other hon. Member had even attempted to justify such an anomaly as that. It might have been quite wrong to have passed such a clause in the Irish Registration Bill; but if the hon. Member for Liskeard apprehended such disastrous and revolutionary consequences from the present Bill he ought to have risen in his place when the Irish Registration Bill was before them and pointed out the abyss into which the House was hurrying. In his opinion the speech of the hon. Member came a little late. The House was aware that, under the Education Act, if a person were too poor to pay for the education of his children, the Board of Guardians had power to pay the school pence for him, so that his children should not be deprived of public elementary education. That Act expressly enacted that such acceptance of school fees should not deprive the recipient of his right of franchise. What was the difference between this educational relief and medical relief? He should have liked to have heard what the hon. Member for Liskeard had to say upon that question. The speech of the hon. Member would have been more useful if delivered on an earlier occasion, or if the hon. Member had condescended to step down from his position of lofty contempt for his opponents and to grapple with the question in a practical matter. No attention had been paid to the particular circumstances of this case. There were a number of new electors for the first time to be placed on the register, and this disqualification would not be one which existed, but would only be imported into their case. It would be annexing a condition to the franchise which would have the effect of disappointing men who had been led by Members on both sides of the House to expect and believe that they would be invested with the franchise. He had not had time to scrutinize the figures laid before the House by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board; but, accepting them as correct, they did not really displace the estimate which he had ventured to lay before them on a former occasion. He had said that he had been informed that in some parts of the country—as, for instance, in Somersetshire—the effect of maintaining this disqualification on the ground of acceptance of medical relief would be to deprive one-fifth of the new voters of their franchise. From inquiries which he had since made he believed that that estimate was not inaccurate. The number of persons disqualified was estimated by the right hon. Gentleman as 2·5 per 1,000 of the whole population. The effect of that disqualification was unevenly spread over the whole country; for instance, in Somerset, Dorset, and probably in Hampshire, it was larger than in the Midland or Northern counties, where the people were better off. Then, of course, they had to remember that a large number were not voters; the average of voters to population being about one-seventh or one-eighth, many of whom were out of the way of temptation or necessity for medical relief. Altogether he was not prepared to say that the estimate which he had formed, that in some parts of the country about one-fifth of the new voters would be disqualified, was very far wrong. The hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read)—whose declaration that this was probably the last occasion on which he would address the House was received with universal regret—had left out of account one important fact, and that was that the disqualification would operate most unfairly in the rural districts, where, broadly speaking, there were no public charities such as existed to a very great extent in large towns, where a man might receive relief in almost every way without being disqualified from voting. He could not understand the justice of the proposal that a man should lose his franchise who, living in a town, obtained medical relief, whereas a man who resided in the country might spend six months in the county infirmary and yet be free to exercise his franchise the moment he came out. The main argument which had been used against this Bill was that it would tend to develop pauperism. If he thought that would be the effect of it he would not support it; but he did not believe it would have any such effect. He had not heard from any hon. Member what change it was expected, or was feared, would be made in the administration of the Poor Law in consequence of the passing of this Bill. He had been very much struck by the statistics which had been quoted by the hon. Member for West Norfolk, to the effect that the amount of medical relief received in the country districts was much smaller than that received in the towns. The inference that he drew from those figures was that while in the towns, where the population had already enjoyed the franchise, and where this disqualification had existed ever since the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, that disqualification had not acted as a deterrent against persons receiving medical relief, in the country places where the labourers had not been in possession of the franchise they had exercised prudence and thrift, and had, in very few instances, resorted to the parish for medical relief. In these circumstances, he did not anticipate that any great change in the administration of the Poor Law would result from the passing of this measure. He congratulated the country on the decline of pauperism, but he failed to trace that decline to the existence of this disqualification. He thought that decline was the result of the improvement in the condition of the people, caused by the increased cheapness of food and clothing, which had been of such enormous benefit to the working classes of the country. He should have anticipated that the possession of the votes would be the means of educating the people, and that, so far from lowering their self-respect and inducing them to seek parochial assistance where it was not necessary, the result would be exactly the contrary. For his own part, he did not think the man who, by casual misfortune, was compelled to accept parochial medical relief of a temporary character ought to be classed as a pauper and with those who habitually lived upon the rates. He desired, in conclusion, to express his personal gratification at the frank and candid way in which this measure had been taken up by the Government. He should be sorry to say one word that would embarrass the Government in dealing with it; and while he congratulated the House upon the progress made in the matter, he rejoiced in the belief that the measure was on a fair way to success.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he was not surprised at the tone of jubilation in which the hon. and learned Gentleman spoke, since it was he who had first raised this subject, and his views were now prevailing. He (Mr. J. G. Talbot) found it impossible to change his opinions on this matter within a month; and having within that period voted against the proposal to remove this disqualification, he found himself unable to support the Government on the present occasion. The right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill had based this Bill to some extent on the principle of equality as between dwellers in towns and rural districts. But why should they follow bad examples? It was found that there was a larger percentage of pauperism in the towns than in the rural districts. They should level up and not down, and should try and bring the people of the towns up to the same level of independence and self-reliance as the people of the rural districts. It had been said that the people of the towns had hospitals to go to, whereas the rural inhabitants had not; but if this argument went to anything, it went to this—that indoor paupers in workhouse infirmaries ought to be allowed to vote, for the workhouse infirmaries were somewhat analogous to town hospitals. Were they prepared to set up a polling station in each workhouse? The Bill proposed to make it no disqualification to receive "medical or surgical assistance;" but those words would not cover the nourishing food which generally followed the medical assistance, and notwithstanding the Bill, very many "capable citizens" would still find themselves disqualified. If this Bill were to pass, whenever the question of free education came to be discussed, it would be found that they had been giving the vote to those who were directly interested in receiving education at the public expense. The Bill would also have this absurd result—that while the man who received assistance out of the rates was allowed to vote, the man who was late in contributing his amount to the rates would be disqualified. It would strike a great blow at the friendly and provident societies, as the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) had pointed out in a speech he made last year. He had received a letter from a gentleman of great Poor Law experience, who said that much mischief would be caused if the disqualification was done away with, and that it was impossible, in his opinion, to make a distinction between medical and other Poor Law relief. Poor Law relief would go in aid of wages, and that would tend to bring wages down. He could not conclude without saying how very much he regretted the position of his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board. His right hon. Friend, he was sure, had a great future before him; but let him urge him not to sully it by a departure from the great principles of political economy. He had one poor consolation, and it was this—that if he could poll the occupants of the Treasury Bench by some form of secret voting, he thought that they would vote with him rather than with his right hon. Friend.

MR. D. GRANT said, he held that there was a great difference between the man who accepted medical relief and the man who accepted parochial relief. If in the towns they had hospitals where men were entitled to receive relief without losing the right to vote, why should they put the population of the country to a disadvantage by retaining the disqualification? When a man got ordinary poor relief, he felt that he was a constant burden on the community. But a man might have been so healthy all his life as never to require medical relief, and yet an accident might befall him. In such a case he would feel that he was entitled to medical relief. This was a question which affected the whole mass of the people. Men said that they had received from the Legislature the right of voting; and why should that be given with one hand which was taken away with the other? There were some things upon which it was a point of wisdom to yield, and this was one of them. He was inclined to believe that the good that would be done would far outvalue the little evil.

VISCOUNT EMLYN said, that there was one part of the speech of the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) which must have been heard with regret. It was when the hon. Member hinted that the next Parliament would lose what this Parliament had to a great extent appreciated—namely, the strong common sense, the manly eloquence, and the independence which the hon. Gentleman had exhibited. But the hon. Member, while strong in his own independence, was a little hard on the independence of others. The hon. Member seemed to think that those who differed from him must have lost their independence. Now, he claimed for himself that he had been independent since he had had the honour of a seat in that House. The hon. Member for West Norfolk told them that upon questions upon which he did not possess information he followed his Party, but upon questions which he understood he gave an independent vote. He claimed for himself the same credit. But the question was whether Her Majesty's Government, under all the circumstances of the case, were justified in their action or not. He would ask the hon. Member for West Norfolk, as an independent Member, as a man who always acted as he thought right, whether this question was so entirely free from complication as he seemed to suppose? Was it not a fact that it was hampered and encumbered by the circumstance that they had broken in upon the principle which the hon. Gentleman advocated? In Ireland they had practically scattered this principle to the wind. He would like to know whether the hon. Member would undertake, were he a responsible Minister, to go to any English, Welsh, or Scotch constituency, and tell them that while in Ireland a man who got medical relief did not lose his vote, anyone in England, Wales, or Scotland who got medical relief should lose it? Were the Bill not to become law, great inequalities would in future exist. In one parish there would be a club, and the men belonging to it would get their medical attendance and retain their vote; in the next parish there would be no club, and the labourers would consequently be compelled to apply for medical relief to the Guardians, and so they would lose their votes. He asked the House whether that would be fair? Certain hon. Members who had taken part in the debate seemed to think that when this Bill was passed a great and a radical change would come over the administration of medical relief. They seemed to think that there would be an influx of applicants for medical relief, and that the Guardians who had to administer it would change their system of administration from the very root. He, however, believed that none of those things would take place. A man who found himself in want of relief was not likely to be deterred from asking for it because its acceptance would disqualify him, nor was he likely to demand it because its acceptance would have no such effect. In fact, the question of the effect of an application for relief upon his electoral rights was not likely to trouble the mind of a man who had a cherished wife or child laid low by illness. It would be desirable to guard against establishing a precedent for the enfranchisement of all recipients of outdoor relief; and they would do well, therefore, to define distinctly what they meant by medical relief. In many cases medical officers ordered food for their patients. Was this food to be included in the meaning of the words "medical relief?" In his opinion, the meaning ought to be confined to articles provided for distinctly medical purposes. He admitted that he disliked the principle embodied in the Bill; but he recognized that had he been placed in the position in which those who had to deal with this subject found themselves, he would not have acted differently for them; and, therefore, he felt bound to record his vote in favour of the Bill.

SIR HENRY JAMES said, that probably the House would expect him to give some explanation of the vote which he was about to record, and would think him wanting in moral courage if he were to abstain from voting or to give a silent vote. He was about to vote against the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), and he was aware that he must explain his conduct, having regard to the course which he had taken on a previous occasion. The question before the House was first raised on the Registration Bill, which it was his duty to carry through the House within a certain time. Perhaps he was over-anxious about the performance of his task; but his desire was, in order that the Bill might be passed, and that those who had to perform the duties of registration might have sufficient time in which to fulfil them, to shut out any Amendment not directly bearing upon the provisions of the measure. The Amendment relating to the subject of medical relief appeared to him to be hardly germane to the Bill, as it was concerned with a matter relating to enfranchisement and not to registration. As he stated on the second occasion when the subject came before the House, the desire which he had expressed of shutting out the Amendment was not shared by his Colleagues. Reference had been made to the fact that the Government opposed the Amendment to abolish medical relief disqualification when the Registration Bill came down from the House of Lords; but it would be remembered that if the Lords' Amendment had not been accepted, the Bill could not have been passed before Whitsuntide, and registration would have become almost impossible. What had happened since his first opinion on the subject was made known? The question, the House would remember, was first discussed in Committee on May 6, and then the attention of the country was directed to the matter. The electors treated it as a great question, and within a week much information which was quite new to them reached many hon. Members. In the Reform Bill of 1832 no one proposed that parochial relief should disqualify in counties. It might be that one of the reasons which led to that was the difference between medical relief in the counties and the boroughs. It was not till 1867—and then the question was brought forward in the House of Lords—that parochial relief was made a disqualification in boroughs. Since the question was first discussed information had reached Members of the House which determined many of them to vote in favour of the Bill. It became known that this question was being used as a weapon of disqualification, and that in counties medical relief was not only being granted, but was pressed upon people in order that they might be disqualified from the franchise. [*Cheers, and* "No, no!"] But even if this information were incorrect, the fact that such a weapon might be used would make Members very careful how they voted against such a measure. The hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) had said that no candidate would venture, or would be wise to avow himself an opponent of the Bill. The real question was whether they should accept the Bill now or in the month of February or March next. Did anyone believe that the arguments of his hon. Friend who opposed the Bill would prevail upon a political platform? No one now desired that parochial relief, apart from medical relief, should not disqualify. But how was that principle endangered if this Bill should be thrown out? The question would be brought for decision before the worst possible judges of such a question. It would become a political instead of an economical question. It would be the candidates who would have to decide, under the pressure of their constituents, whether they would support enfranchisement for those who had received general parochial relief; and in 99 cases out of 100 they would yield to the pressure and promise to support a larger measure, enfranchising even those who had received other than medical relief. Thus this question, which in a Registration Bill was one of comparatively small importance, had become a burning question in the country, and, if this Bill were rejected, would become still more prominent. While that was the case, could those economical principles prevail which the hon. Member had so strongly supported, or would they not rather be endangered in fighting the battle through an appeal to the constituencies? They were choosing an unfavourable ground for the contest, and had better deal with it at once in this House rather than on electioneering platforms. There was, besides, a great difference between the two kinds of relief. A person who received general relief was known to be a pauper; but not so in respect of medical relief—it might be afforded to his family, and its receipt did not mark him as a pauper. Beyond all questions of foreign and domestic policy this matter of medical relief was agitating the agricultural labourers. The sooner, therefore, it was got out of the way the better. His hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had deprecated the treatment of this subject with levity. He agreed with his hon. Friend; and it was because he desired to get it out of the area of political partizanship that he urged with all earnestness that it should be disposed of without delay. His hon. Friend had said that rival candidates would compete for popularity on this question. He hoped that there were Representatives who would not compete in such a bad course; but he was entitled, in reply to his hon. Friend, to ask who had created this question? It appeared to him that the electors of the country had virtually created it, and were insisting upon its solution. In his opinion, this measure having become a political question, it was necessary to judge it from that point of view, and political considerations must prevail. The hon. Member for Liskeard said he did not care how many persons were disfranchised by the present law or given the franchise by the Bill; but he would submit that that was one of the most important points which had to be considered in connection with the Bill.

Mr. PELL observed that the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just spoken rested his whole argument upon one ground only—that of expediency. He did not say that the reasons put forward by the right hon. and learned Gentleman were bad; but this he did say—that they were most ably put forward, and would carry conviction if anything could do so. It had been urged that the disqualification which existed in respect of medical relief could be made use of to disqualify electors. He thought it more likely that some of those gentlemen who were always ready to do a good act on the eve of a General Election would come forward in those cases where from sheer necessity a really capable citizen was likely to be disqualified and prevent his vote from being lost. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had made some distinction between parochial and medical relief; but he would remind him that a person must be a pauper in law before he could get medicine from the parish. He believed that the form of relief under the Poor Law known as medical relief was more frequently granted by Boards of Guardians in times of prosperity than in times of depression. In 1872 this country was going through such good times that it was really demoralized, yet at that time there were 695,000 outdoor paupers in England and Wales. In 1884, a year of great depression, outdoor pauperism had declined to 512,000, or a reduction of 183,000 upon the figures of 1872. To show the difference between the condition of the country in 1875 and 1882, it was sufficient to say that in the former year Schedule D of the Income Tax for England and Wales was returned at £230,000,000, while in the latter year it was only about the same amount. He thought, therefore, that there was good proof that the demand for parish assistance was not the result of poverty and bad times so much as of a weak and vicious system of administration of the Poor Law, which encouraged persons to throw themselves upon the rates. It had been argued that because a concession had been made to Ireland the same ought to be extended to England in regard to outdoor medical relief. Nothing in the history of Ireland or in the history of the legislation of the late Government with respect to that country could be more deplorable than the enormous increase of pauperism, to which the recent administration of the law in that country had led. In 1878 the number of outdoor paupers in Ireland was only 35,500; in 1884 the number had swelled to 58,000. Was that the country, he asked, where we were to look for an illustration in respect to the administration of the Poor Law? What had been its effect on Ireland? Ireland was more pauperized at the present time than it had been since 1874. The charge on the people in respect of pauperism in Ireland was 3*s.* 5*d.* in 1874; in 1884 the charge amounted to a poll tax of 4*s.* 9*d.* He maintained they could not find any encouragement from such an illustration as this. On the Front Ministerial Bench were sitting men who had advocated the imposition of a duty on the food of the poor; but it was a far more terrible thing to have for leaders men who advocated dear bread and pills for nothing. He thought it would be a wiser course to keep up the constitution of the poor man by plenty of wholesome food, and think of the medicine afterwards. It would be better also to maintain consistency on this subject of taxing food, and to retain the advantage derived from Free Trade, leaving the question of medical relief to the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings). The principle of this question had never been more clearly enunciated than in 1834, when the House of Commons consisted, in a large degree, of wealthy men, who represented the people in a very inadequate manner. It was because those great men adhered to those principles, were guided by them, would not deviate from them, and trusted to them, that in the end, after many years of conflict, they were enabled to carry that great measure of the Poor Law, and to earn for themselves the gratitude and respect of men like himself, who did not entirely agree with them in general politics. It had been said that the men who had opposed this proposal would be nowhere at the Election. Well, he was consistent at any rate, and he would rather die consistent than vote for a Bill that was only intended to catch votes. He read to the House some words written by Sir George Nicholls on this question. He said the condition of the paupers ought to be less eligible than that of the independent labourer. They were going to make this condition, by such a measure as this, just as eligible in point of voting as that of the independent labourer. The hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) had asserted that this disqualification as regarded counties was created by statute in 1867. He believed this was not the case. Hon. Members, if they cared to inquire into this subject, would find that as early as 1795, in the course of a debate, Mr. Fox stated that by the Common Law of England no pauper could exercise the franchise. He believed it was utterly incorrect to say, as had been said that evening, that large numbers of the new constituencies would be disqualified by this form of relief; but if it be true that large numbers of electors would be disqualified to vote by the receipt of medical relief, then, he said, there was all the greater reason, in his opinion, for not altering the law as it at present stood. He had received that morning a letter from a clergyman, who wrote thus—

> "Will it help you to have my experience as chairman for many years of a rural Board of Guardians, and one who has not played at the work? I have no hesitation in saying that medical relief is not only the most dangerous form of relief (everyone knows that), but also the most unnecessary. In this district—and it is, or ought to be, the case everywhere—medical clubs are within the reach and within the means of all, and are made use of by all who have any regard for their own independence. Those only neglect to do so who are neglectful about everything — namely, the 'shacks.' One of them said the other day to a doctor in this district—'Good times for your clubs now, doctor; we shall all have to join or we shall lose our votes.' During the last five years the average number of persons who received medical relief in this Union has been one in every 2,000; and during the last half year only two in 13.000. As a rule, only the 'shacks' applied to us for medical relief, and they get it only when we are unable to move them to the house. And these are they whose political independence Parliament is so anxious to protect. What a farce it is, and yet what a mischievous farce! Medical clubs—indirectly, all benefit clubs—discouraged; those of us who have been at some pains and incurred no little odium in the endeavour to teach wholesome principles slapped in the face; and the distinction between a man who is fit to exercise a vote and a man who is not obliterated. If this is not doing the Devil's work what is? . . . . . I have always advocated the extension of the franchise; but if this is the first fruits of it, and if, in consequence of it, only 20 men can be found in the House of Commons with courage enough to vote for the unpopular right, the prospect is gloomy."

Now, he hoped that they would have an opportunity that night of again recording their votes on that question, and he trusted that the opponents of the Bill would find their numbers increased and not decreased in the division.

MR. LEWIS said, that at that late hour of the evening (12 o'clock) it was impossible to ask for the attention of the House while he recounted over again all the various arguments which had been used against this Bill; but he wished to call attention to one particular point connected with it which had not yet received due attention at the hands of the House. That became the more important after the speech which had been delivered by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the late Attorney General (Sir Henry James). Although the right hon. and learned Gentleman had never been known to be a very advanced politician, the speech he had delivered that night was a most remarkable one. It seemed to be an invitation to everyone, however extreme his principles, to insist, before the lowest classes of the electoral body, that this enfranchisement of the principles of political economy was being adopted simply because it was believed to be a matter of political necessity. He thought there was a slight deficiency in the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman as to the history of this question. They were now asked by the late Attorney General to believe that the whole of his conduct in reference to the Registration Bill had regard, not so much to this particular question when the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Davey) moved his clause, as to the paramount necessity, as a matter of Government programme, that the Bill should be passed in some form or other. Those who, like himself (Mr. Lewis), were present in the House on the first occasion—the 6th of May—when this clause was brought forward, would never forget the readiness and eagerness with which the late Attorney General contested the proposition, not as a matter of argument, but as a matter of principle. He (Mr. Lewis) wished to say a word now with regard to the case of Ireland. His hon. and learned Friend the late Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell) had described it as the first effective representation of the people of Ireland; but he (Mr. Lewis) ventured to remind the House that in regard to Ireland medical relief was a matter of arrangement, and its details were totally different from those which were proposed by the present Bill. In Ireland medical relief was not distinctly part of the Poor Law; but there was an arrangement by which medical relief was dispensed, not by the Guardians of the Poor, but by special Committees. [*Cries of* "No!"] He would appeal to the hon. and gallant Member for Cork (Colonel Colthurst) who, during the progress of the Registration Bill, had explained the matter with the greatest care and simplicity to the House. He (Mr. Lewis) now desired to draw the attention of the House to the ground on which the Government asked the House to accept the Bill. Every hon. Member must have been struck by the very extraordinary statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour). His statement of the reasons which induced the Government to ask the House to accept the Bill was prefaced by this most remarkable observation, and he (Mr. Lewis) thought it was one which would be admitted to be of a most grave and momentous character—for, however much inclined he was to be serious in regard to the Bill, he certainly had not been prepared to hear the right hon. Gentleman use the words he had employed in describing the nature of this legislation. Let them see how the right hon. Gentleman justified the matter. The argument of the right hon. Gentleman took this form—that he had always thought this particular kind of disfranchisement formed a lesson of thrift and independence; but during the last month the whole bulk of the Liberal organization, from Cabinet Ministers downwards, had been occupied in impressing the labourers with the belief that the sole reason why they were kept out of their rights was that the Party which had been chiefly employed in keeping them out of their rights were actuated by selfish motives. This was the reason which had induced the Government to come forward now with this Bill, and to make a surrender along the whole line, not because they believed that the measure was just or expedient, but because it had become a political necessity owing to the action of their political opponents.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR): I never said that; I quoted the report of a speech which, if not accurate, had been generally received as accurate, and which gave the interpretation I placed upon the action of the late Government.

MR. LEWIS said, he would point out how far this political principle might be extended. Suppose they were to have a Conservative Government in Office for the next five years—[*Laughter.*] Hon.

Members opposite laughed; but he should not be surprised at that, considering the political allies whom they had recently secured. But, supposing they did remain in Office for the next five years, what would be the result? In the first year, remaining in the same alliance, and with the same influences at work, the constituencies and capable citizens being limited to the same class of people—with the bitter animosities and strong class prejudices to which his right hon. Friend had referred, he was afraid that one of the conditions for the exercise of the franchise—namely, the payment of rates, and of 12 months' residence, would go; and by-and-bye they would find themselves in the position of a celebrated class of American citizens, who were able to get off a steamer in New York one day, and claim the rights of citizenship the next. The next year indirect taxation would be swept away as a wicked infliction upon the lower classes. The usual emissaries would be set to work to explain that the imposition of these taxes were for the benefit of a particular class, for the preservation of their own interests and privileges. He presumed that his right hon. Friend, under such circumstances, would be ready to declare that the object of maintaining indirect taxation had been entirely frustrated; that it had been turned into a means for bringing passion and Party bitterness into play, and that the time for the surrender of indirect taxation had arrived. The next year, indirect taxation having been swept away, the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), with, if possible, a few other kindred spirits more wicked than himself, would begin stumping the country against the House of Lords, who would be described as a body kept in existence simply for the purpose of serving class prejudices and class interests, and for grinding the poor. The hon. Member would be able to obtain a large amount of support among capable citizens of the lower order, and possibly this would be put forward as a reason why this concession should in some way or other be made. Then next year it would be suggested that there ought to be a graduated Income Tax, and hon. Members would go to their constituents for the purpose of pointing out how unequal the Income Tax was imposed; that, instead of serving any public advantage, it was, in point of fact, another form of oppression upon the poor man; that there was no justification whatever for keeping up an Income Tax on lower-class incomes; and that there ought to be a graduated scale in such a way as to inflict the largest amount of injustice upon the richer classes and the greatest amount of freedom upon the poor. The same reasons which had been put forward for the support of this Bill would be brought forward again, and some hon. Member would get up and suggest that this body also should be thrown to the wolf. By-and-bye the question might arise as to the propriety of continuing the Established Church. One of the most recent operations of the Liberal programme was to describe how the tithe was the property of the poor; how hardly it pressed upon the working classes of the country, and that it ought to be divided among them, instead of being retained for the endowment of the Church. Would it be difficult to teach people then that the poorer classes were sustaining injury, and that the grievance ought to be removed if they were to do justice between man and man and class and class? He would ask his right hon. Friend how, unless he could escape from the proposition which he had distinctly laid down in his speech last week, any part of the Constitution, or any portion of the institutions of the country, could be preserved if this sort of Dutch auction was to be followed of putting the Constitution up to auction piece by piece, and selling it to the lowest bidder? This question, although it had been described as a small one, was a very far-reaching one; and it was idle to suggest that it would be possible to maintain any principle of disfranchisement on the ground of the receipt by any man of Poor Law relief if the Bill passed. It was further impossible to suggest that they would be entitled to disqualify an elector for non-payment of rates if those who received medical relief were entitled to retain their vote. A difficulty had been created at the very threshold. In what way were they going to limit the form in which medical relief was to be given? Were they going to say that the parish would be allowed to administer medicine to patients, and not give that which would keep life together and render the medicine applicable? Were they going to draw any distinction of that kind? It seemed to him impossible to commence this class of legislation without comprehending and deliberately providing that it should have its full effect. It was perfectly obvious that the whole of this discussion had arisen from the political exigencies of the candidates; but he ventured to prophesy that, supposing every Member of the House was now sitting in it for the last time, and were called upon to vote upon the question, their views would be much more in favour of the principles laid down by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) than the wild and reactionary doctrines of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings). It seemed to him that the Government considered themselves bound to hold on to the Bill, although there was so little to commend it to the acceptation of the House. For his own part, he could not help believing that this measure was one of the results of being on that side of the House—in Office without a majority. He did not believe for a moment that the Bill was supported by the good sense and intelligence of his right hon. Friends on the Front Bench. No doubt, they had acceded to Office under circumstances of difficulty; but, nevertheless, he protested against that surrender at discretion which induced their Leaders to accept, in circumstances of difficulty, measures which a few years ago they would have strenuously opposed. The Members of the Conservative Party must be aware that they were voting now in favour of an alteration which had received the unanimous opposition, a few weeks ago, of every right hon. Gentleman who was now seated on the Front Opposition Bench. [*Cries of* "No!"] However that might be, it was perfectly clear they were now asked, all of a sudden, to make a change of front; and after having voted as a Party, on the invitation of their Leaders, against this measure, when sitting on the other side of the House, they were now asked to vote contrary to their convictions, and against the opinion they had clearly expressed on former occasions. He (Mr. Lewis), for his part, should certainly vote in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman, and should do all that he could to prevent such a measure as this from being passed.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR): There was no sentence that fell from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the late Attorney General (Sir Henry James) in which I more cordially agree than the one in which he stated that the sooner we got this question out of the way the better. Therefore, I shall confine my remarks within the narrowest possible limits, commenting only on the new matter which has been originated in the course of the debate. It seems ungracious to criticize, nor shall I criticize, the *apologia* which the late Attorney General has delivered to-night; but I think he has not perfectly or accurately quoted the facts with which he was dealing. The right hon. and learned Gentleman represented that his sole motive for the action which he took on the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) when it was before the House was to exclude from the Bill then under discussion anything irrelevant, and to get the measure as fast as possible through the House. But, in the first place, I should like to point out that the late Government admitted into the Irish Bill something equally irrelevant—namely, that very Amendment; and the late Attorney General, in the strongest manner, expressed his dissent from the principle of the measure. I do not wish to press this matter, or to twit the late Attorney General with inconsistency; but I do not think that his action, however kindly we may be disposed to look at it, has really been explained to the House. My hon. Friend who began the debate (Mr. Pell) made a speech which was, to my mind, of a most impressive kind. We all know the extreme strength of my hon. Friend's feelings upon this subject, and we know that he has approached it with perfect indifference as to the consequences it might have to himself. The subject is one which he is peculiarly fitted to expound to the House, for it is one upon which he has long felt strongly. The same comment may be made on the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read), who told the House, to the universal regret of all who heard him, that this is probably the last speech of any length which it will be his lot to make here. I am sure that I express the feelings of hon. Members, of whatever Party politics or on whatever side of the House they sit, when I say that that announcement of the hon. Gentleman was received with universal regret. But both the speech of the hon. Member for Liskeard and the speech of the hon. Member for West Norfolk, to which I allude, were primarily disquisitions on the general principle of the Poor Law, and then only in a secondary manner bore upon the particular Bill which I have in my charge. As to the general principle which animates my hon. Friend opposite, and which distinguishes him from the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), I am entirely in accord with my hon. Friend. I so far separate myself from the Conservative Party of 1834, and so far attach myself to the Liberal Party of that year, as to say that the general opinions which my hon. Friend has expressed in regard to Poor Law management have my hearty concurrence. What I deny, however, is that those opinions offer adequate reasons, under the special circumstances of the case, for refusing assent to this Bill. My hon. Friend asked me to explain, and has taunted me for not having explained before, how it was that the Bill included certain other elections besides Parliamentary elections, while, at the same time, it excluded Poor Law elections. I think my hon. Friend himself, in the course of his speech, gave an explanation of that apparent anomaly. His chief contention was that the position of the labouring classes in this country since 1834 had been raised chiefly by a rigid administration of the Poor Law. I do not deny that, and I therefore submit that if these good consequences are to be obtained by a rigid administration of the Poor Law there is the strongest ground for excluding those who accept medical relief from voting in Poor Law elections. If that is not an adequate reason for the exclusion, I am at a loss to understand what the late Attorney General would give as an adequate reason on his own principle. Then the right hon. and learned Gentleman has announced his fear lest this measure should largely increase pauperism in the country districts. Of course, the only way in which pauperism can be increased is by medical relief. There is no ground whatever for that fear. The Government do not believe that if they extend the exemption of the counties it would produce more serious or disastrous consequences than long experience has shown that it has produced in the towns. The statistics which I produced the other night showed that in the towns, where the penalty of losing the vote always attaches to the receipt of medical relief, the relief is greater than in the country towns where it has never attached. With regard to the exemption of the towns, something dropped from the late Attorney General which requires an explanation. I do not at all take the ground put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) as to the number. The late Attorney General said that in certain counties labourers would be pressed to take medical relief in order to disqualify them. That appears to me to be a very grave accusation, and I certainly hope that any complaint of that sort will be brought to the notice of the Government. I believe that any such practice would be a corrupt practice; and, if not, the right hon. and learned Gentleman would do well to supplement his late Bill and make it a corrupt practice. But what possible ground is there for supposing that this would take place in the counties when it has never taken place in the towns? Are electioneering agents so much more ingenious in inventing corrupt practices in the counties than in the towns? I never heard that they were; and yet this disqualification has existed since 1857 in the towns, and it is not pretended for one moment that it has ever been used for corrupt practices. Why should we expect a worse state of things in the counties than experience has shown to exist in the towns? My hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard says it is a most dangerous lesson to teach the working classes that by the removal from them of some primary want—in other words, by the State undertaking itself to satisfy some primary want—a most disastrous result will be produced. But, if that is so, the State has already done so. I would ask my hon. Friend what duty is more incumbent upon a parent than the education of his child? What could be more properly described as a primary want in any civilized community than education?—and yet, under our existing laws, not only can a man get the education of his child paid for by the State, but he is not thereby prevented from voting for the School Board. That is an anomaly which alone affords complete justification for the provisions of this Bill. [Mr. MUNDELLA: The education is compulsory.] The right hon. Gentleman interrupts me by saying that it is compulsory. I quite admit that. So, also, in the case of vaccination; but I have no desire to weary the House with the exceptional cases. The maintenance of health and the giving of education are both primary duties, and the means of doing both are supplied by the State in case of destitution. Allusion has been made to Ireland; but I have no wish to dilate at too great a length upon that point. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Lewis) has tried to persuade the House that there is an essential distinction between the cases of England and Ireland. I admit that there are great differences in the case of Ireland and England; but I absolutely deny that those distinctions are relevant to this discussion. In Ireland a man can get medical relief out of the rates, and all this Bill does is to enable a destitute man in England to get relief out of the rates. In that respect, the cases of Ireland and England are precisely and exactly similar; and when the House conceded relief without disqualification in Ireland it made it practically impossible to refuse to do so in England. I think that must be admitted by the bitterest opponents of the Bill. Holding that opinion, I had the curiosity to examine the Division List on the Irish question; and I find, to my surprise, that the four hon. Gentlemen who have most strenuously opposed the Bill in every one of its stages—namely, the hon. Members for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read), and the University of Oxford (Mr. J. G. Talbot), did not even come down to the House to prevent the Proviso being inserted in the Irish Bill. Not one of them voted against the thin end of the wedge. [Mr. CLARE READ: I was ill in bed.] My hon. Friend the Member for West Norfolk has given an adequate excuse. I do not know whether the other hon. Members I have referred to have an equally good excuse to offer or not; but it is singularly unfortunate that entertaining, as they did, this very strong and almost exaggerated line in regard to this Bill, they did not think it worth while to come down to the House and record their votes against the introduction of the thin end of the wedge. The hon. and learned Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) criticized my speech on the second reading, and described it as a cynical speech. He announced, at the same time, to my intense surprise, that if the Bill had not been mine, but that of the hon. Member for Ipswich, he would have voted for it. I venture to say that, in face of the speech of the hon. and learned Member for the Tower Hamlets, a more cynical statement was never made in the House of Commons. The hon. and learned Member and the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) say that a great agitation has been got up; that the minds of the public have been very much inflamed; that it would be greatly to the disadvantage of the Conservative Party to resist the agitation; and that the sooner they cease from doing so the better. Whether that is a good argument or a bad argument, it is not the argument that I addressed to the House—I addressed to the House an entirely different argument, to which that has no semblance whatever. The hon. and learned Member for the Tower Hamlets said that supposing someone of these landlords announced that there was no such thing as private property, and supposing that he succeeded in inflaming the public mind on that question, would I and others who agree with me be bound to level down and give up the opinions we have previously expressed? It is that illustration which shows me that the hon. Member has entirely mistaken my argument; because I apprehend that the retention of this disqualification is not really a matter of principle at all. It is a question of retaining a piece of machinery for discussing a principle; and the distinction is vital. I will endeavour to make this as clear as I can. I think it will be admitted by my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire, and the most uncompromising opponents of the Bill, that medical relief ceases now to produce the effect they say it has hitherto produced. Whatever effects it may have produced hitherto, it will no longer produce those effects, and in that respect my chain of reasoning is conclusive. Is there a single man in this

House who knows the state of the public mind who is sanguine enough to believe that the result of retaining the disqualification, if it were possible to continue it, would promote thrift? Then, if I am right in thinking that the machinery has lost its virtue altogether, and has become now merely an irritating piece of useless lumber, it would be impossible to retain it, and there is full justification for the action of the Government in trying to remove it. I am not prepared to deny that what has happened within the last three weeks may, to some extent, do injury to the cause which my hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard has at heart in reference to Poor Law amendment; but I say that harm is not done by this Bill, but that it has been done already by the debates in this House and the agitation in the country. This Bill, so far from doing further harm, would, I believe, prevent further harm from being done. There are those who anticipate that this Bill is only the first of a series of measures. My hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry drew up a string of measures which he thinks may possibly follow. I do not know what measures of legislation may be in store for us in the next few years, and he would be a rash prophet who would express any opinion in that respect; but if encroachments on the principle of Poor Law amendment are to be stopped, they can only be stopped by the common action of men of all Parties on both sides of the House determined to maintain their principles vigorously and effectively. I do not know that there is any other point I have to lay before the House. I think I have dealt with most points which have come up in the course of the debate; and I will conclude by expressing my earnest hope that, considering the absolute necessity for passing this Bill in the next few days, the House will now agree to go into Committee upon it.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I had not the slightest intention of intervening in this discussion when the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. A. J. Balfour) rose to address the House. I had been taking considerable interest in the sort of triangular duel which has been going on in regard to this Bill, and in the arguments which have been carried forward between hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway and their Leaders on the Front Bench. But the right hon. Gentleman has made a direct appeal to me, and I am very anxious to have the right hon. Gentleman's assistance in understanding the arguments he has laid before the House. I confess that I think the right hon. Gentleman is a little unfortunate. He has contrived to produce an impression which is not the impression he desired to convey to the House and the public. The other day the right hon. Gentleman told us, much to our gratification, that he was the author of a work in defence of religion; yet, as the House is aware, that work was, nevertheless, of such a character as to severely shake the faith of my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). In the same way, the right hon. Gentleman has made two speeches in favour of this Bill; and if I were not thoroughly convinced upon the subject my faith in the necessity or expediency of any measure of the kind would be altogether destroyed by the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman. On two occasions he has got up and reminded the House—as, unfortunately, it was very necessary he should do—that he was introducing a Bill, and supporting it by argument after argument, all of which tended to show that his belief was the same as that of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), that the effect of the measure would be pernicious. The right hon. Gentleman complains that he has been misrepresented. It appears that the hon. and learned Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) was under the impression, from what the right hon. Gentleman said on a previous occasion, that the Government had introduced this Bill owing to the agitation in the country; and he thought that if the right hon. Gentleman had not introduced it, and had not, in effect, taken the wind out of the sails of the Liberal Party, it might go rather hard with the Government at the General Election. "Oh, no!" says the right hon. Gentleman, "nothing of the kind. That is not my meaning." Now, I humbly admit that I, also, had misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman, and had thought that that was his idea. He says he wants the House to understand that what is at stake in the Bill is not the principle, but the machinery for carrying out a principle, and that this machinery has lost its virtue. That appears to be rather a curious expression;

for I can understand a principle losing its virtue, but I do not see how machinery can lose its virtue. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that it is this machinery in which he is interested, and which has lost its virtue owing to the debates in this House and outside of it. But why, if it had any virtue, has it lost it by debates, the authority of which the right hon. Gentleman does not admit? Let me apply that reasoning to some other institution in which the right hon. Gentleman may be supposed to take an interest. Does the right hon. Gentleman retain any respect for the Established Church? The Established Church is not a principle. We are all agreed about that; but it is the machinery for giving effect to a principle. But that machinery has been debated outside the House and in the House, and arguments have been urged against Disestablishment by some persons which, I think, are at least as strong as those adduced by the right hon. Gentleman in favour of this Bill. Does the right hon. Gentleman, then, admit that the principle and machinery of the Established Church have lost their virtue, and will he be prepared to bring in a Bill to remove that anomaly also? [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: When it has lost its virtue.] The right hon. Gentleman says—"Yes; when it has lost its virtue;" but I understand that every machinery loses its virtue when it is attacked by the Radicals, either in this House or out of it. The right hon. Gentleman complains that the arguments against the retention of this disqualification have caused irritation in the country; but I will undertake to say that the irritation against the Established Church is much greater than the irritation caused by the agitation against disqualification owing to the receipt of medical relief. It is perfectly impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to continue to represent to the House that he and his Colleagues have been influenced by these wire-drawn arguments. The right hon. Gentleman told us the other night that the conversion of the Government only occurred after they came into Office, and after the agitation in the country, which convinced them that it would be dangerous to resist. It was purely as an electoral move that the Government brought in this Bill, and it is in that connection only that they are now arguing in its favour, and I do not think they will get much credit out of the business. I do not object to their taking a leaf from the Radical programme as often as they like; but if they do steal Radical eggs, I do object to their addling them. I feel bound to tell the right hon. Gentleman that he is not going far enough. He is going to take a clause suggested by my hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings); and when he was asked by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) whether he was going to treat medical extras and assistance prescribed by the medical officer to be given to the poor upon his order in the same way as medicine he said he was not, and we know perfectly well that by omitting medical extras from the definition of medical relief he will destroy at least 70 per cent of the advantage he proposed to give under the Bill. Therefore we will take this Bill of the Government, but we will show them no gratitude for it, nor are they likely to obtain that credit and advantage which formed their sole reason for introducing the Bill.

MR. RAMSAY said, he would not detain the House for more than a few minutes; but he found that the Bill applied to Scotland, and, as far as he had observed, no Scotch Member had as yet taken part in the discussion. He therefore wished to draw the attention of the House to the fact that, so far as the Bill applied to Scotland, it would not affect a single person in that country. No person received medical relief except those who were on the Poor Roll, and the persons upon that Roll were not called upon to pay rates. Nothing of the kind would ever be thought of. He had listened with much pleasure to the exposition which had been given by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) of his views in regard to the administration of the Poor Law; but he (Mr. Ramsay) wished to point out that the Poor Law of England was not at all analogous to the Poor Law in Scotland, inasmuch as the relief of the able-bodied poor was recognized as the law in England, and had been the practice in this country for a long period of time; whereas, in Scotland, there was no condition which gave the able-bodied poor the right to obtain relief. He thought it was absurd, under the circumstances, to include Scotland in the Bill, if it were for no other reason than that it could not possibly operate there. He might be told that it was of no consequence to Scotland, and that the Bill would apply, if it ever became necessary, to enfranchise this particular set of persons in that country. He admitted that that was the case. If it were not for a grave apprehension as to the effect of the provisions of this Bill, he might be able to imagine that the Legislature had contemplated that people might be entitled to medical relief without being placed on the Poor Roll, and that they would not be in any respect disqualified by receiving it. He should regard such a result with grave apprehension, and would, therefore, appeal to the Government not to press this Proviso when they came to consider in Committee whether Scotland should be included or not. He regretted not to see in his place his hon. Friend the Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick), because his hon. Friend was not of opinion that the Poor Law in Scotland was carried out with the great stringency he had pointed out. His hon. Friend thought it possible that in some of the parishes of Scotland the medical officers paid by the Poor Law might in certain cases give relief to poor persons to whom the stigma of disfranchisement was not attached; but his hon. Friend had received a telegram from the Poor Law Board intimating that if any persons received medical relief from a medical officer paid by the Poor Law Board they must be placed on the Roll, and would only be entitled to get relief on that condition. He (Mr. Ramsay) felt, therefore, that it would be absurd to apply the provisions of this Bill to Scotland. If it were proposed to apply them to that country for the purpose of securing votes in Scotland, he hoped that it would have the effect of still further decreasing the number of persons who would vote for Conservative candidates. He felt satisfied that such would be the case, and that every right-thinking man should deprecate this political move on the part of the Government. He desired to make a protest against the extension of this measure to Scotland, because it might have, and, in his opinion, was certain to have, the effect of increasing the discontent of the poor who were refused medical relief by the Poor Law Board. He should certainly view any encroachment upon the principles of the Poor Law with great regret.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he wished to offer a few observations with the view of explaining the vote he intended to give upon this question. He was anxious to have some credit for consistency in regard to the votes he gave in that House. Therefore, he was bound to offer an explanation as to why he was forced to vote in precisely the opposite direction from that in which he had voted on a previous occasion on this identical question. On a former occasion he had occupied a seat on the Bench now filled by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), and he came hastily into the House to find that the discussion had been for some time proceeding. There was at that time an arrangement—a species of knock-out arrangement between the two Front Benches, which included an agreement, among other matters, on this very Registration Bill, or rather on the Bill in which this subject was included at that time. He found that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), who at that time occupied the position now filled by his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), was warmly opposing the very proposition which had now been made to the House. Finding that the Bench on which he was then seated supported the views then advocated by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea, he (Mr. J. Lowther) found himself, without knowing very much about it, in the Lobby in support of views which, when he became more thoroughly acquainted with the matter, he discovered to differ materially from his own. If the House would bear with him for a moment, he would explain why those views differed from his own. He had never hesitated, in whatever part of the House he happened to sit, to express his candid opinion on matters connected with Parliamentary Reform, and the admission of any class of people to the suffrage. He had never pretended to countenance the Conservative surrender of 1867, nor had he hesitated to condemn the Tory Democratic scuttle of 1884. If Parliament made up its mind to admit any class or classes to the franchise, it ought to carry out its bargain fairly and squarely all round. Acting upon that principle, he did not hesitate to condemn the device of the personal payment of rates that in certain quarters was highly favoured in 1867; but although he had to condemn that measure of so-called Reform, he, at the same time, expressed his opinion that the people of this country ought not to allow a set of paltry Vestry Acts to stand as a barrier between them and what Parliament had declared to be their rights. In the same way, he viewed the present question wholly apart from mere political controversies; and although the right hon. Gentleman opposite had endeavoured to bring it within the vortex of Party discussion, he contended that it ought to be treated solely upon its merits. He had yet to learn that those members of the working classes who had obtained medical relief from time to time were less likely, of their own free will, to hold sound Constitutional principles than other members of the same class. In fact, the probabilities were that they might, perhaps, be brought in contact with organizations that might contribute towards the formation of sound political opinions to a greater extent than others of their class; and he had yet to learn that members of the working classes who might partake of medical relief were less likely to be influenced by the sound Constitutional principles to which he referred than other members of the same class of life. He was bound to confess that his own personal recollection of what might be called pauper electors was far from unpleasant. Twenty years ago that very month he had the good fortune to drive a very large consignment of the inmates of the workhouse situated in the constituency which at that time he had the honour to represent to the poll, and every one of them voted in his favour; and they were subsequently regaled with muffins, and, as the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) would, no doubt, be glad to hear, on tea, and not upon what had just been alluded to under the title of medical extras, such as wine or other stimulants. For his own part, he considered that since Parliament had made up its mind that the old property qualification should no longer exist—a decision which he, for one, had never approved—it appeared absurd that where a voter had partaken of some eleemosynary aid in the course of the year it should disqualify him for the franchise. As Parliament had committed itself to the principle that property should cease to be duly represented in the Legislature, he was certainly in favour of the Bill, and he should be prepared to go even very much further than it did.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, he would not detain the House for more than a few moments if it would kindly give him its attention. He wished to point out an important point to the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Mr. A. J. Balfour). When it was said that it was intended to confine the Bill to the receipt of medical articles, he had said that if that intention were carried out the measure would be shorn of a great portion of its value, because it was well known that the medical officer of health gave to patients such articles of comfort as beef-tea and port wine, which, in his view, were medicine, or would come under that head. If such things were to be refused, then the Bill would be very seriously and almost fatally damaged; and he hoped that those who really wanted to make the Bill effective would insist on the full meaning of the word being preserved. There had been two lines of argument, and only two, used in respect of the Bill. One was the argument against parochial relief altogether, and the other was a fear lest the present measure should be extended, so as to include parochial relief in other matters. If that did happen, no one would be more responsible for it than the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), because he had declared that there was no difference in this respect between receiving bread and receiving physic. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) hoped that would be remembered. It had been said that this matter had been taken up as a question for the elections. He could not, for his own part, see why that should not be so. Elections were not for the purpose of returning certain men, but to secure certain measures which the constituency wished; and he trusted, therefore, that it would be a question for the electors. There was one point which had not been touched upon, and which he would recommend to the notice of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney). In the Municipal Corporations they found hospitals established, maintained out of the rates, to which children and others suffering from epidemic and other diseases were removed, and where they were furnished not only with medical relief, but with food and lodging. No one in his senses would ever dream that these persons, or the heads of their families, should be disqualified; but the money came out of the rates, and the only difference was that they were relieved by the Municipality instead of by the Poor Law Guardians. What answer had his hon. Friends to give to that? The fact was that they were arguing, and his hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard especially, against Poor Law relief altogether, or free libraries, free education, or any of those institutions which society thought might be set afloat for the good of the people generally. There was another argument which had also been submitted to the House by the hon. Member for Liskeard; and he (Mr. Jesse Collings) would conclude his remarks by a reference to it. His hon. Friend said that pauperism had decreased a great deal during the last few years, and he had claimed as the cause of this the repressive measures such as he had now advocated. He had certainly been sorry to hear his hon. Friend apply the word "degradation" to poverty. But how had that decrease of pauperism taken place? Simply by the action of Boards of Guardians, who had been more strict in imposing labour tests, and in hunting down and running to ground poor people—servant girls in service in towns—in order to make them pay 6*d*., or 1*s*., or 2*s*. a-week towards the relief which some of their relatives were receiving. He would just quote one case to show that the reduction of pauperism was not due to a decrease of poverty; and he could give scores of similar cases to illustrate the cruel manner in which the Poor Law Guardians at present acted, in order to secure a diminution in the rates—cases in which the action of the Poor Law brought about much suffering. The case he was about to cite he was acquainted with personally. In the parish of Fairford, in Gloucestershire, which he had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would know well, there was an old man, 80 years of age, who had lived in the parish 60 years, and who for nearly 50 years had belonged to a club, but who had now broken down in health, and become chargeable to the parish. The club having failed, the old man received 2*s*. 6*d*. per week from the parish, and the Guardians had recently summoned his son for a contribution of 1*s*. per week to his father's support. This son had five children, two of whom were afflicted and were on his hands, and he had just buried his wife, for whom he had incurred a considerable doctor's bill, for which he was now paying 2*s*. a-week. He received 13*s*. a-week in wages, and the cottage and potato ground which he occupied increased his earnings to 15*s*. a-week. He was only enabled to earn this amount by working equal to 8½ days a-week, reckoning 10 hours a day's work. Yet that poor man had been summoned before the magistrates, at Cirencester, by which he lost a day's work, and was ordered to pay 1*s*. a-week, or £2 12*s*. a-year, to the Guardians of Fairford for his father's maintenance. That was a most cruel and wicked proceeding, to summon a man before the magistrates under such circumstances and punish him by a fine of 1*s*. per week in order to save the parochial rates. He was satisfied that no Member of that House, in his individual capacity, would ever sanction such a proceeding for a moment. Of course, the same sort of proceeding was followed up all over the country, and it explained how the rates were being saved and pauperism going down—simply by acts of what he ventured to call cruelty, which he trusted would be reviewed by the new electorate, and the Guardians of the Poor taught that they must really be the Guardians of the Poor, and that if they were to save the rates they must do so in a humane manner. If necessary, he was prepared to give the man's name in Fairford. [*Cries of* "Name!"] The name of the man was Thomas Hignall, and there were scores of cases of a similar kind which he could lay before the House. He had given the name of this particular person because he knew his employer, and he did not think the man was likely to come to any harm. Nevertheless, there he was with 15*s*. a-week, and five children—2*s*. being paid for an old medical debt—working after the rate of 8½ days in the week. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members might laugh; but if they would inquire, and would take 10 hours as a day's work, they would find that he was working equal to 8½ days in the week for the miserable pittance he had named, and yet he was ordered by the Guardians to pay 1*s.* a-week for the support of this poor old man, after having been summoned to Cirencester and compelled in consequence to lose a day's work. This and similar reasons were the reasons why pauperism had decreased.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he could not help expressing his respectful sympathy with Her Majesty's Government, for, whether they might be good men or not, they were certainly men who were struggling with difficulties. He did not think there was another instance of a Government which, in the first fortnight of its existence, had been so utterly discredited as the present. A fortnight ago they had a perfect horror of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and opposed every suggestion he made for the relief of Ireland; but now they submitted to his dictation in the most humble manner. What was it that was now taking place? How had they passed the evening? The House had that night listened to protests on the part of their most honoured and respectable followers in regard to the course they were pursuing, and they had been denounced for their inconsistency and opportunism. Yet they sat there, and said that all these things were mere matters of detail. They were ready to pass any Bill which they thought would be of advantage to them at the next General Election. The hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had made a very exhausting—he begged the hon. Gentleman's pardon—a very exhaustive speech at the beginning of the debate, and the hon. Member summed up his speech by saying that cruelty was the basis of Government, and was following a divine example. He (Mr. Labouchere), as a result, had felt that he was going to be converted. But the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) pointed out that if they gave a vote to the man who obtained medical relief, they ought logically to give a vote to the man who obtained other relief. He (Mr. Labouchere) agreed with the hon. Member for South Leicestershire, and he could not understand why the late Attorney General (Sir Henry James) should have made a long speech to tell the House that it was perfectly monstrous on their part to give votes in other cases, and yet that they ought to give votes to those who received medical relief only. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that if a poor man asked for medical relief for his sick child it would be cruel to refuse him a vote. But if a poor man were to ask relief for his starving child, should he be denied a vote? Hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House did not seem to understand what a vote was. They regarded the vote as a privilege, whereas it was a right; and, therefore, the man who received not only medical, but other relief from the poor rates, was entitled to a vote. This was a view which a number of people held throughout the country, and those persons he (Mr. Labouchere) represented in that House. He believed it to be the view of his constituents, and he was there to represent the views of his constituents. The course pursued by the right hon. Gentleman opposite the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) might point a moral if it did not adorn a tale. There had been accusations bandied about on both sides of the Table, as to how hon. Gentlemen had voted on previous occasions. He did not care how any person on either Front Bench voted on any measure in the world. What the people understood was this—the House of Commons, in which there was a Liberal majority, had voted in favour of this Bill, and the House of Lords, in which there was a Conservative majority, threw the proposition out. Then the Conservatives changed sides, and, ceasing to be the Opposition, became the Government. What did they at once do? They brought in the Bill they had previously opposed; they were going to send it up to the House of Lords, and the House of Lords would pass it, simply because their Friends were in Office. He thought the country would understand the system, because it was not by any means the first time that it had been pursued by hon. Gentlemen opposite. When the Liberals were in power, and passed a good measure, the Conservatives, with their permanent majority in the House of Lords, threw it out. But when the Conservatives were in Office, and took up the Bill they had before opposed, their Friends in the House of Lords would pass it and say—"See what good, kind people we are. See the deep interest we take in the country; we have passed this measure not only in the House of Commons, but in the House of Lords." Of course, the Conservatives passed Liberal measures. They were there to do the Liberal bidding. They had no will of their own. They were the Ministry of the minority. The Liberals were the majority; it was they who dictated to the Government what to do; it was at their dictation that the Government were bringing in this Bill; and it was that they might retain the position of dummy Ministers that the Government had brought in this Bill, and would induce their Friends in the House of Lords to carry it. The House and the country understood the position of affairs perfectly well, and that view would be fully pointed out to the country at the next General Election.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): Sir, I assume that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), in the remarks he has just addressed to the House, has spoken as the representative of that large contingent of two Members who followed him into the Lobby the other night. We have introduced this Bill, because we think it necessary that a change in the law should be made. It is by no means the same measure that, in the shape of a clause in another Bill, was rejected in "another place." But, Sir, I do not intend to discuss whether we, or hon. Gentlemen opposite, or any Member of this House has, or has not, changed his opinion. I wish to ask the attention of the House for a few minutes to the peculiar position in which we stand. The second reading of this Bill was affirmed by an overwhelming majority of this House. I may say there is a unanimous desire to proceed with this measure as rapidly as possible. The hon. Member for Northampton twitted us with having taken up the Bill which had been invented by himself and his Friends. Well, Sir, if that be so, they ought to do all they can to aid us in forwarding the Bill. We have had this evening, and also on the second reading of the Bill, not only such speeches as those delivered by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), and by the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read), who oppose the measure, and whose opinions are listened to with respect, but we have had speeches also from the hon. Member for Northampton and the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collins), who, while professing to be in favour of the Bill, are doing their best to talk it out. This, Sir, is a very simple matter. It has been discussed several times in this House during the present Session; it was discussed for several hours the other night on the Motion for the second reading, and it has been discussed for something like seven hours this evening. The Bill contains only one clause; we are now at the 21st of July, and I venture to suggest to the House that, if they really desire to pass it into law, and to proceed with the other Business that lies before us, the time has come when we may fairly close this debate.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, as one of those who had spoken on this matter from the opposite side of the House, he desired to explain why this evening he intended to give a vote in the opposite direction. When the question was first raised on the Registration Bill, the hon. and learned Gentleman the then Attorney General (Sir Henry James) argued that it was not germane to the measure, and that it ought to be considered separately. To that hon. Members now sitting on the Ministerial side of the House agreed; and although he regarded it as a matter to be settled at a future time, he could have wished the Government had postponed the matter until there had been an opportunity for further discussion. But he thought they should now agree to the principle of the Bill, and seeing that there was no reason why people should be disqualified by receiving medical assistance, he should vote for the Motion before the House.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 226; Noes 22: Majority 204.—(Div. List, No. 236.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Pell.*)

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he hoped the Government would resist the Motion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) said, that before the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) rose, he intended to ask the Committee to proceed now with the Bill, which really only consisted of one clause.

Mr. THOMASSON said, he trusted that the Committee would, considering the hour (12.45), consent to report Progress.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he thought the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) was a very reasonable one.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he hoped the Committee would go on with the Bill. It was only right they should do so, having regard to the period of the Session, and the overwhelming vote just given in favour of the principle of the Bill. The details lay in a very small compass, and there was practically nothing in them of a controversial character.

Mr. HOPWOOD said, he supported the Motion to report Progress. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) spoke of the overwhelming vote in favour of the Bill; but how many of those who formed the overwhelming majority voted against the principle of the Bill a short time ago, and what was the reason of their sudden conversion? He (Mr. Hopwood) had not had an opportunity of speaking earlier in the evening, and he would like to record his opposition in some shape or other to the Bill. He thought the Bill was a mistake, and he did not think either Party had done otherwise than cover itself with something like political disrepute by the course it had followed. They ought now to report Progress, and thus afford a further opportunity of considering the matter.

Mr. BRYCE said, that although he disapproved of the Bill, and would be glad if the House would not proceed with it, he thought it was a pity that those who were opposed to it should maintain an opposition of delay which could not now have any effect. His hon. Friends must feel that the majority in favour of the Bill was so large that nothing was to be gained by delaying for a day or two more the progress of the Bill. Unless there was some substantial Amendment to be made, and he believed it was not yet too late for such an Amendment to be moved, he thought his hon. Friend (Mr. Pell) might withdraw his Motion, and let the Committee proceed with the consideration of the Bill.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Medical relief not to disqualify).

Mr. ACLAND said, he proposed, as an Amendment, to insert at the beginning of the clause—

> "From and after the passing of this Act, until the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven."

In moving the Amendment, he did not intend to take up the time of the Committee longer than was absolutely necessary to explain his object. Although he had throughout supported the Bill most cordially, because he was strongly of opinion that, under the circumstances, it would be exceedingly unfair to deprive those of the vote who had been led to expect it, and who it was practically impossible could have had any warning of their being deprived of it, he thought there was room to doubt whether it was the duty of Parliament to go into the question of medical relief disqualification wholesale. He desired to draw attention to the figures which were given by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), because he considered that by those figures the right hon. Gentleman had misled the House in a very important matter. As he understood, the right hon. Gentleman produced the figures to show the number of persons in town and country who would be affected by the disqualification. He (Mr. Acland) ventured to say that that was not the real consideration. The right hon. Gentleman would admit the truth of his remark—that the real question was the proportion of persons in towns who were sick, and who would be affected by the disqualification, as compared with the proportion of persons in the country in a like position. It would be admitted that the sick rate, considered by itself, was considerably higher in towns than in the country; consequently, the number affected by the Bill would be larger in towns than in the country districts; but he submitted that the figures given did not prove the case so strongly as the right hon. Gentleman imagined. Then, Parliament was bound to attach a considerable amount of weight to the real distinction between sick relief and the ordinary poor relief.

MR. WARTON rose to Order. He begged to submit that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Acland) was not addressing himself directly to his Amendment, which related to the duration of the Act.

MR. ACLAND said, he was giving the reason why they should give an opportunity to the Representatives of the new constituencies to decide, according to the desire of the new constituencies, what should ultimately be the law of the country with regard to this question, and he did not think that could fairly be done if, as proposed by the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), the limit were placed at the end of 1886. They ought to allow a full 12 months, at least, before they permanently removed the disqualification which must have a great effect upon the prosperity of benefit or sick clubs. Of course, the number of persons who were in benefit and sick clubs varied in different parts of the country; but he believed it would be found that there was a large number of the new voters who were members of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, and other societies of that kind, who would look with considerable doubt on the expediency of removing this disqualification. Under all the circumstances, he asked the Committee whether the whole question did not require very much more serious consideration than it had been possible to give to it in the course of the last few weeks? He hoped the Committee would not object to go to a division.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 7, before the word "There," to insert the words "From and after the passing of this Act, until the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven."—(*Mr. Acland.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, he objected to the Amendment. If it was decided to give this relief, did hon. Members anticipate they would ever be able to withdraw it? If they did not anticipate they would ever be able to withdraw it, was it worth while to adopt an Amendment of this kind? He thought it was not, and for that reason, if for no other, he was inclined to resist the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman.

MR. RATHBONE said, he hoped the Government would give greater consideration to so very important a subject. He had long been in favour of some alteration of the law affecting medical relief; but he asked whether, considering the rapid change which had come over the House—he did not attribute any motives for that change—and considering the bias which could not help to weigh with the House at that moment, it would not be better to defer the permanent settlement of the question—to pass this clause for two years, as suggested by his hon. Friend (Mr. Acland), and then to have a strong Committee to decide what precautions and safeguards might be attached to the disqualification? The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) asked whether it was likely, if they once granted relief, to be ever able to withdraw it? He (Mr. Rathbone) thought it was not likely they would if they passed this permanent measure; but he did believe it would be possible to reverse or modify their decision if they passed a temporary measure, and if, on inquiry, they found there was a better way of managing the thing, or that the provision could have certain safeguards attached to it. He could not help thinking, judging from the tone of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks, that he had considerable doubt in his mind as to the wisdom of the change except as a matter of making a concession to popular demand. They ought to know a great deal more than they did about this subject, and he would urge on the Government and the Committee to agree to the present proposal. He believed the suggestion would meet the views of the majority of hon. Members.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he did not agree with his hon. Friend who had just spoken. It seemed to him that the course proposed was an exceedingly weak one. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone) had said the adoption of the Amendment would give room for a strong Committee to reconsider the question; but it would be a singular course on the part of the House of Commons, after having passed the Bill by an overwhelming majority, to carry an Amendment which contemplated the appointment, at some future time, of a strong Committee which might reverse the decision of the House. That was a course which he did not think could commend itself to the Committee. It seemed to him that what the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had said was perfectly true—if they once granted the relief, there was not much likelihood of their ever being able to withdraw it. He (Sir William Harcourt) was one of those who had not to stand in a white sheet on this question. He had never voted against the principle contained in the Bill. He had, for many years, thought the disability for medical relief was very unjust. The House of Commons had said that the disability should not be imposed; and, therefore, to make this a temporary measure was an altogether idle proceeding. It was a course taken by people who did not like what they were about. It was remembered perfectly well that the other House of Parliament passed the Ballot Bill on condition that it should only last for seven years. Courses of that kind were only taken by people who did not approve of what they were doing. He was one of those who approved of this Bill, and therefore he should oppose any proposition to make it a temporary measure.

Viscount EBRINGTON said, it seemed to him that, considering the history of this Bill, the proposition of his hon. Friend (Mr. Acland) was a very proper one. It was notorious that this Bill had been introduced in deference to public opinion out-of-doors; but he thought that the feeling which led to the Bill being brought in would have been very different if the figures given by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had been quoted at an earlier stage. The success of the sick and benefit societies of the country was far more important than the possession of the franchise by two people in every 1,000. Public opinion ought to have a chance of reconsidering this question, and therefore he should support the Amendment.

Mr. HENEAGE said, the operation of the Bill of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) was limited to one year, because a question of Order arose with regard to introducing a Bill in that House after a clause dealing with the same subject had been already rejected by the other House. The promoters of the Bill did not wish to evade the question at all, but thought that to limit the operation of the measure to one year was the best way of getting over the difficulty. He hoped the Government would stick to the Bill as it now stood, for it was absurd to pass a temporary measure. The law when once passed must be permanent.

Mr. WARTON said, he doubted whether this was the proper place at which to make the Amendment. It was usual to propose an Amendment dealing with the duration of a Bill at the end of the clauses.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he did not intend to pursue the question whether the Amendment should be put in this particular place or not; but he did suggest to the Committee that there really was some reason for considering the Amendment on its merits. His right hon. Friend the late Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt), who was never so great as when he was in a good thumping majority, said he had no occasion to stand in a white sheet on this matter, because he himself had never voted one way or the other. But the solidarity of the late Cabinet was not yet destroyed, and his right hon. Friend must remember that more than one leading Member of the late Government was found to be opposed to the Bill. It would not be unbecoming if the two Front Benches, both of which had resolutely opposed this matter on principle, should, as a mere question of decency, and to ease off the great transition they had made, consent to take this as a temporary measure. There was a real reason why it should only be a temporary measure. No doubt, it would be a great disappointment to the persons who were now admitted to the franchise if they were to be deprived of the opportunity of exercising it. That was an argument which weighed with a great many Members. When the right hon. Gentleman said that a large number of Members approved of this Bill, he was no doubt stating that which was perfectly true; but the Committee would not know, until they came to a division, how many of the 200 and odd Members alluded to assented to it as a permanent measure. Even if it were true that what was once assented to, even temporarily, was sure to become permanent in the end, he did not see why the measure should not be made temporary now; and he would make this observation in reference to many of the points made in the course of the debate, especially in justification of the action of the two Front Benches, as to the difficulty of arguing this question before a popular audience, that he did not think the difficulty was so great as was represented. He believed that if hon. Gentlemen addressed themselves frankly to popular audiences, even to audiences of working men, and submitted the argument on its merits, they would not find they were fighting so hopeless a battle as the two Front Benches seemed to think. He thought they might fairly go before the constituencies at the General Election on a temporary measure; and, if they thought it desirable, make it permanent when they came back again. They need not be afraid of stultifying themselves; no other reason had been urged why the Bill should take this permanent form, or why they should not consent to have it limited for two years, to enable it to be settled permanently by the new Parliament.

MR. HOPWOOD said, that, acting on the idea of his hon. Friend, and the idea which influenced a great many hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House, he would propose that they should assent to an Amendment altering the date from 1887 to 1886. That would give them the Bill exactly for a temporary purpose. The object contemplated by the measure would be fulfilled during the General Election which would take place this year, and the constituencies, through their Members, would be left to decide the matter for the future. He begged, therefore, to move that the figure "6" be inserted in place of the figure "7." He wished to point out that in this matter "a little firmness" were very unused words in the Liberal creed; they were afraid to speak out to the constituencies. They were afraid to teach them their duty, or to give them their ideas with regard to government, and simply went before them at a time of election to receive a fleeting impression of their opinions, and come back to Parliament to register them as the decrees of those who sent them here. For his own part, he altogether disclaimed any such cowardice, he was going to say, but, perhaps, that would be a little too strong; at any rate, he did not read his duty in that way, and he thought it would be well in this matter for a good many hon. Members to turn over in their minds what were likely to be their future proceedings, and to consider whether they could not, instead of going ahead of every expectation, and distancing every wild idea of those whom they were addressing, induce them to consolidate the opinions they possessed, and to strengthen and improve some of the laws and institutions that existed already, before proposing new ones.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, by leaving out the word "seven," and inserting the word "six."—(*Mr. Hopwood.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'seven' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I would point out to the Committee that the course the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Hopwood) is taking will really waste the time of the Committee. Surely we can take a division as to whether the Bill is to be a temporary one or not. If this Amendment is put, it will involve two divisions; hon. Members will have to vote that the word "seven" stand part of the proposed Amendment, and afterwards that the operation of the Bill be limited to 1887. That seems to me to be unnecessarily complicating the issue. The question between the one date and the other does not seem to me to be very important, and I think we ought to allow the matter to be settled by one division.

Mr. HOPWOOD said, he had no objection to withdraw his Amendment if he understood from his hon. Friends who were proposing that the Bill should be a temporary one, that it would be better to have the new system in operation for two years than for one. If that was their feeling, he should be quite content to give way. [Several hon. Members: Yes, yes!] Then he should be glad to withdraw his Amendment.

Mr. PELL said, it was a singular thing to see hon. Members distrustful of the view they had been insisting upon. They were now, like sensible men, beginning to say—"Let us take time on this matter." The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), however, was averse to taking time. He at once rose and said—"Let us have no consideration—let us commit ourselves to the principle; we do not know exactly what medical relief is, but let us commit ourselves to the principle." There was an important matter they had to consider in connection with this question, and that was one bearing upon the rates for the relief of the poor and personal property. He thought the original proposal to limit the operation of the Bill was a very reasonable one, but that of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) seemed still more so. He hoped the Committee would now take a division upon the matter.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Dalrymple): I understand the hon. and learned Gentleman does not press the Amendment?

Mr. HOPWOOD: No; I withdraw it.

Amendment and Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question put, "That the words 'From and after the passing of this Act, until the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven,' be there inserted."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 43; Noes 155: Majority 112.—(Div. List, No. 237.)

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Dalrymple): What are the words which the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing) desires to move?

Mr. ORR-EWING said, he wished to exclude Scotland from the operation of the Bill. It was well known that the Poor Law of Scotland was very different from that of England or Ireland. In Scotland no person had a right to medical relief, except paupers; and it was, therefore, in his opinion, unnecessary to provide for what could not occur.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 8, leave out the words "the United Kingdom," in order to insert the words "England and Ireland."—(*Mr. Orr-Ewing.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'the United Kingdom' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. RAMSAY said, there could be no medical relief in Scotland in the sense contemplated by the Bill, and it was, therefore, absurd to include Scotland, because no case of the kind could occur there. The persons who obtained medical relief in Scotland were immediately inserted in the list of paupers. Medical relief was given in Scotland; but it was under the Public Health Act, and not under the Poor Law. Therefore, it was absurd to say that medical relief given out of the poor rate should not be a disqualification. For these reasons, he should support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire.

Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, this was a question of Poor Law. As no Member seemed able to say what the law was exactly, perhaps the right hon. and learned Gentleman the late Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) would do so?

Mr. J. B. BALFOUR said, he understood the point of the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire to be that they could not in Scotland have poor relief of any sort given to able-bodied men. It was quite true that in Scotland medical relief out of the rates could only be given on the same footing as poor relief. But he could suggest what appeared to him to be a case in which the Bill might apply. There was the case of a man not able-bodied, but who could provide everything else except medical relief. That man would be able to apply for medical relief.

Mr. ORR-EWING said, it was a most grievous thing that they should be expected to make provision for cases which had never happened, but which might happen. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would agree to his Amendment and relieve Scotland from the operation of this Act.

MR. RAMSAY said, he would call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the fact that the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. J. B. Balfour) had adduced a case of a suppositious kind which he (Mr. Ramsay) had never known to occur. He challenged the right hon. and learned Gentleman to state that he ever knew of a case of this kind. He hoped his hon. Friends from Scotland would join with the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire in pressing the exclusion of Scotland upon the Government.

MR. PELL said, as had been pointed out, a man could not apply for medical relief in Scotland without making himself a pauper. They had been told by the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing), and it had been almost assented to by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the late Lord Advocate, that medical relief was not given out of the poor rate.

MR. J. B. BALFOUR: I beg the hon. Member's pardon; there is plenty of medical relief given under the Poor Law.

MR. PELL said, that was true; but then it was not medical relief of the nature included in the Bill. As he had said, the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire had been corroborated in his statement by the late Lord Advocate, whose experience on the point should, in itself, have been conclusive. Why, then, had the Bill been framed so as to include Scotland? The intention was to procure Scotch votes, and to call the attention of Scotch voters to the good things which the Government were prepared to give them, even though they were not wanted. He should move that they report Progress, in order that the country might understand the contents of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Pell.*)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he entirely disagreed with the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) with regard to the Poor Law of Scotland, which, as far as he understood the matter, was, in respect of medical relief, exactly the same as the English Poor Law. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman to the extent that no case had been quoted. Of course, not——

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR rose to Order. He had understood that the Motion of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) to report Progress was put from the Chair. It was not permissible to discuss the Bill upon that Motion.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. DALRYMPLE) said, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) had not concluded his sentence.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he was about to remark that the hon. Member for South Leicestershire had moved to report Progress on the ground of the condition of the law of Scotland. He did not desire to go into any lengthened argument on that question. He understood that the law of Scotland, in reference to medical relief, was exactly the same as the law of England. ["No, no!"] It appeared that an hon. Member behind him did not agree with that view; but he (Sir William Harcourt) would take up the same ground as his right hon. and learned Friend the late Lord Advocate on this point. He did not think that any reason had been shown for reporting Progress.

MR. ORR-EWING said, the point of difference was that, in England, able-bodied persons received relief; in Scotland, they did not. All he could say was, that no person who knew the law of Scotland, not even the right hon. and learned Gentleman the late Lord Advocate, could quote a single case to which the Bill would have applied.

MR. T. T. O'CONNOR said, he must again call the attention of the Chairman to the way in which the Amendment was being discussed, on the Motion before the Committee that Progress should be reported. He wished also to say, in reference to the expression of the right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary, that the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) had not founded his Motion for Progress on the difference between the laws of Scotland and England, but upon the ground that the country ought to have time to know what were the contents of the Bill.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. DALRYMPLE) said, the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing) was, to some extent, discussing the Amendment on the Motion to report Progress. He had understood the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) to give reasons why Progress should not be reported, and he had, therefore, not interrupted him. The hon. Member for Dumbartonshire was somewhat exceeding the Rule in Committee.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he thought they had a right to know what was the view of the Government on this question. The Committee had been told that the Bill was exceedingly urgent. He should like to hear what the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Mr. A. J. Balfour) thought the effect of reporting Progress would be, and how much time there was to be played with before the Bill would be rendered inoperative?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) said, there was no time whatever to play with. He thought that among those who had been most playing with time were some right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Front Bench opposite. The time at the disposal of the Government was very short, so far as the Bill was concerned; and, moreover, as was always the case at that time of year, time was very valuable. The discussion on the Motion of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) to report Progress had been lengthened by the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), very well intended, no doubt, but which had had the effect of delaying Progress. The Government intended, however, to resist the Motion, and in that he trusted they would receive the support of the Committee.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS, said, he wished, in the most indignant manner, to protest against the way in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken on this subject, with reference to the action on the Front Opposition Bench. He had spoken in similar terms of his (Mr. Jesse Collings's) speech a short time since.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA rose to Order. Was the hon. Member for Ipswich in Order in arguing a different question under guise of entering a protest?

The Chairman

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, he was simply replying to the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Government.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. DALRYMPLE) said, that the hon. Member, having made his protest, must strictly confine himself to the question before the Committee.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, he would content himself with protesting against the undignified conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

MR. THOMASSON said, he also protested, in the most emphatic manner, against the way in which the Committee was, at that hour of the morning (1.40), conducting its Business. The most sensible thing for them to do, particularly as they had to be at the House again at 12 o'clock, would be to go home to bed.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. HENDERSON said, that, as the Representative of a Scotch constituency, he intended to support the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing), and he did so because the Bill could not apply to Scotland in any practical way. According to the present law of Scotland, no medical relief could be given, unless the recipient of it was on the Roll of Paupers, and in receipt of the ordinary relief, which would disqualify him from having his name put on the Register of Voters. He could not find that any person in Scotland would be disfranchised under the present Registration Act, and that this Bill would enfranchise anyone. There was, therefore, no necessity for any reference in this Bill in Scotland in regard to medical relief. It was because he believed that if the Bill were to pass with the Amendments which stood on the Paper in the name of the hon. Gentleman who now presided over the Committee (Mr. Dalrymple), it would operate mischievously, that he proposed to support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire. Medical relief was afforded in all the large towns of Scotland to the vast number of the poor people who required it by institutions supported entirely by voluntary contributions, and to those institutions the working classes paid. In the borough which he had the honour to represent (Dundee), a very large proportion of the revenue of the Infirmary was contributed by the working people. By a voluntary arrangement with their employers, 1*d.* a-week—in some cases a large sum—was deducted from their wages, and this went in support of the Infirmary, which furnished them free with all the medical relief they required. If the Committee were to mention Scotland in the Bill, and introduce the Amendments suggested, they would inevitably create an impression amonst the people, that they were entitled to relief from the Parochial Board, and they would naturally draw the inference that if that were so, there was no necessity for them to contribute so much per week, under an agreement or arrangement with their employers, in support of the local institutions. Scotland was proud of those infirmaries and hospitals, which were most willingly supported by the whole population. He believed the working classes themselves were proud of them. Every £1 subscription entitled the subscriber to an order for the admission of one patient in the infirmary, and he knew that in his own town there was no subscription more willingly paid than that in support of these institutions, for in return for it they really got all the medical relief and surgical assistance they might require. The Bill would be entirely inoperative in Scotland so far as enfranchising anyone; but it would give rise to an impression amongst the people that they were entitled to make a claim upon the Parochial Board, and it would dry up the resources from which these valuable institutions were supported and maintained in the large towns. He, therefore, most earnestly supported the proposal of the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire that Scotland should be excluded altogether from this Bill. He believed that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the late Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) purposely avoided, in his Registration Bill for Scotland, any reference to medical relief. The right hon. and learned Gentleman knew—no one knew better—that no one in Scotland was disfranchised, or could be disfranchised, on the ground of receiving medical relief, because it was contrary to law for Parochial Boards to give medical relief to anyone who was not already on the Roll of Paupers.

MR. STAVELEY HILL said, there appeared to be present five hon. Members who knew what the law in Scotland in regard to this matter was. Four of them said the Bill would not apply to Scotland, and the fifth said it was just possible that it might apply. Under such circumstances, he asked the Government whether it was at all fair to include Scotland in the Bill?

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, the only voice raised in countenance of the Bill as it now stood was that of his right hon. and learned Friend the late Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour), who had confirmed the statement of the other hon. Members, that the law with regard to medical relief in Scotland was in a condition which would render the Bill practically inoperative in that country. Her Majesty's Government should speak out on the subject. If the Government were not prepared to go the length of the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing), he submitted the time had arrived when the Committee should pause before they proceeded further. In the absence of any satisfactory reply from the Treasury Bench, he was quite prepared to move to report Progress.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, he had not spoken before, because he was very anxious not to prolong the debate. The Government included Scotland in the Bill, because they wished that the provision of relief should apply to every part of the Kingdom; but he was bound to say that the whole weight of Scotch opinion, as displayed to-night, appeared to be against the proposal. If hon. Gentlemen would leave the question over until Report, he would in the interval make it his business to consult every Scotch Member in the House, and if he found it was their general wish, he would be very glad to exclude, at a later stage, Scotland from the operation of the Bill.

MR. PELL said, he listened with great interest to the most instructive speech which had just been delivered by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dundee (Mr. Henderson). With every word the hon. Gentleman said he (Mr. Pell) entirely agreed. The hon. Gentleman said that the provisions of the Bill would dry up the resources from which the infirmaries and hospitals of Scotland derived their incomes. The same might be said with regard to England;

but observe, after all, the course which had been pursued by the canny Scotch Members. They had not shrunk from obtaining all the popularity they could by voting for the Bill; but now they were quietly proposing to strike Scotland out of the measure, though they admitted that, in Scotland, the measure would be inoperative. They had the advantage of having a countryman in the person of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), and the right hon. Gentleman was about to make the concession to them which was not made to the English Members—namely, that the country should have time still to consider the complexity of the question. The way in which the political market had been rigged by this measure was most astounding. The speeches they had heard to-night from the Government Bench and from independent Members convinced him that there was only one course open to hon. Members who wished to secure for the people time to consider the gravity of this question. The Scotch were clannish, and they appeared to have made up their minds—they would have none of the Bill. But what about England? Why was England only to suffer from this Bill? If the measure was objectionable from a Scotch point of view, it was equally objectionable from an English point of view. He was glad the hon. Member for North Lanarkshire (Sir Edward Colebrook) intended to move to report Progress. If he (Mr. Pell) could only get one other Member to assent to the Motion he would be glad to go to a division.

Mr. ORR-EWING said, he could not agree with all that had been said on this question by the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell). There were five or six Scotch Members now in the House, and every one of them had supported the Amendment to exclude Scotland from the operation of the Bill. He was sure that all Englishmen must sympathize with the position in which Scotland stood in this matter. He would rather his Amendment had been accepted, and that the Government had consented to reconsider, by Report, whether they should restore the Bill to its original shape. However, as he did not wish to be guilty of obstruction, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment. He trusted that, on Report, the Government would be able to accede to his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. ACLAND said, he proposed, as an Amendment, to insert after the word "medicine," in page 1, line 9, the words "or surgical appliances." Anyone who had the least acquaintance of the work of Boards of Guardians must be aware that poor men were constantly applying for medical relief in the shape of surgical appliances for their children. Some of their children could not walk, and it was necessary they should receive the benefit of surgical appliances. There could be no harm in adding the words he suggested.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 9, after "medicine," insert "or surgical appliances."—(*Mr. Acland.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. Balfour) said, he had no objection in principle to the Amendment of the hon. Member; but he was anxious it should not be pressed, because it was unnecessary. The words of the Bill were the words in the Irish Act; they were in a previous Act, and they were held to include "surgical appliances." By a Definition Clause in the Regulations of the Poor Law Board it was laid down that the word medicine included all medicine and surgical appliances, and that the words "medical attendance" included surgical attendance.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Sir SYDNEY WATERLOW, in moving, as an Amendment, to insert in page 1, line 9, after the word "medicine," the words "or such relief prescribed by the medical officer," said, it seemed to him that if the word "medicine" were alone employed, the Bill would practically be inoperative. Having had for upwards of 10 years the responsibility of the administration of relief in perhaps the largest district of London, he had had a good deal of experience of the change which had taken place in the treatment of sick persons. The change had been in the direction of giving less medicine and more extras. The Bill was called a Medical Relief

Bill, and if the words meant anything, they meant that a person who received any kind of relief the medical officer thought was absolutely necessary should not be deprived of his vote. That was the meaning placed on the words throughout the country, and therefore he asked that the words he suggested should be inserted. Whatever the medical officer prescribed was medical relief just as much as medicine. If hon. Members were to walk through the hospitals of London, they would see scores of beds over which was printed "milk, tea, condensed beef." If they were to give patients medicine, and nothing to sustain them while the medicine was at work, they had better give them nothing at all. He understood it was thought by some persons that there should be an interpretation of the word "medicine;" but he asked the Committee if his words did not cover everything? If they were to limit the relief to medicine, the Bill itself would be inoperative, and would not give relief in the direction which the House by a large majority had demanded.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 9, after the word "medicine," to insert the words "or such relief prescribed by the medical officer."—(*Sir Sydney Waterlow.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, that as the Bill stood at present, the distinction between medical relief and other relief was perfectly clear; it was perfectly well understood in Ireland, and also in this country. If they once ceased to deal with medical advice and medicine, and got to "extras," as they were called, they could not draw the line between medicine and food. If once they gave a vote to people who received food from the parish, he did not see how they could help giving it in all cases of outdoor relief. As the Bill was drawn, there was a clear and well-defined line, and if they defaced it they would have to go outside medical relief. That, he confessed, he should greatly regret. He would just give one illustration of the cases in which medical officers might be called upon. Take the case of a family that had a sick child. The child might be very ill, and in the greatest need of medical assistance; its illness might be simply want of sufficient nourishment; the doctor was called in, and what distinction was to be drawn between that case, if the medical officer ordered for the child the nourishment it was in need of, and the case of a man who applied to the parish for ordinary relief to keep his family alive? The administration existing at the present time was ingrained in the system of the country, and he felt if they altered it they would be plunging themselves into great difficulties in the future.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Notwithstanding that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has forbidden me to speak, I must say that he has acted in a most extraordinary way — in a manner never yet adopted by anyone holding a position similar to that of the right hon. Baronet —[*Cries of* "Question!"] I never yet heard of a Cabinet Minister behaving in such a way as the right hon. Gentleman has done.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): I rise to Order. I wish to ask you Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman is addressing himself to the Question before the House?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I was addressing myself to the manner in which the Cabinet is behaving.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. DALRYMPLE): I do not know that the right hon. Gentleman has gone beyond his rights; but I trust we shall speedily reach the subject before the House.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have said all I wish to say on that point. I strongly support the Amendment moved by the hon. Baronet behind me (Sir Sydney Waterlow). I must say I entirely agree with the distinction drawn by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. A. J. Balfour) with reference to medical relief. The question is, what is medical relief? Take a case of sickness—of fever. There are two kinds of fever; there is one kind for which they give bark, or what is called quinine; but there is another one—namely, typhoid, for which the usual remedy is port wine, champagne, and so on. Here I would say that the medicine to cure one disease is medical relief; but that which is required in the case of the other—namely, port wine and beef tea, is not; but, as a matter of fact, they are both medical relief. The real distinction which the right hon. Gentleman opposite has not drawn is this—that if you give food as a cure for disease, that is medical relief; but that where you give it in consequence of destitution, it is not medical relief. What is obtained on the order of the doctor is a cure or remedy for disease; and that is purely medical relief, whatever form it takes. It is absurd to say that a particular kind of relief is not to be treated as medical relief where applied to the case of disease. An hon. Member behind me says that doctors have become much more reasonable in late years, and that it is now their practice to give less drug and more nourishment. But nourishment, where it is required, is as much medical relief as if you gave a patient calomel or some other powerful drug that is requisite; therefore, the Amendment I regard as being pure common sense.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) said, the main and principle argument of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) had satisfied hon. Members that they ought to support the Bill as it stood. A man might be able to support a family, and might be able to find food for the family. It might be that himself, or his wife, or his child might meet with an accident, and require medical assistance; and when assistance was given in a case of that kind it should not be allowed to disqualify the man from exercising the franchise. But the right hon. Gentleman opposite said that supposing champagne or port wine were given, it ought to be placed in the same category as the relief in the case he had suggested; but he (the Attorney General) thought the right hon. Gentleman scarcely remembered what was the universal, or, at any rate, almost the universal, practice in Poor Law Unions with regard to the bestowal of relief. He (the Attorney General) believed he was correct in saying that champagne, port wine, beef tea, and so on, were never given by the medical officer. In most Unions they could not be given. These things were ordered quite distinctly — they were ordered to be given by the Board of Guardians themselves in the shape of relief. It did not come within either the description "medical or surgical assistance" or "medicine;" and he submitted it was a step in advance to say that they would recognize the fact that where one had relief of this kind from the Guardians he should not be disqualified from exercising the vote. It was a distinctly separate step, and one which the Committee ought not to take —to say that, in addition to medical and surgical assistance, where, what in the true sense of the phrase was food, was given, it should be reckoned as medical assistance.

Mr. CROPPER said, that as one who had for a very long time been connected with parish work, he must submit that the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down was perfectly right in what he had said. A medical officer once put on a case gave a certain amount of attendance and of physic, and it might be of medical and surgical appliances. But when it came to the ordering of food and diet, that was done by the relieving officer. He (Mr. Cropper) did not see how they were to confuse the two on the present occasion without going a great deal further than was proposed. He could not see what difference there was between the two kinds of relief. Where food was necessary in the case of sickness, it ceased to be ordered by the medical officer, and was given by the relieving officer. If they came to break into the existing practice with regard to the bestowal of food, he did not see where they could stop, and he certainly should support the President of the Local Government Board on this question.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, he wished to make one more appeal to the Government. He was sure that if they gave way on this, notwithstanding the influence of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt), they would be opening the door to enormous alteration in the law. The right hon, Gentleman posed as the friend of the working man, and said that this concession was demanded in the interests of the poor; but he (Mr. J. G. Talbot) declared, in the interests of the working men themselves, that he was surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman asking for such an Amendment. He considered it a direct discouragement to those hardworking, honest men who were striving to make a provision for themselves and their families. Illness came to all families, and all families wanted more nourishment when there was sickness amongst them; and if they said that a person who sought public relief when he was ill, or when his child was ill, was to stand on the same footing as the thrifty man who had provided for a rainy day for himself, his wife, and his children, he contended that they were absolutely disheartening the thrifty and provident. In the name of the working men of the country, he asked the Committee not to accept the Amendment.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I cannot help thinking that the distinction that the hon. and learned Gentleman (the Attorney General) says we are going to establish is really not one of principle, but of words. The hon. and learned Gentleman says, with perfect truth, that when relief and medical extras are given they are given by the order of the Boards of Guardians. Yes; but they are given on the recommendation of the medical officer. Just in the same way as he, in his discretion, prescribes the medicine, so also in his discretion, which is hardly ever varied by any Board of Guardians, he prescribes the food which he considers to be as important for the cure of the disease as medicine.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: These medical extras are generally given, or, at any rate, given quite as often, on the order of the relieving officer as upon the order of the medical officer.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. and learned Member is now referring to a totally different class of cases. We are talking of medical relief—of medical extras given as a part of medical relief. Those are given on the recommendation of the medical officer. What is the Amendment before the Committee? The Amendment is that these medical extras, when prescribed by a medical officer, not when given by a relieving officer, are to be treated as purely medical relief. But the hon. and learned Gentleman says, or, at any rate, his argument is, that men may be able to provide food for their families, and yet be unable to meet the emergencies when medical relief is wanted. Surely the case is the same when such things as champagnee and port wine are wanted? Men may be able to provide their families with ordinary food, and yet be unable to buy such articles of food as port wine and champagne when the necessity for them arises. All I have to say to the Government is this—that without this Amendment the Bill is not worth a rap. I put it to the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), who probably knows more about this matter than anyone else in the House, whether, in almost every case where medical relief is given, these medical extras are not required? [Mr. PELL: No, no!] Take such cases as confinements, accidents, fevers, and I will undertake to say it is the ordinary practice to prescribe one or other of these medical extras; and if these medical extras are not to be prescribed without a man losing his vote, I contend that you keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, he denied that the Government gave the word to the ear, and broke it in the substance. The words in the Bill, which were now the subject of controversy, were the precise words that were contained in the Irish Act, and had been borrowed. But that was not all. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey), who had originally brought the subject of this Bill before the House, in the speeches in which he introduced it distinctly explained that what he was doing was giving medical relief, pure and simple, and not granting any of these medical extras. The Bill which the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) brought in was exactly of the same character as the provision the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch had sought to get the House to accept. It was the Bill of the hon. Member for Ipswich which hon. Gentlemen opposite had been going round the country declaring to be the one thing which these "mean Tories" would not give; and now they contended that this provision was one given to the ear, but broken in the substance, and was not "worth a rap." This, like other discoveries in the same direction, seemed to come rather late in the day. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: We were before you.] One illustration would show how difficult it would be to carry out the principle which hon. Gentlemen opposite wished the Committee to accept. Let them suppose a case of two adjoining houses, in each of which there was a child suffering from sickness; let them suppose that the sickness in each case arose simply and solely from privation; the father in the one case might call in the relieving officer, whilst the father in the other case called in the medical officer.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: He cannot call in the relieving officer.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. Balfour) said, he begged pardon; he could call in the relieving officer. Well, the one called in the relieving officer, and the other the medical officer. The relieving officer immediately ordered food, and the medical officer ordered medical relief and food. One of these voters would be disqualified from exercising the franchise, whilst the other would not be so disqualified. Where, he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) asked, was the distinction between these two cases? Was it not that they were breaking down the barrier that separated medical relief from outdoor relief; and were they not justified in adhering to the actual terms of the Bill which Liberal Parliaments had publicly announced it to be their intention to abide by?

Sir HENRY JAMES said, that he took it the sending for a medical officer would be the act of the patient. He could exercise his discretion in the matter. But directly the medical officer was in the house, if he said—"I will prescribe medicine only," the vote remained; if, however, he gave medicine and a glass of wine, or a cup of tea, the vote was gone.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman thought that no working man could provide his own cup of tea?

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, he could not but think the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) was speaking on this matter without seeing the real substance of the question he was dealing with. The right hon. Gentleman said that this Bill, which was originally his (Mr. Jesse Colling's), was merely a copy of the Irish Act. That was true; but he would remind the right hon. Gentleman that in Ireland what were called "medical comforts," which was the same thing as medical extras, were taken to be included amongst the things that could be given by the medical officer without destroying the vote. But since his Bill had been brought in something had happened. The right hon. Gentleman, in answer to a question of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), had defined what this medical relief meant, and had put a definition upon the clause which was different to what had been generally understood in Ireland. He would appeal to the hon. and gallant Gentleman who sat below him (Colonel Nolan), and who had great experience in the administration of the Poor Law in Ireland, whether he did not agree that what they called medical comforts in Ireland were generally given under the clause they were now discussing? If the hon. and gallant Member did not answer in the affirmative, he should be very much surprised. The right hon. Gentleman had described a little child in a state of semi-starvation. Starvation developed into disease, and disease destroyed appetite, and the child could not even look at the ordinary food, much less eat it, which the agricultural labourer could afford to give it. In such a case was the child to die? ["No, no!"] Then what did the right hon. Gentleman's argument tend to; was the labourer, in order to keep his child alive, to lose his vote? If the child wanted these extras to restore health, he supposed the giving of them was a medical process which the doctor would think was necessary to restore health. In common sense it was medical relief. It was irksome to the Committee to keep on bringing instances before them; but there was just one he should like to mention. He was in a cottage not long ago where there was a woman, within eight days after her confinement, trying to do her ordinary house-work. She had been trying to do her house-work, but had failed, and was in such a condition that if any hon. Member present had seen her, he would immediately have obtained relief at his own expense for her. Did she want physic? No; she simply wanted medical care, and perhaps some nourishment. Now, were such cases as these cases in which the right hon. Gentlemen opposite seriously meant to insist on disfranchising the husband if the relief was given? Did they intend to give a less meaning to this Bill in England than they had given to legislation in Ireland? ["No, no!"] Then why did the right hon. Gentlemen give a different meaning to the law in England to that which it bore in Ireland? He sincerely trusted that the Government, who had got hold of this Bill, and who had told the Committee and those concerned that they were going to give them a Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill, would give that Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill. He had referred to 64 serious cases where disqualification would result in one single Union in one half-year if this Amendment was not accepted; the cases were those in which the administration of brandy and other articles was necessary. Were the Government going to refuse to allow brandy to be administered in these cases?

MR. BROADHURST said, he should like to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) to alter his mind. He would make that appeal on the strength of one fact—namely, that they all understood that this Bill was to relieve the voter from any disability on account of any order that a doctor might give for the restoration of health. He thought that was the whole essence of the Bill, and the whole intention of the Bill, and that was what they understood that the Bill meant, after the reply given to a question that afternoon by the right hon. Gentleman. It was true that the right hon. Gentleman stated just now, that a great deal of disease amongst the labouring population arose through the want of the necessaries of life. But, then, he (Mr. Broadhurst) apprehended that it was the case with the great body of the agricultural labourers that they did not get sufficient of the necessaries of life. ["No, no!"] He begged pardon of the hon. Gentleman who said "No!" but he thought that would be found to be the case. He did not see how agricultural labourers could obtain the necessaries of life under the miserable pauper dole which some people seemed to call wages. It was impossible for them to obtain even the necessaries of life; and therefore he asked the Government to yield on this question, and not to oppose the Amendment under discussion.

MR. PULESTON said, he thought that the time had come when it was desirable to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Mr. A. J. Balfour) whether it was not proper to report Progress?

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he had been for 12 years on the Board of Guardians at Oxford, and he ventured to think that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board would say that that was one of the best-managed Boards in the country. Although they had a Private Act, they gave the Local Government Board very little trouble; and, besides that, they had reduced the rates from 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound to 1*s.* 5*d.* One of the processes by which they had effected that reduction was by giving no outdoor relief to any person who had not endeavoured to provide for himself by becoming a member of a club. If he had been in a club, and had exhausted his resources, they gave him relief. They had also established a dispensary. They paid their doctors a reasonable salary of £120 a-year. No doubt, as had been said in the course of the debate, there was a good deal of difference between a good and a bad doctor; but there was very little difference between a bad doctor and none at all. His meaning was that the best thing the Guardians could do was to put a man in a good state of health.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) had fallen into an error in supposing that, under the Irish dispensary system, what were called medical comforts were allowed. Those matters were supplied from some other sources. If the words which had been suggested were adopted, they would constitute an entire departure from the Bill as introduced.

MR. DEASY said, if the right hon. and learned Gentleman's (Mr. Holmes's) knowledge of Irish affairs was to be judged from the statement he had just made, Irish Members were likely to get very little satisfacture from his tenure of Office. He (Mr. Deasy) had been a Guardian for six years, and he could assure the Committee that the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman on the subject of Poor Law administration in Ireland was entirely wrong. It was the practice to give medical comforts in addition to ordinary medicine. He had taken an active part in the administration of the Poor Law in Ireland; and he had scarcely ever known a case in which the family of a labouring man in poor circumstances had not had medical comforts supplied when ill. If this Amendment was not passed, there would be a large number of persons disqualified. He sincerely trusted that in this discussion the Committee would not be influenced by what had fallen from the last speaker, because it was an utter perversion of facts.

Mr. PELL said, the Bill was drafted on the terms of an earlier Bill. He thought no argument could be adduced in its favour from the Irish system. It was confessed that they were not quite clear as to the Irish law on the subject; and, therefore, he thought it probable that they were not altogether right on the subject of the English law. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) had said that, in all serious cases, medical relief was accompanied by a recommendation for medical extras. But in the part of the country in which he lived they had never had a case of the kind. This Bill could only apply to out-of-door poor; and, therefore, the illustration of the right hon. Gentleman was of no avail. At that hour (2.40) the Government would do well to report Progress. He had made a Motion to that effect so often that it really looked as though he desired to obstruct the Bill. He assured the Committee that such was not his desire.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) founded his objection to the Amendment of the hon. Baronet the Member for Gravesend (Sir Sydney Waterlow) on the Irish precedent, having the same ideas with regard to the practice in Ireland as the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes). As he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) understood the argument of the right hon. Gentleman, it was a perfectly fair and reasonable one. The right hon. Gentleman said that the Irish Act applied distinctly and definitely to those cases where relief was confied to medicine, and medicine only; and the right hon. Gentleman went on to argue, quite logically, that Parliament had no right to give in England and Scotland a greater amount of relief than was given in Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman found that he had argued upon false premises and inaccurate information, he would, no doubt, see his way to change his position on the question. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Deasy), who was as intimately acquainted with the practical working of the Poor Law system in Ireland as any man in the House, pledged his authority to a perfectly opposite view to that of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes). His hon. Friend the Member for County Waterford (Mr. P. J. Power), who was Chairman of a Poor Law Board in Ireland, stated that medical comforts—that was to say, food—was frequently ordered by the medical officers in Ireland. The medical officer did not give wine and the like himself, because he had not that in his dispensary; but he had a right to call upon the relieving officer to give it in the shape of medicine. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) gave his testimony to the same effect. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not suppose that the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland was practically acquainted with the working of the Poor Law system; but Irish Members in that House who did know the system, were agreed in the statement that medical relief in Ireland included medical comforts, in the shape of port wine and the like. As the whole case of the Government in resisting this Amendment was founded on the Irish precedent, this was a case in which the Government ought to yield to the unanimous opinion of the Committee. Of course, he did not include the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), who did not count in this matter, becaused he was opposed to the Bill *in toto.*

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): Sir, in the opinion of the Government, this Amendment is one of considerable importance, and we have to ask the Committee very earnestly not to engraft it in the Bill. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) has compared the Amendment of the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Sydney Waterlow) with the system in Ireland. I understand the system in Ireland is this—the medical officer has power, under the Dispensary Acts, to do certain things, and to order certain medicine; but that, if anything is required beyond that, the medical officer can only suggest or recommend it. Well, now, that is precisely the distinction which we have endeavoured to maintain by the words of the Bill. We have taken the words which, as far as we understand it, embody the Irish system, and adopt it for the rest of the United Kingdom. We have endeavoured to meet this argument—that whereas the poorer classes in our large towns are able to obtain medical relief through dispensaries and by becoming outdoor hospital patients, without disqualifying themselves for the exercise of the franchise, the poorer classes in the country should not be disqualified for the lack of similar resources. But outdoor patients of hospitals do not get these comforts, but are simply supplied with medical and surgical relief. We have adopted what we thought was desired by the House, and what was felt by ourselves to be right in this matter. We stated, some days ago, that we would endeavour to carry into effect what practically had been accepted by the House upon the Motion of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey), and subsequently rejected in "another place." We extended that by applying the alteration of the law to all elections, and also by making it a permanent, instead of a temporary, measure. We confess we thought we had met the reasonable wishes of the House on the subject, and that the Bill would have been taken as a practical settlement of the question. But now, Sir, we are asked, so far as I can judge, after listening to this debate, and pretending to no very minute acquaintance with the system of the Poor Law, such as some hon. Members possess—we are asked to extend the provisions of our Bill in a way which would apparently fail to draw any real distinction between the different classes of outdoor relief. We think that, in the Bill as it stands, we have adopted a definite line which may fairly be adhered to by Parliament; and I must say—and I do not say it as a threat—we do look at this Amendment as one of a grave and important character, and it is impossible for me to say what may be the consequences to this Bill if the Committee should adopt the words proposed.

LORD EDWARD CAVENDISH said, he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that this Amendment was one of a grave and important character, and on that account he considered it was too late an hour (2.50) to discuss it. He had hoped he should never move to report Progress—he had never done so before, and he hoped he would never have occasion to do it again. He regretted very much the tone of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain). He had hoped they had done with bids for popularity; but it appeared there was no end to where they might go in that direction. If this Amendment were carried, it was perfectly impossible to know where they could stop in conferring the franchise. Justice could not be done at that hour of the morning to the Amendment; and, therefore, he moved to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Lord Edward Cavendish.*)

MR. PULESTON said, that no one was more strongly in favour of the Bill than he was; but he thought the request of the noble Lord (Lord Edward Cavendish) was a very reasonable one. He appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to acquiesce in the suggestion.

MR. COURTNEY said, it was very evident that the question which was raised was one of the utmost importance. It was regarded by the Treasury Bench as a matter almost vital to the Bill, and by some hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House it was regarded as of the utmost consequence that the words proposed should be inserted in the Bill. When an Amendment of this kind was raised at that time of the morning, without having been on the Paper, was it not perfectly reasonable that they should report Progress? He pronounced no opinion whatever upon the question, because he had no opinion; but he did suggest it was fitting they should now report Progress. If he might allude to himself for one moment, he might say he had been in and about the House ever since 12 o'clock. He sat upon a Committee to inquire into the Admiralty expenditure from 12 to 4 o'clock; he had been in the House, except during the dinner hour, from 4 until now, and he would have to be in attendance again at 12 o'clock. He had no doubt there were other Members of the House in the same position. The point at issue could not be settled that night, and, further, it was absurd to go on longer. He earnestly hoped the Committee would now consent to report Progress.

SIR SYDNEY WATERLOW said, he hoped there would not be any objection at 10 minutes to 3 to report Progress, and to consider the Amendment on another occasion. When he moved the Amendment he did not anticipate the Government would have so strong an objection to it. He had hoped the Government meant the word "medicine" to include what was prescribed by the medical officer. If they had no such intention, and it was evident they had not, it was clear the Committee ought to have a longer time to consider what was to be done. If the Government persevered in resisting the Amendment, or were not prepared to add words which would have the same effect, it was clear they would give with one hand and take away with the other. He, therefore, hoped the Committee would afford time to consider the question by reporting Progress.

MR. HENEAGE said, he hoped the Government would stick to their guns, and not accede to the Motion. He also had been in attendance since 12 o'clock, but did not desire to leave until this question was settled.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 19; Noes 144: Majority 125.—(Div. List, No. 238.)

Question, "That the words 'or such relief prescribed by the medical officer' be there inserted" again proposed.

SIR SYDNEY WATERLOW said, he should like to have an opportunity of saying a word or two, and a word or two only, in reply to statements that had been made in opposition to the Amendment he had proposed. He would not dwell on the strength with which the Government relied on the words in the Irish Act, because it was clear that the Irish authorities in the House were at variance with the Government, and that the Government were mistaken on the matter. It was clear that the Irish Act did contemplate medical comforts. If the Amendment were not accepted, the medical officer could only prescribe drugs; and they had arrived at the conclusion that in nine cases out of 10, especially in cases of fever, milk and beef tea were more necessary than drugs. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had put a case that he (Sir Sydney Waterlow) must say a word in answer to—namely, the case of two children. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] He was dealing with the principle of the Bill; unless the Amendment were carefully considered the measure would not be worth anything. He would not detain the Committee more than a minute or two if hon. Members would allow him to conclude. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the case of two children in adjoining houses suffering side by side not so much from disease as from starvation. Well, if the right hon. Gentleman had been a Guardian, as he (Sir Sydney Waterlow) had been for 25 years, he would know that it was the relieving officer who attended such cases. If the relieving officer found the cases to be cases of want of food, he would take them into the house. If, on the other hand, he found them to be cases of disease, he would send the medical officer, who would prescribe what was necessary as medicines. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] He must appeal to the House to let him finish; he very rarely troubled it, and he should not now do so if it were not a question upon which he felt very strongly. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] He hoped the Government would consent to the Amendment; and he must say he thought the public would feel that without it the measure was worth absolutely nothing.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 68; Noes 71: Majority 3.—(Div. List, No. 239.)

New Clause:—

(Provision for registration in the present year.)

"(1.) In the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, in England, where the overseers have entered "objected" against the names of any persons in the list of ownership voters or in the old lodgers list, or have omitted the names of any voters from any list of voters made by them, and such entry or omission has been made on the ground only of those persons having received such medical or surgical assistance or medicine as in this Act mentioned, and such names would not if this Act had previously passed have been so objected to or omitted, the overseers shall make a list of such persons, and such list shall be published, revised, and dealt with in all respects as if it were part of the list of claimants in respect of the occupation of property with the qualification following (namely) :—

"The revising barrister shall, without the appearance of or any proof by any such person, retain his name in the list made by the overseers under this section, unless he is objected to, and the objector proves that such person is not entitled to be registered; and if such objection is made the revising barrister shall, notwithstanding the absence of the said person, take the evidence of the overseers as to his right to be registered.

"(2.) The clerk of the peace or town clerk shall insert in their proper place in the register the names of the persons in the said list, when revised.

"(3.) Every clerk of the peace and town clerk acting under the Acts relating to the registration of Parliamentary voters shall forthwith after the passing of this Act issue precepts to the overseers informing them of their duties under it,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause be now read a second time," put, and *agreed to.*

Question proposed, "That the Clause be added to the Bill.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, if he read the clause rightly, it required a small addition to be made to it. He wanted the right hon. Gentleman to insert words and instructions that the lists should be made out quickly—that was to say, that there should be an interval of 21 days between the making of the list and the time when it reached the Revising Barrister. He understood that, as the matter stood at present, the overseers might prepare the list on one day, and that it could be dealt with by the Revising Barrister to-morrow; and in that case there would be no time to examine the lists on the church doors and correct any errors which it might contain. He therefore suggested that the right hon. Gentleman should insert, at the end of the ninth line, the words—

"And published at least 20 days before the revision of the voting list by the revising barrister,"

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) : I will agree to insert that on the Report.

MR. CLARE READ said, he wished to call attention to the fact that throughout the clause there was no mention made of anyone but the overseer. It was, he thought, utterly impossible for the overseers to carry out this clause throughout the whole of England. They were perfectly ignorant of the facts of the case; they simply knew that a pauper had received relief; but as to whether it was in money, medicine, or in kind, they knew nothing whatever. This point had been raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) on the second reading of the Bill; and he (Mr. Clare Read) would put it to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board whether he could not issue an order to the Clerks to the Boards of Guardians to furnish this important information to the overseers? The overseer had no more to do with the poor than the churchwarden; he was simply a rate collector. As he had observed, there was no mention made of anyone but the overseer; and under the existing arrangements he would be quite incapable of carrying out the instructions.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *added* accordingly.

MR. HEALY said, he wished to move that the Bill should not apply to Ireland, where, as far as he could see, it would be quite unnecessary. In Ireland municipal elections were provided for under the Municipal Election Act, and Parliamentary elections were provided for under another Act. Under the circumstances, he thought the Government should agree to insert words to the effect that the Act should not apply to Ireland.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, he presumed the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) wished to see no inequality established between the two countries. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would allow the matter to stand over till Report, and, in the meantime, it should be considered.

MR. HEALY said, that having raised the point, he was content to follow the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would put down a clause in his own name.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the right hon. Gentleman to accept the assurance of his hon. and learned Friend and himself that the Bill was not required in Ireland.

MR. HENEAGE said, that as the right hon. Gentleman had promised to consider the case of Scotland in reference to the Bill between then and Report, he hoped he would also deal with the case of Ireland at the same time, and that the House would allow the Bill to be passed through the Committee stage now.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday.*

COUNTY OFFICERS AND COURTS (IRELAND) PENSIONS BILL.—[BILL 112.]

(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

MR. SEXTON said, he should be glad if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would introduce a clause for enforcing the retirement of persons who did not discharge the duties of their office. He should be much more disposed to give his support to the Bill if it contained a provision of that kind.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he wished to press upon the attention of the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) the question which had been raised by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). He had no desire to put any obstacle in the way of the Bill; but he thought that a clause of the kind suggested ought to be introduced. He found that the name of one gentleman was given in the Bill without any address. He did not know where the gentleman lived, but he understood that he had not performed the duties of his Office for a lengthened period—in fact, that he had not been in Ireland for a long time. He did not think it was right that a gentleman should reside in England, and yet hold an Office in Ireland; and, therefore, he hoped that attention would be given to this case.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday.*

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (TERM OF IMPRISONMENT) BILL.—[BILL 180.]

(*Mr. H. H. Fowler, Sir William Harcourt.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. HEALY said, he had, on a former occasion, appealed to the Government for a promise that they would apply to Ireland the English Act of 1879. He ventured to ask the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland that he would endeavour to consider how far this useful provision would enable them in Ireland to appeal in cases where one month's imprisonment was given. It was quite impossible for anyone to imagine the amount of misery caused by short sentences. Where there was no appeal the magistrates did exactly what they liked in matters of the kind.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, he could assure the hon. and learned Gentleman that the matter referred to should be considered.

Amendments made.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

QUESTION.

MR. ONSLOW said, it would be convenient to know whether this Bill or the Army Estimates would be the first Order of the Day on Monday?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): This Bill is the second Order of the Day.

MOTIONS.

—o—

MOVEABLE DWELLINGS BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE. FIRST READING.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to provide for the registration and regulation of Travelling Vans, and other vehicles used as temporary abodes."—(*Mr. Digby.*)

Mr. HEALY said, that this was a tinkering attempt at legislation. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Digby) would really do well, at that period of the Session, to drop it. If he did not, he (Mr. Healy) would be under the necessity of persuading his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) to block it.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA also hoped the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Digby) would not persevere with the Bill this Session.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he thought it was not unreasonable of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Digby) to ask leave to introduce the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Digby, Mr. Elton, Mr. Burt, Mr. Warton, and Mr. Broadhurst.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 239.]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Thursday."—(*Mr. Digby.*)

Mr. HEALY said, he objected to the second reading being taken on Thursday. He could not help thinking that this was an attempt to smuggle the measure through the House. If the present suggestion were adopted, there would be no opportunity of blocking the Bill, or even of seeing it, for it could not be printed.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Bill to be read a second time upon *Monday* next.

PATENT LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE. FIRST READING.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend 'The Patents, Designs, and Trademarks Act, 1883.'"—(*Sir Farrer Herschell.*)

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he assumed the hon. and learned Gentleman was bringing in the Bill for the purpose of making an alteration in the law conducted through the House by the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain).

Sir FARRER HERSCHELL said, the Amendments proposed in the Bill were small, though important. They were Amendments which the experience of the working of the Patent Laws had shown to be desirable and expedient. He did not suppose the hon. Gentleman wished him to explain them now.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Farrer Herschell and Mr. Holms.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 240.]

GREENWICH HOSPITAL BILL.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to make provisions in the Bill for extending the eligibility of persons for appointments as Naval Knights of Windsor.—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett.*)

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

REVISING BARRISTERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Attorney General, Bill to remove doubts as to the appointment of Revising Barristers, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Attorney General and Secretary Sir Richard Cross.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 237.]

EVIDENCE BY COMMISSION BILL.

On Motion of Lord Randolph Churchill, Bill to amend the Law relating to taking Evidence by Commission in India and the Colonies, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Attorney General, Lord Randolph Churchill, and Mr. Secretary Stanley.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 238.]

House adjourned at a quarter
before Four o'clock in
the morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 22nd July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Royal Assent*—East India Loan (£10,000,000) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 28]; Honorary Freedom of Boroughs [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 29]; Local Loans (Sinking Funds [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 30]; Ecclesiastical Commissioners [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 31]; Tithe Rent Charge Redemption [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 32]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 1) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. xcviii]; Metropolis (Hughes Fields, Deptford) Provisional Order Confirmation [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. xcix]; Metropolis (Tabard Street, Newington) Provisional Order Confirmation [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. c]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. ci]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cii]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. ciii]; Pier and Harbour Provisional

Orders [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. civ]; Local Government Provisional Order (Municipal Corporations) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cv]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cvi]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cvii]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cviii]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order) Labourers Act) (No. 5) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cix]; Marriages (Saint John, Cowley) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cx].

The House met—and the Royal Assent having been given, by COMMISSION, to several Bills,

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 22*nd July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* —CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.— — LAW AND JUSTICE; Votes 21 and 27; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART; Vote 10.

Resolutions [July 20] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Lunacy Acts Amendment * [244].

First Reading—Secretary for Scotland * [242]; Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), changed from Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) [243].

Second Reading—Crown Lands * [51].

Report of Select Committee—Pluralities [No. 283].

Committee—Labourers (Ireland) (No. 2) * [68]—R.P.

Considered as amended—*Third Reading*—Greenwich Hospital * [222], and *passed.*

Third Reading—School Boards * [235]; Exchequer and Treasury Bills * [229], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) (No. 2) * [39].

QUESTIONS.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—DISTRIBUTION.

MR. DEASY (for Mr. PARNELL) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he could give the House the details of the new distribution of the Constabulary Force in Ireland which it is proposed to make under the Act of this Session?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): I am unable at present to state the details which the hon. Member asks for. The late Government did not dispose of the matter, and in the great press of Public Business Lord Carnarvon has not had time as yet to deal with it. The hon. Member is, of course, aware that the three months within which action is to be taken under the Statute will not expire until the 21st of August, before which date the Lord Lieutenant will have disposed of the matter.

MR. DEASY said, he would like to know if the information he wanted would be furnished before the Vote for the Constabulary was asked for?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, he might be able to give some general information, but not any specific information.

MR. SEXTON asked if the Government could not undertake to get this information before the Constabulary Vote came on, or to postpone the Vote until the information could be given?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) was not prepared now to say that he would postpone the Vote; Supply was very late.

LAW AND POLICE—OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the indecent prints now being hawked about in the streets (and also sold in various shops), especially those under the heading *The Pall Mall Illustrated*; and, whether there is no power in the Executive to put a stop to the sale of such illustrations?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): I said yesterday that the publishers of obscene publications published them at their peril. Whatever may be said for the motives of those who made the first publication, nothing whatever can be said but evil about these pictorial illustrations; and the police have had special instructions to watch these publications and take such action as they may be recommended to take under proper legal advice.

NAVY—COLLISION WITH H.M.S. "HECLA."

MR. ONSLOW asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether he has any information in regard to the collision which is reported to have taken place yesterday between Her Majesty's ship *Hecla* and a steamer?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. RITCHIE): Yes, Sir; we have some information, which I will read to the House. We first received the following telegram from Admiral Phillimore, the Admiral Superintendent at Devonport, dated July 21, 8.25 P.M.:—

> "*Hecla* just arrived after collision with English steamer, which sank, and nine lives lost. *Hecla* has 38 survivors, who, with passengers, will land here. Captain thinks that *Hecla* can go safely to Portsmouth; has large hole in bow covered by sail."

The next telegram is dated July 22, 9.51 A.M., and is as follows:—

> "*Hecla* will come into harbour at 1 P.M., and will be docked to-morrow afternoon; damage to bows very serious, extending to 7 or 8 feet under water. Coroner's inquest on two passengers who died from shock after being picked up will be held to-day. Captain Markham's letter left by early post, and will arrive about 6 P.M."

I may add that instructions have been sent from the Admiralty ordering an inquiry to be made without delay as to the cause of the collision.

MR. ONSLOW: Is there any loss of life on board the *Hecla?*

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. RITCHIE): I have given the hon. Member all the information in our possession.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. JAMES STUART asked, Whether it was the intention of the Government to bring on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill on Monday?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS) said, he could say nothing about proceeding with the Bill, anxious as he was to press it on, until the House had disposed of the Medical Relief Bill, and probably also the Army Estimates.

MR. MONK asked whether the Report on the Medical Relief Bill would be taken to-morrow?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS) said, it was better to say nothing about Business until they saw what progress was made to-day with the Irish Estimates.

EGYPT—THE SOUDAN—REPORTED FIGHTING AT KASSALA.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: In the absence of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Government have any information regarding the slaughter of Arabs at Kassala reported in this morning's papers?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS) suggested that the hon. Member should put the Question to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs if he should be present at the end of the Sitting. He knew some information had been received; but he did not know its purport.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) £39,206, to complete the sum for Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland.

(Mr. RITCHIE in the Chair.)

MR. SEXTON said, he was glad to notice a very considerable reduction in this Vote in the present year. The Irish Members on those Benches had contended for years that excessive sums of money had been voted under this head; and they had often expressed their opinion in that House that the money so voted had been very badly, and even corruptly, employed. The Government had taken a wise step in abandoning the use of the extraordinary law in Ireland, and in reverting to the use of the ordinary law. He ventured to say, however, that it was true that even extraordinary laws might be made tolerable if they were wisely and well administered, and that the ordinary laws might become intolerable if they were oppressively used. He would remind the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (the Attorney General for Ireland) that a good deal of the success of the experiment, as it was called, now being made by the Government in reverting to the use of the ordinary law in Ireland would depend on the manner in which they used the money given to them by the present Vote. He hoped the new Government would embark on the policy which had accompanied their accession to Office, not merely by rejecting extraordinary enactments, but also by confining themselves to a pure and justifiable use of the finances put into their hands for the administration of the ordinary law. He saw that there was an item in the Vote of £20,000 for the expenses of prosecutions and witnesses. He hoped they would not have to complain again, as they had had to complain in recent years, that, while witnesses expected to prove anything for the Crown had excessive expenses almost forced on them, the witnesses for the defence, especially in cases of a political tinge, were starved. He knew cases of men in the City of Dublin, summoned to the Green Street Court House in the hope that they would give favourable evidence for the Government in cases in which the jury had been severely packed—he had known such persons not examined at all; but after remaining scarcely 20 minutes in Court they had had sums of money tendered to them by the Crown Solicitor, which in common self-respect they felt bound to return, because they objected to place themselves under the suspicion of having accepted a bribe. On the other hand, in the case of the Tubbercurry conspiracy, witnesses were brought from Sligo and kept for months in Dublin, in regard to whom the Crown pursued a course of huckstering and higgling about their expenses, and it was by no means certain yet whether the Crown Solicitor had paid the expenses necessary for the defence. He hoped henceforward they would see in this matter a fair and just administration of the law, and that, while fair expenses were paid to the Crown witnesses, similar treatment would be accorded to those for the defence. He also hoped that the tribe of professional perjurers would not any longer be quartered on the public purse. He knew that in the depôts for Crown witnesses some of these hideous reptiles had been retained and paid out of the public money for condemning innocent men to penal servitude, for swearing away innocent lives, and for having provoked against the British Government a feeling of enmity unequalled in modern times. They had rendered the administration of the ordinary law far more difficult; and if the Government had the principle and the courage to abandon the resort to these creatures, although they might fail now and then to snatch a verdict, and although they might have fewer verdicts, yet they would evoke a widespread feeling of respect for the administration of the law. When the people had greater confidence in the equity of the administration of the law, the Government would have a more voluntary and cheerful observance of its demands. His principal object in rising to comment upon this Vote was to ask the Government to instruct the Law Officers of the Crown to consider the grounds which existed for a prosecution for perjury against John Morrin, the approver, in what was well known as the Tubbercurry case, and for a prosecution for conspiracy against Mr. Randal Peyton, Sessional Crown Solicitor for Sligo; Mr. Horne, Resident Magistrate; and Detective Carroll, of the police. It would be easy to show the grounds of this application. With regard to Mr. Randal Peyton, the Sessional Crown Solicitor for Sligo, he made the application on the faith of a letter which had been addressed to him from Liverpool by a man named Joseph Wall in the employment of a man named Whelan, a butcher, at Carlow, whose brother had been unjustly accused of purloining a sum of £45 from his employer, but whose evidence was sought to be obtained against the Tubbercurry prisoners. This man had been prosecuted both at the Quarter Sessions and at Assizes; but the Crown, feeling that it was impossible to obtain a conviction, had withdrawn from the prosecution. After the Crown abandoned the prosecution, there was an offer made to give back the sum of £45 to Wall and substantial expenses on condition that he would go and give evidence against Mr. Fitzgerald, one of the Tubbercurry prisoners. The man seeing that what was designed was an improper attempt upon the life of a fellow-man, promptly declined to be a party to any such case; whereupon Mr. Horne, the Resident Magistrate, sprang from his seat, spat on him, and roared out, "Go to Sligo," meaning that it would be the worse for him if he did not put the construction upon certain letters which the Government desired. Wall was afterwards served with a Crown summons, and although it would scarcely be believed, it was nevertheless the fact, that Mr. Peyton, the Crown Solicitor, there and then told him that the £45 which the man was accused of stealing would be given back without any further trouble, together with substantial expenses, if he would only put the construction upon the letters they wished, or appear against Fitzgerald. If that was not an open bargain for perjury and simple subornation of perjury he failed to see what it was. Perhaps the Attorney General for Ireland would be able to show the Committee whether it was anything else, and he should await the reply of the right hon. and learned Gentleman with some curiosity and interest. This man—Joseph Wall—said further that he heard Detective Carroll telling his brother that he would have his money back and obtain his expenses if he would only consent to give evidence against Fitzgerald. The letter which it was desired to convert into evidence against Fitzgerald was one addressed from some other person to Wall asking if "the gods were all well," meaning the other parties to the conspiracy, and Peyton told him to swear what the meaning of the letter was. The Committee would observe that this man Wall was leaving his employment, and would naturally desire some other, and he was told in the letter that "hardware was profitable." Mr. Peyton told Wall that "hardware" meant arms, and that it was to be "Sligo Gaol; or swear that." Surely these circumstances raised a *primâ facie* case of suspicion against Randal Peyton and Detective Carroll for subornation of perjury. Although the sum of £45 was offered to be returned if Wall would consent to place upon the correspondence the construction put upon it by the Crown and not his own, as far as he (Mr. Sexton) could learn Mr. Peyton still retained that sum. Both by bribes and threats attempts were made to induce this man to give false evidence, and he knew of no stronger grounds to justify the institution of a prosecution for subornation of perjury. He had spoken of the informer Morrin. He claimed that a prosecution should be instituted against John Morrin, the approver at the trials, of whom he would say boldly that his evidence teemed with perjury; but he would be content to adduce two evidences of it in support of the present application. It was no reply to say that the conspiracy failed. These unfortunate men were taken out of their homes in the middle of the night and kept in gaol for half a year. A private inquiry was carried on for a month, and these men were tortured with the public ordeal of a trial in Sligo time after time. They were then hurried away to Dublin, and at the last moment when the case against one of them—Fitzgerald—ignominiously failed, notwithstanding the fact that under the special Crimes Act a jury of Orangemen in the County and City of Dublin was empannelled, the jury themselves became so disgusted with the case presented by the Crown that to their verdict of acquittal they added a rider of rebuke, strongly condemning the authorities for the manner in which they had brought forward the case. He contended that the crime of perjury had been completed so far as the intention went, and intention was the gravamen of a crime of this sort. The Crown Solicitor did all that he could to convict this innocent man, and the fact that he escaped was not due to anything which he did. Would the Committee consider for a moment what the informer Morrin swore? He made an information that on the 31st of March last year he got to know of the existence of a Fenian organization as it was called. He said that about eight years ago he was asked to join the Society; but he did not consent at first. Three weeks after he was first asked he did consent, and was sworn in. Nine months after that a meeting was held, at which he was elected a "B" over nine men—a B being a superior officer of the Fenian organization. There was also present a stranger named Fitzpatrick—a middle-sized man with a hump on his shoulders. The Government, it must be remembered, were principally anxious to procure a conviction against Fitzgerald, otherwise Fitzpatrick, and it became important to fix his attendance at certain meetings. Upon this information of Morrin, an Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary laid a further information declaring his belief that the man Fitzpatrick, with a hump on his shoulders, was Fitzgerald, and on that information

Fitzgerald was seized in the public streets of London, put into a cab, driven away, and sent over to Ireland. In the month of April a man named John Daly was arrested in Birmingham on a dynamite charge, and the Crown then learned that it was absurd to believe that Fitzgerald was present at the meeting spoken to by Morrin, because at that time, and for some time afterwards, he was engaged in his own business at Cork. It became necessary, therefore, to amend the first information, and Fitzpatrick's name was taken out of it. The Crown, however, thought it necessary that some other stranger's name should be put into it. Accordingly Morrin made another information on the 6th of May, in which he stated that he had known of the existence of a Fenian Society for about eight years; that he was asked to join it about seven or eight years ago by Pat Moran; that he did not consent at first; but on being asked again to join about three weeks afterwards he did so, and that some months afterwards he was elected a "B." Pat Duggan told him that he was elected a "B" after the election had actually taken place. He said it was a shame that Morrin had not attended the meeting. The Committee would observe that in the last information Morrin said someone told him it was a shame that he had not attended the meeting; whereas in his first information he said that he was present, and that he saw Fitzgerald there. In the meantime it turned out to have been physically impossible for Fitzgerald to have been there, and Morrin was convicted of having deliberately committed perjury in his first information. Morrin went on to say that he was told by someone who attended the meeting that there was a strange man there of the name of Daly. In the meantime the Government had received information that a man named Daly had been arrested at Birmingham on a dynamite charge, and they used the information to affect the evidence against the man who had been arrested in London and taken to Dublin. Morrin said—

> "After I was told by Duggan that a man of the name of Daly was one of the persons who attended the meeting at which I was elected a 'B.' I saw him on the following Sunday at Mass. I have seen him since in Birmingham Gaol."

He (Mr. Sexton) asked the Committee to bear in mind the purport of these statements. The first information of Morrin was used to incriminate a person whom the Crown desired to convict. In the following month the Crown found that the person so implicated was at the time in another part of the country. Therefore the informer withdrew his perjured statement that Fitzgerald was present at the meeting; but, in order not to waste the force of perjury at their command, they actually put into a second information a statement that another person was present at the meeting whom, in the meantime, they had arrested, and for whose conviction they would make Morrin useful, and, in fact, make him earn his money. They meant to convict somebody; but it did not much matter who. Another ground on which he asked for the prosecution of the informer Morrin on a charge of perjury was the sworn statement he had made in reference to an attack upon a police officer named Doherty, in which he incriminated certain individuals, and gave detailed information on oath at a subsequent detailed magisterial inquiry, all of which turned out to be perjury. What were the facts? The attack upon Sub-Inspector Doherty took place on the evening of the 19th of May, 1882, and shortly afterwards Morrin swore that James Lyons, a man named Armstrong, and Teddy Higgins, entered into a conspiracy to shoot constable Schoolan. Now, James Lyons, who lived at Tubbercurry, left for America on the 15th of February, 1882, sailed from Liverpool four weeks previous to the attack upon the Sub-Inspector, and had not returned to Ireland since. The other two persons mentioned were Armstrong and Teddy Higgins. It would be borne in mind that the attack on Sub-Inspector Doherty took place on the 19th of March, 1882, and that these men were incriminated for an act alleged to have been done shortly afterwards. Now, Armstrong was arrested on the 2nd of January, 1882, more than two months before the attack on Sub-Inspector Doherty, and remanded in Omagh Prison, safe under lock and key until the month of July following. With regard to the third man, he was in prison as a suspect under the act of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), who in this instance did a splendid turn in favour of the accused, because it enabled his friends to prove his complete innocence of the more serious charge made against him. This man was arrested in December, 1881, nearly four months before the attack on Sub-Inspector Doherty, and he remained in prison until the month of August, 1882. Under these circumstances, could the Government refuse to prosecute Morrin for perjury? He had sworn in the most positive way that three men were concerned in an attempt to murder a police constable by shooting him in a road near Sligo in the month of March, although one of them had left the country for America, and had not returned since, and the other two were under lock and key as prisoners to the Government. He did not deny that there had been a conspiracy; but it was not among his constituents in Sligo, but among the officials of the Crown, to convict these men without the slightest regard to the truth of the evidence against them. The first fact he would mention in support of this contention was a statement made on the authority of the Rev. P. Lowry, the parish priest of Conway, who alleged that two days after the arrest of the prisoners he met in the streets of the town of Sligo Mr. Welsh, the Governor of Sligo Gaol. Welsh spoke about the prisoners to Father Lowry, who asked what they were in for, when Mr. Welsh said that he could not say they were informers; but he was told on the best authority that so many persons were offering themselves to the authorities as informers that the authorities did not know whom to choose. That was the beginning of the detestable practices by which the Government endeavoured to secure convictions. They did what they had often done during the last five years, seized a body of respectable men at random, and having thrown them into gaol, their officials deliberately set themselves to concoct evidence to secure their conviction; and the first step in their attempt to concoct evidence was the rumour spread by the Governor of the gaol, on the best authority, that all the men were informing against one another. They all knew that the best way to make the path of perjury smooth and easy was to persuade people that perjury had already been committed. If every reckless character in the county of Sligo was led to believe, on the best authority—that of the Governor of the gaol—that persons were swearing away in the character of informers, it would not be difficult to convince them that they might swear in and earn a little money. The next step was to supersede the local constabulary; a host of officials and constables were brought from other parts of the country, and while the private inquiries were proceeding, and even while the public inquiries antecedent to the committal were going on, exerted themselves in the way he should briefly describe; and he would leave the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, who was new to Office, and new, no doubt, to the practices which officials had forced upon them, sometimes, perhaps, against their natural tendency and character, to say what opinion he would give to the Committee on these proceedings and what course he would take in regard to them. The prisoners were arrested on the 2nd of April last year. Nine days after the following incident occurred. John Devaney said that on Good Friday last Sub-Constable John Sullivan went to him, and, telling him that he was terribly implicated with the prisoners in Sligo Gaol, asked him to tell all he knew about them. Devaney replied that he knew nothing; when Sullivan said he did not press him to acknowledge anything, but it could be proved that he was a "B" and had attended a meeting in Henry's Field. Sullivan added subsequently that Devaney had a brother in the Police Force, and that if he (Devaney) did not tell what he knew his brother would suffer for it, and he would be put in prison himself. It would thus be seen that nine days after the arrest of the Tubbercurry prisoners the Government, not having one particle of evidence against them except the perjured statements of Morrin, sent Sub-Constable Sullivan to John Devaney to say that his brother would be dismissed from the Police Force if he did not tell what he knew. Would the right hon. and learned Gentleman say that that Sub-Constable was fit to retain his place in the force, and that he had not rendered himself open to a prosecution for an attempt to suborn perjured evidence? In the month of June a young man was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for some criminal offence, and a short time after his conviction Sub-Constable Cronin entered his cell and spoke about the Tubbercurry prisoners. The Constable said that if this young man would give him any information about the prisoners in Sligo Gaol he would let him out. The man was imprisoned for a criminal offence; he had scarcely reached the police barracks before the Sub-Constable visited him and told him that if he would swear so and so against the men charged with treason felony the sentence of three months' imprisonment passed against him should be cancelled, and he should go out of prison a free man. What authority had Sub-Constable Cronin to reverse, at his individual will, the sentence of a Court of Justice? He had thought that the prerogative of mercy rested with the Lord Lieutenant. No doubt it had been so seldom exercised that it might be said hardly to have existed at all. In this case, however, it would appear that Earl Spencer either authorized sub-Constable Cronin to take upon himself the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, or else the police were at liberty to cancel the sentence of a Court of Justice in any agrarian or political case in which the Government desired to obtain evidence. Sub-Constable Cronin told this man, whose name was Callaghan, that if he would give evidence about the prisoners in Sligo Gaol he would let him out of prison himself. The young man said he knew nothing about it. "Oh yes, you do," replied Cronin. "You know as much about those men as Wall himself." This was keeping up that system of interrogation pursued in the French Courts which had been so often condemned in this country. "If you do not tell all you know," said Cronin to the young man, "when your time is over you will be detained in prison yourself." Notwithstanding these threats Callaghan persisted that he knew nothing about the prisoners, and that he would not swear anything against them. There was another very curious instance to which he would ask the attention of the Chief Secretary as well as of the Attorney General for Ireland, because it would appear to touch the jurisdiction of the Local Government Board. A man named B. Macatrick was the porter of the workhouse of Tubbercurry, and he had made a statement that after he had been elected to the Tubbercurry Workhouse Sub-Constables Cronin and Sullivan, who, it would appear, had in this case combined their forces, after having acted separately in others, called upon him and asked him to acknowledge that he was a Fenian, that he had attended a certain meeting at Henry's Field, and that it was better that he should acknowledge the matter, as they had three persons to prove it. Now that was a deliberate lie, told by officers of justice to entrap a man into perjury. They had nobody to prove it, and no statement of the kind had ever been made in evidence. Would the Attorney General for Ireland justify the lie? Macatrick said he denied that there was a particle of truth in the statement, and told the Constables to summon him to the Crimes Court investigation. Sullivan said they would do no such thing; but he would remind the man that his appointment had not yet been signed by the Local Government Board, and that if he did not tell all he knew about the Tubbercurry prisoners he would not be long where he was, as he (Sullivan) would himself write to the Local Government Board and get them to refuse their sanction to the appointment. This was one of those little facts which threw a lurid light on the system of government pursued in Ireland, and especially the system of government which had practically been carried on there during the last few years, from the highest officers of Dublin Castle down to the humblest police constable. The Lord Lieutenant in one instance refused an inquiry into the case of an innocent man, and in another the village policeman was found going about pretending that he was acting with the authority of the Local Government Board. If such a thing could be reported of Russia, or of Turkey in Bulgaria, the Press of England would teem, and every platform would ring with denunciations of such a system, and he supposed that the Concert of Europe would be evoked to put an end to it. He might be told that the statements to which he had referred were not on oath; but the men were forthcoming; they were in the county of Sligo at this moment, ready to state and prove all that he had asserted, and much more. The next document he had to read was an affidavit from a man examined in the Crimes Court in connection with the Tubbercurry conspiracy trial, and admitted into the Tubbercurry Workhouse afterwards. It would be found that these were men mostly on the point of entering the workhouse; men without a penny or a home; reckless creatures driven to despair by want, like the Apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet.* These were the class of persons the agents of the Crown in Ireland attempted to secure in order to swear away innocent lives. There were always such persons to be found. The Crown officials in Ireland well knew the type of men likely to do their work; but he hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would inaugurate a new era, and depend for a conviction on honest evidence rather than evidence obtained by the subornation of perjury. The affidavit he was about to refer to came from a man who was examined at the Crimes Court in connection with the Tubbercurry conspiracy on the 4th of July. He entered the Tubbercurry Workhouse three weeks afterwards, and he was there visited by two members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, one of whom was Sub-Constable Sullivan, who suggested to him that he should make a certain statement, which should not be given to another Sub-Constable named Phillips, or it would be worse for him. What would English Members think of this Sub-Inspector entering into a conspiracy against the rights of a pauper in the Tubbercurry Workhouse, telling him to conceal a statement, or that it would be worse for him. The witness went on to say that a few days later Sub-Constable Sullivan again called upon him. It must be borne in mind that a policeman was sworn by oath to do equal and impartial justice between man and man. Sullivan asked this man if he had done a certain act, to which he replied that he had not. On the 5th of August Sullivan, accompanied by two men who appeared to be policemen in plain clothes, called upon the man again. Sullivan said that he had made a mistake about an answer given by the man previously; that he found it had no reference to Lyons, one of the accused; and he asked if the man had not said that the circumstances to which it related happened on the night that Doherty was fired at—

> "He almost insisted" (said the man) "that I should say so, and in reply I distinctly told him that it did not occur on that night, but two or three nights after."

The man afterwards had a conversation with the master of the workhouse, and told him that he did not want to receive any more constables, and he subsequently expressed the same wish to the sub-chaplain of the workhouse. He (Mr. Sexton) would now close this statement with another fact, even more disgraceful for the meanness and the despicable ingenuity with which the subornation of perjury was attempted to be carried out. A man named Michael Meekam said that he was deeply under the influence of drink on two occasions when he was examined. With regard to the first occasion, he stated that when in the police barracks Constables Sullivan and Cronin wrote down his statement, and he was supplied with half a tea-cup full of whisky after having previously drunk five glasses of whisky and two pints of porter. Surely, any man who had had five glasses of whisky and two pints of porter would be drunk if ever a man was drunk, unless he possessed extraordinary drinking capacity. Yet the police not only took this man's evidence, but gave him a tea-cup full of whisky in addition, to prime him up for more information. Even that was not enough, for Sub-Constable Cronin suggested to the man that he might go out and take another drop, and it might give him nerve to tell them a little more. The man thus concluded when sworn and examined in the Crimes Act Court—"I had taken six glasses of whisky previously." He (Mr. Sexton) did not think he could conclude with a more startling fact than that, and he called upon the Attorney General to say whether he had not made out a good case against John Morrin of flagrant, and what might have been fatal, perjury, if it had not been counteracted; and whether, in the case of Mr. Randal Peyton, the Crown Solicitor, Mr. Horne, the Resident Magistrate, Detective Carroll, and Constables Cronin and Sullivan, he had not established a clear case of subornation of perjury? He maintained that it was only by the will of Providence that those 11 men were now able to pursue an honest industry instead of suffering the horrors of penal servitude.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN wished to say a word, in support of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), against the extravagant and lavish expenditure of public money in connection with what was called the administration of justice in Ireland. The result of that lavish expenditure of money on these occasions had not been the promotion of the ends of justice, but exactly the reverse. A few nights ago the Irish Members were making an application to the Government to grant a re-investigation of some of the recent crimes and convictions in Ireland, and the re-investigation had been rendered necessary by the fact that money had been lavishly expended upon the occasion of the Maamtrasna trials for the purpose of procuring evidence, whether right or wrong. He believed it would be proved, when the time for the re-investigation came, that the public money so given had been deliberately and knowingly expended in the subornation of perjury. It was on account of that subornation of perjury that the late Government found themselves complained of and denounced by the whole Irish people for having administered in Ireland not justice, but injustice. Reference had been made to the Barbavilla trials. In that case the whole evidence turned upon the statements of persons who had been bribed with large sums of the public money. The case against the prisoners had no other basis whatever. Could it be wondered at that the offer of large sums of money for evidence in cases of this sort should exercise a powerful influence on the minds of a class of ruffians consisting of thieves and rogues of the worst character? These were the men who were attracted by the jingling of British gold; they were drawn up to the surface just as if they were steel filings acted upon by a magnet. In tha Barbavilla case there were the two M'Keowns—both liars, both bad characters, and both drunkards. The younger M'Keown was acknowledged and proved to be a perjurer beforehand; it was well known that he had been concerned in various acts of criminality in that part of the country. He was a man who, having deserted his wife, entered the Army, having first sworn before he could be enlisted that he was an unmarried man. In that man the Government had a ready made perjurer to their hand. He was of the kind of man they generally picked up, and, being largely paid with English gold, he soon gave evidence of a nature that was readily accepted under the Prevention of Crime Act. On the evidence of that man, and a number of others like him, a number of men were sent to prison whose innocence of the crimes imputed to them had been clearly established, and would certainly be proved as soon as any further investigation took place into the case, by any tribunal on earth except a Crimes Act jury such as that which tried the case. It was not only this class of persons who were demoralized by a large expenditure of public money, but it had a bad effect upon a class of men who were somewhat above them in the social scale—that was to say, upon a large number of men in the Police Force of Ireland. He was very far from desiring to throw any slur upon that body as a whole; but from the nature of their employment they were a body of men accustomed to swearing, and thought very little about it. Moreover, they were absolutely hungering for promotion, and he knew no hunger that could compare with it in the case of men with a small fixed salary who saw no chance of increasing it from day to day. A miner working in the bowels of the earth had less desire for money than such men; a labourer in the fields was less easily corrupted. With a small and miserable salary, a constable in the Royal Irish Constabulary was compelled to live up to his last penny; and he was exactly the type of man who would do anything for promotion, or a little increase of pay. These were the men who had been employed in getting up these cases; and he told the Government and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland that it was because the public money had been spent in an improper manner that they had in their hands that day the serious trouble and difficulty of re-investigating the Maamstrasna case, the Barbavilla trials, and other cases of the same kind. The whole kernel of the matter lay in a nutshell. It was perfectly plain that the expenditure of thousands of pounds upon persons living a life of penury and misery, whose moral repute was bad, and whose character was known to be vicious, would procure any amount of perjured evidence; and it was, therefore, essential that every scrap of information obtained in that way should be narrowly scrutinized. If that were not done, injustice, cruelty, and wrong would undoubtedly be committed. That was what had happened in these cases; it was what was sure to happen again unless the system were changed. The appeal made to the Government by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was that the system should be changed; that after the dark and troubled and blood-stained times Ireland had gone through a new life and a better and brighter prospect should be opened out. It was in the hands of the present Government to open out this prospect. They had come into Office with an open book—with a clean record and a virgin page. If they decided upon following in the footsteps of those who went before them, and adopted the bad habits and principles of their Predecessors; if they, too, jingled British gold before the people when any crime was unfortunately committed; if they dangled these temptations before a vicious and corrupt class of men, then the result would be what it had been before—namely, that to the first outrage committed by some ignorant and ill-conditioned member of the community another and a graver outrage would be added in the encouragement of perjury in support of the administration of the law throughout the country, and an outrage committed, too, by gentlemen who ought to know better, who claimed to be the guardians of law and order, and the defenders of right and justice. He hoped that the system would be entirely changed. It had long been provocative of wrong and injustice, of bitter feeling, and even of vengeance, in the hearts of those who had been wrongfully treated. In future, let justice be done. The Irish Members did not stand there to plead in favour of immunity for criminals. They had no sympathy with perpetrators of crime and outrage. They said let justice be done; but not injustice and wrong. Why were young Pat M'Keown, the thief and double-dyed perjurer, and his drunken father, to trouble the community, living in luxury, and revelling in English gold, poured into their pockets by Her Majesty's Government, while innocent persons were sent to penal servitude through their perjured testimony? For what purpose was that expenditure so lavishly incurred? Simply to obtain the conviction, right or wrong, of a number of men whom the Government thought fit to accuse. He maintained that that was not the administration of justice; on the contrary, it was crime; it had a bad effect, and could not possibly produce a good one. He, therefore, trusted that the new Government just entering upon the path of public duty would respond to the appeal which had been made to them by his hon. Friend, so that it might become known in Ireland, through every rank of the Constabulary, and among every class of informer who were hungering to obtain promotion or money, that in future there would be no rewards for perjury or crime, but that all that was sought was simply the punishment of crime, and the payment of the expenses fairly and legitimately incurred in the prosecution and punishment of crime. The Irish Members had no sympathy with criminals of the humbler classes, still less had they sympathy with criminals in high places, who committed the intolerable wrong and grievous injustice of sending innocent men to gaol, so long as they could produce against them the oath of a perjured informer, backed up possibly by some sort of corroborative evidence brought to light by what was called an active and intelligent police constable. He hoped the Government would seriously consider the matter. He asked from them nothing unfair or dishonourable, but merely the performance of their bounden duty.

MR. P. J. POWER said, he was desirous of asking the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland what was the present arrangement with regard to the position of Crown Solicitor in the Leinster Circuit? That Circuit, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman was doubtless aware, comprised the counties of Waterford, Kilkenny, Wicklow, Wexford, and Tipperary. It was now some time since the people of Waterford had enjoyed the pleasure and distinction of seeing Mr. Bolton acting for that district in the capacity of Crown Solicitor; but he was not quite so clear as to Mr. Bolton's connection in that capacity with other counties, and he should feel obliged if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would inform the Committee what was the exact position of that official? It was all very well for them to be told that they in Ireland were in the enjoymeet of Catholic Emancipation; but he took leave to say that the measure of Catholic Emancipation they possessed was only a very partial one, and that in many respects it did not exist at all, as was made manifest when the majority of his countrymen, who possessed the same creed as himself, were told that they must "stand aside" at the bidding of men like Messrs. Bolton and Finch when summoned to discharge their duty as jurors, on the ground that being Catholics they were unworthy of the position, and unfit to act as jurors. He desired to impress on the Government, which had lately been called on to take charge of the affairs of the country, that the Irish Members were as anxious as anyone that there should be respect for law and order in Ireland; but he also wished to impress on the mind of the Government that if they wished to see law and order respected in Ireland, the first thing they ought to do was to insure that those who were intrusted with the administration of the law were themselves worthy of respect. He believed, however, he might say, without any hesitation, that in a vast number of cases those who had been intrusted with the administration of the law were totally unworthy of respect. He thought that, in view of the revelations that had taken place within the last few years, and the character some of those persons had received from distinguished Members of that House, it was monstrous that they should be retained in positions in which they had the power of insulting the Irish people. He hoped, therefore, that the new Government which had so recently come into Office might, at the very outset, be able to see their way to discontinuing the services of some of those persons. He should be glad if the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would accurately define the position which was occupied by Mr. Bolton with regard to the Leinster Circuit; and whether it was really the fact that the premier county of Ireland still retained the distinction of having in its employment that individual?

Mr. MARUM said, he would not detain the Committee at any length by standing between the interesting and powerful speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and the reply of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland. The hon. Gentleman had very clearly set forth a number of facts of a most astonishing nature; but he (Mr. Marum) desired to obtain from the right hon. and learned Gentleman some information with regard to the Resident Magistrates in Ireland. He saw in the Estimate relating to the present Vote an item for expenses of actions taken against Resident Magistrates, Divisional and other Justices, and the Constabulary, for acts done by them in the execution of their duty; and he wished to remind the Committee that there had of late been a very considerable departure in the right direction in the appointment of magistrates. It was to be hoped that the new Lord Chancellor (Lord Ashbourne) would follow in the same groove. He wished to know why the Irish magistrates were without that advice of which it was evident they stood in need? Another matter to which he wished to call attention was to the cost of the Court Houses and their repair. In England this charge was defrayed out of the Consolidated Fund; but in Ireland it had to be defrayed out of the local rates.

Mr. DEASY desired to say a few words in reference to the case to which the attention of the Committee had been called by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) and the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Sullivan), and he should do so in order that he might recall the Committee to the consideration of that matter. He did not think it could be said that in the experience of the oldest Member of that House a more convincing case had ever been put before it than that which had been made out by the hon. Member for Sligo. He had not only made distinct charges against officials, both high and low, in the service of the Irish Government; but he had clearly shown that each and all of those charges were well grounded. He had given the names of numerous men in the most respectable positions, who were ready to come forward and prove what they had already deposed to on oath. One of the persons imprisoned happened to be one of his (Mr. Deasy's) constituents; and he, therefore, took a special interest in the matter. Mr. Fitzgerald, a man of the highest character, who was engaged in behalf of several business firms belonging to the City of Cork, was, while so employed, arrested in the City of London, sent over to Ireland and kept in Sligo Gaol for a considerable time together with other prisoners, to whom reference had been made, and who, only when the injustice that had been done had been brought before that House, the Government were at length forced to put upon his trial. No sooner was that prisoner put upon his trial than it became perfectly clear to anyone who followed the progress of the case, that the Government had not a particle of evidence against those men. They had put them in prison because they thought they would give them as much trouble as possible, and they had kept them in gaol in the hope of being able to do what in certain other cases they had succeeded in doing—forcing one or other of them to give evidence against the rest, so that they might thus be able to secure convictions. It so happened, however, that those men did not belong to a class that could be bought over by the Government in that way. In other cases, such as that of O'Connell, at Cork, the Government were easily able to procure false evidence of the most formidable character against respectable men; but in this instance the men they had to deal with happened to be of a different character to those on whom the Crown authorities generally relied for their success in obtaining verdicts, and the consequence was that when the prisoners were brought to trial it was found that, although the Crown Solicitor had been to each of them separately and had asserted that several of the others were about to give evidence of an incriminating kind, not one of them could be bought over, and the result was that they all had to be released. The system carried on in Cork, under Captain Plunkett, was, perhaps, as bad as anything that had taken place in Ireland for a long time. During the period of Fitzgerald's incarceration, Captain Plunkett sent a detective officer to the wife of Fitzgerald in order that he might get from her the names and addresses of her husband's acquaintances and associates, and such information as he could procure as to Fitzgerald's whereabouts immediately before his arrest and during the outrages for which he and the other prisoners had been arrested. He did not succeed; but there could not be much doubt that if Mrs. Fitzgerald had not suspected the object of the detective's visit, she would probably have innocently given him the names of all her husband's acquaintances, and he would thereupon have gone to one of the most likely to give evidence and, in all likelihood, have succeeded in manufacturing a case against the prisoner. Another point on which he desired to offer a few words to the Committee had reference to the system under which juries were packed in Ireland for the purpose of ensuring convictions, although in the case under discussion the system was not successful, for even an Orange jury in the City of Dublin could not be induced to return a verdict of guilty under such circumstances. So disgusted were they with the evidence that had been put forward in that House with regard to convictions in other cases that, in this instance, they absolutely refused to bring in a verdict of guilty. However, he felt bound to make a protest against the system of packing juries which notoriously prevailed in Ireland, and against the system under which the cure for crime in that country was sought in the manufacture of crime and the arrest and conviction of men who were totally innocent of it. In the Tubbercurry case a policeman was sent as a blacksmith to that place, in order that he might originate a conspiracy and get the people who might be drawn into it arrested and transported. There could be no possible doubt that the system of jury packing had had a most injurious effect on the Irish people. It would be far better to revert to the old system of trying cases, than to have resort to the system that had prevailed under the Crimes Act. It was quite possible that the common juries who might be empannelled in the ordinary way might be unduly in favour of the prisoners tried for agrarian offences; but under the operation of the Crimes Act every man sworn upon a jury was against the prisoner from the outset, and consequently he never had the slightest chance of escaping. Under that Act the jury invariably went into the box with the determination to bring in a verdict of guilty against any man who happened to be put upon his trial for taking part in the agitation that was being carried on in Ireland. He was very glad to see that the present Government did not propose to renew the unjust and iniquitous provisions of the Crimes Act, which had been the means of bringing about a complete revulsion of feeling among the people of Ireland towards the juries and the administration of justice generally. The common juries of Ireland were, upon the whole, a body of men who, if the Government would trust them, would not justify the fear that there would be any serious miscarriage of justice. Doubtless, wrong verdicts would be brought in from time to time. That happened in every country in the world where trial by jury obtained. But in most cases of late years they had been found to convict on charges of outrage; and he had no doubt that if the old system were reverted to they would be found, in the future, to convict in nearly every instance where the evidence would justify a conviction. The Government had promised an inquiry into the Maamtrasna case; and before very long the Irish Members would be obliged of necessity to bring forward further evidence in other cases, in order to show that other persons besides those convicted in the Maamstrasna case, and who were now suffering the penalties of the law, had not committed the crimes for which they had been sentenced. In conclusion, he would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland whether he would give a full and detailed reply to the statement made by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton)? He did not see how the Government could go behind that statement. If they attempted to do so, the Irish Members would consider that they were following the pernicious example of their Predecessors, and it would have a very bad effect on the minds of the Irish people. If, on the contrary, the right hon. and learned Gentleman gave a favourable answer, and promised to inquire fully and minutely into the cases laid before him, he would do much to conciliate public opinion in Ireland. He did not believe that there was any reason to distrust the independence and honesty of common jurors. The right hon. and learned Gentleman might rest assured that in every case where a man was put on his trial for an agrarian offence before a common jury, that jury might be depended on to do its duty fairly and conscientiously.

Mr. W. J. CORBET desired to call attention to the conduct of the late Government in regard to a case in which there could be very little doubt about the perjury of a witness in one of the prosecutions undertaken by that Government. There was a case in which two Nationalists were convicted on the evidence of a wretched creature named Thorpe, and underwent nine months' imprisonment. He (Mr. Corbet) remembered asking the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) whether he would propose to give any compensation to those men for the imprisonment they had undergone, it having been clearly established that Thorpe was a perjurer. The late Chief Secretary, however, declined to make any such proposal. This man, Thorpe, was a person who had accused others of having written threatening letters to so high a functionary as the Lord Lieutenant; but when the evidence was gone into it was found that there was not a single word of truth in Thorpe's allegations, and that, on the contrary, he was himself the writer of those letters. On another occasion the same person had accused two young men—mere boys—of attempting to drown him by lowering him with a rope from the Avoca Bridge into the river; and when the charge came to be inquired into it was found that he was seen putting a rope round his waist, that he then went down into the river and rolled about in the water, after which he went to the police office and gave information against the two boys, whom he accused of attempting to drown him. When the case was before the magistrates, the solicitor who was acting for the defence of the accused persons was about to bring an action against Thorpe for perjury; but the police interposed and said they would take up the case. The result was that Thorpe remained in the charge of the police for about six months, and at the end of that time he was put on his trial—not for perjury, but for writing threatening letters to the Lord Lieutenant. To that charge he pleaded guilty. And what was the penalty inflicted on that man, who was proved to have been guilty of perjury? He had been six months in the charge of the police, during which he had been petted and taken care of, and then the Judge sentenced him to nine months' imprisonment, which was to date from the time of his committal.

Of course, the present Government were not responsible for what was done in that case; but he did hope that now they had come into Office they would take a lesson from the action of their Predecessors, and that the House would hear no more of the informer and the perjurer being shielded by the Government.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, he fully agreed with some of the remarks that had fallen from the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who, however, had referred to many different subjects, and had dealt in some detail with the circumstances of the Tubbercurry case. The hon. Gentleman had prefaced his observations with the remark that the present Administration had acted wisely in the policy they had adopted in regard to Ireland—namely, that of foregoing exceptional legislation and relying on the enforcement of the ordinary law. In that remark he (the Attorney General for Ireland) fully concurred. Probably the hon. Gentleman agreed with him in the view he took of the way in which the Administration should enforce the ordinary law of the country, and would not, he was sure, object to their doing their duty with the vigilance and energy they were wont to display, especially when, on the other hand, he (the Attorney General for Ireland) could assure the Committee that as far as the Law Officers of the Crown were concerned they would endeavour to be fair. The hon. Member for Sligo had made reference to one matter which he (the Attorney General for Ireland) regarded as of considerable importance—namely, the subject of the expenses of witnesses. It was said to be unfair that those witnesses who were called on behalf of the Crown should be paid large sums of money, while, on the other hand, the witnesses called on behalf of the prisoners should not receive expenses on the same scale. On that point he might state that his Predecessors in Office had, for some time past, taken steps to ensure that witnesses, no matter on what side they were called, should be paid a proper amount for their services in attending the Court, and that they should be paid no more and no less on the one side than on the other. When he stated that in this matter he should follow their example, he believed he was only taking that course which was his duty, and for which he was unable to claim for himself the inauguration of any new policy. Having dealt with that subject, the hon. Member for Sligo had expressed a hope that the period of what he called professional perjurers had passed away. By the term "professional perjurers," he supposed the hon. Gentleman referred to informers giving evidence in Courts of Justice. He thought he might say that, no matter what Government they might have in power, there was no Law Officer representing the Crown in Ireland who would prefer that class of evidence for the purpose of securing justice. He entirely concurred in the remark that justice was never better carried out in Ireland than when reliance was placed on the evidence of honest men willing and able to bring crime home to those who were really criminals. He also expressed his entire concurrence in the hope that in future they might be enabled, by means of that class of evidence, to secure convictions for crime; but he was sure the hon. Member would agree with him when he stated that the Law Officers of the Crown would not be justified in rejecting or throwing aside a statement made by a person who admitted that he was an accomplice in a crime. From the earliest period evidence of that kind had been relied upon in Courts of Justice, and he was afraid that in carrying out justice it must be continued to be relied upon, although, as far as he was individually concerned, he had no wish whatever, and he believed that no Law Officer of the Crown who had preceded him had ever had any wish, to encourage informers to give evidence; and he might add that, for himself, he should be very slow to raise in the minds of persons of that class the expectation of profit or reward for giving evidence of that sort. He thought it hardly necessary for him to say—because, in doing so, he should only be stating that which he knew every Gentleman who had or who might occupy his position would say—that he would prevent by every means in his power any official employed by the Crown from endeavouring, either by threats on the one hand, or by promises on the other, to obtain evidence. Having made those observations in reference to the opinions advanced by the hon. Member for Sligo in his opening statement, and having shown that as regarded some of the observations in that opening statement there was very little difference between the hon. Gentleman and himself, he had now to say that there were some other matters on which he could not agree with the hon. Gentleman, as well as other hon. Members who had spoken. The hon. Member for Sligo had once or twice make use of the expression "packed juries;" but so far as he could gather the hon. Gentleman had not made any attack on the jury in any particular case. In regard to the Tubbercurry case, to which the hon. Gentleman had specially referred, it would have been impossible for the hon. Gentleman to have done so, from his own point of view, because the jury in that case had done their duty well and faithfully, as he (the Attorney General for Ireland) believed, by pronouncing a verdict, of which the hon. Member approved, for the acquittal of the prisoners. Some of the hon. Members who had followed had also denounced the jury system in Ireland, and the verdicts that had been given in recent times. He must say that having watched those things, as in the Profession to which he belonged he was bound to do, his own opinion was—and he thoroughly believed that if the matter were argued out in that House hon. Members representing Ireland would agree with him—that as far as the Judges and juries were concerned not only the Judges, but the juries who were empannelled, did their duty honestly and according to the best of their ability. That was a matter of so much importance that he was sure the Committee would pardon him if he referred to two or three cases that had been incidentally mentioned in the course of the discussion, in order to show that he was fully justified in using this language. In the Tubbercurry case, for example, the jury listened to all the evidence that was laid before them, and, although it was alleged that the jury belonged to a class whose sympathies were against the prisoners, the result showed that they did not allow their feelings to warp their judgment, for the verdict they came to at the end of that trial was one of acquittal. In the Maamtrasna case, no attempt had ever been made to attack the jury in a serious way; and he would tell the Committee the reason why no such attempt had been made. There were three verdicts given in the Maamtrasna case. The first two were admitted to have been just and right in every particular; and although it was stated that the third verdict was erroneous, that verdict was given on precisely the same evidence as that on which the first two verdicts had been arrived at, the only ground on which the justice of the third verdict was challenged being that circumstances had since come to light that would have altered the conclusion then come to.

MR. DEASY: It was I who referred to the Maamtrasna case, and I did not impugn the verdict of the jury. All I did was to say the verdict was not according to the facts since brought to light.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND said, he was glad the hon. Gentleman had interposed with that remark, as it would relieve him from one portion of his contention. He thought that hon. Members on the opposite side of the House below the Gangway would agree, however much they might assail the composition of the juries in Ireland, that when those juries came to consider the facts put before them they did their duty to the best of their ability, and it certainly would be very difficult to show that they did not. What he understood to be the argument on the other side was not that there was not in several of those cases evidence on which the juries could act, but that subsequently circumstances had been brought to light which would have altered the conclusion at which they had arrived. [Mr. SEXTON: That is so, usually.] It was obvious, under those circumstances, that, looking at the matter from his point of view, he was justified in saying that the juries had been governed by a desire to do fair justice as between man and man; and he should be sorry if any Member of that House were to suppose that anyone connected with the administration of the law in Ireland was not firmly impressed with the belief that both Judges and juries were actuated by a sincere anxiety to do what was right, and that in the cases that had been brought before them they had done their best in that respect. There was another matter to which he wished to refer, as one that had been commented on in the course of that debate. It had been stated that policemen, the Crown Solicitor, and

District Inspectors had conducted themselves improperly in the way in which they had approached persons who were expected to become witnesses in important trials. He had said before, and he would say again, that no language could be too strong to condemn the action of any official who would approach any man, whether in Ireland or elsewhere, either with a promise or a threat, to induce him to give false or even coloured evidence; but, at the same time, it must be borne in mind that a charge of that character ought not to be received unless it were distinctly formulated and fully investigated, and, above all, that the person accused ought to have an opportunity of answering the charge brought against him before even an opinion could be formed one way or the other on the subject. He was sure hon. Members opposite would be the last to wish him to give an *ex parte* judgment on any case. The first matter was to see whether the individual himself knew anything of the charge, and to hear what he had to say before they put forward any opinion formed on the subject. Now, the Tubbercurry case had occupied a very considerable portion of the remarks of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and almost all hon. Members who had spoken since had dealt with it. As far as he was concerned, he knew little or nothing about that case until he entered the House that day, and, as far as he was aware, the present was the first occasion on which there had been any discussion in reference to it. Further, as far as he was aware, the statement brought before the Committee by the hon. Member for Sligo had been made public for the first time on that occasion. He, at any rate, had never heard anything about it before, and he had entered the House without any Notice that it would be the subject of discussion. [Mr. SEXTON: The essential points appeared in *The Freeman's Journal* a month ago.] He could, of course, only deal with the matter on the information before him. He did not complain of the hon. Member for Sligo not giving him Notice of his intention to raise this question, because he knew that hon. Members must in that House take advantage of opportunities as they presented themselves for raising questions of the kind, and he was also aware that he and his right hon. and learned Colleague must be prepared to deal with such matters when they arose. The observations which he desired to make upon the subject were very few indeed. He wished to refer to one or two gentlemen whose names had been mentioned in connection with this matter. In addition to that of Mr. Randal Peyton the hon. Gentleman had mentioned the names of one or two detectives and policemen. He believed Mr. Randal Peyton to be incapable of doing any such act as had been imputed by hon. Members opposite. Mr. Peyton appeared to him to be a zealous and fair-minded public servant, and having regard to the fact that for a considerable time before he became Crown Solicitor he occupied an eminent position in the Legal Profession, he should not be disposed to think that his character would have been so changed by reason of the office which he now held, and especially because he had no personal interest in the matter. His salary was not dependent on results; he had simply to do his duty in the position which he held; and, therefore, he should be exceedingly surprised if it could be shown that he had acted improperly in this or in any other case; and certainly he would not allow himself to be influenced in any degree against him or any other official by the statements made in the House that day. He said that with all respect for hon. Gentlemen who made those statements. He had already stated that in questions of this kind no person was justified either in forming an opinion or in allowing his mind to take a bias simply because statements of a certain kind were made. Whatever might result, he wished to guard himself by saying that at the present time he did not think he should be justified in taking action against gentlemen who, as public officials, had hitherto borne an honourable character; and he repeated that in making that statement he did so without the slightest disrespect to hon. Gentlemen who brought forward those matters, or to persons who made those statements. If a charge was to be brought against any individual, he need not point out that there was a way in which it should be brought, and that there was a regular process by which it should be supported. He was quite sure that hon. Members opposite would be the first to say he was wrong if he were then to express an opinion that the persons in question had acted rightly or wrongly. A suggestion had been made by some hon. Members opposite that a person named Morrin should be indicted for perjury. Inasmuch as the jury, having heard the case, could not accept his testimony, he also was obliged to reject the evidence of that informer. He thought it the duty of the Law Officers of the Crown and everyone else to accept the verdict of the jury, which in his own mind he was satisfied was a just one. As he understood it, the alleged perjury rested on the difference that existed between one information sworn in the month of March and another sworn in the following April. He was sure that an indictment for perjury founded upon that would not be sustainable before a jury. When a man with a large number of circumstances in his mind extending over many months made a statement with regard to any particular person which was not in accordance with fact, no jury would, he thought, be disposed to assume that he was wilfully making a wrong statement. Therefore, he should not, under the circumstances, feel justified in having this man indicted for perjury. He had now expressed his views upon the particular matters brought forward by the hon. Member for Sligo. With regard to the constables, he dealt with them in exactly the same way as he had dealt with the other persons named. He repeated that he could not accept as proved anything against the character of those men until the matter had been brought in the shape of a properly formulated charge. There were some other subjects that he wished to refer to before he sat down. The hon. Member for Waterford County (Mr. P. J. Power) had asked a question with regard to the position of Mr. Bolton. The hon. Member appeared to be under the impression that Mr. Bolton had once acted as Crown Solicitor for the county of Waterford; if so, it was a matter with which he (the Attorney General for Ireland) was unacquainted. Mr. Bolton was Crown Solicitor for Tipperary, and still retained that position. His salary was £400 a-year, with £250 for allowances.

Mr. P. J. POWER presumed that Mr. Bolton's visit to Waterford was in connection with the Prevention of Crime Act. He had seen Mr. Bolton challenge a number of respectable jurymen in the Waterford Court House.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND said, the fact was as he had stated. Mr. Bolton was Crown Solicitor for the county of Tipperary, and received the salary mentioned in the Vote. That was certainly the only position held by him in his Department. [Mr. Sexton: The Valuation Office.] He thought not; but if there was any question on that point, it was a matter for the Treasury. The position of Crown Solicitor for the county of Tipperary had been held by Mr. Bolton for a great number of years. There had not been any charge brought against Mr. Bolton in that House with regard to the discharge of his official duties as Crown Solicitor for Tipperary. In reference to the matter referred to by the hon. Member for Waterford County (Mr. P. J. Power), there was no doubt that Mr. Bolton had been employed at times during the last four years for special purposes, for which he received a special remuneration. They all knew that, under the exigencies of the Public Service, officials were often sent to do other work than that which strictly appertained to their office, and Mr. Bolton had frequently had such duties imposed upon him. He believed that duties of this character should be performed by responsible officers as their ordinary work, and that their salaries should appear on the Estimates, so that they might be subject to the control of the House from year to year. The hon. Member for Kilkenny County (Mr. Marum) had asked him a question with reference to the Law Adviserships. He had had the honour of holding that Office for one or two years. It was an Office which was abolished by the late Government; but the hon. Member for Kilkenny County had advocated its restoration on the ground of the assistance given by the Law Advisers to the magistrates. He confessed that even at the time he held the Office, he thought it was one of a questionable character, and which ought not to be continued. He thought that magistrates should not be advised by any Officer of the Crown, and that any person occupying a judicial position should perform his duties with entire independence. He thought he had now referred to the various matters brought forward by hon. Members in relation to the Vote under discussion. If he had omitted to reply to any particular question, he would be glad if hon. Members would direct his attention thereto. Finally, he thought that the Judges and juries in Ireland had done their duty—that was to say, as far as he could judge; and even where the verdicts might appear to be divergent from some of the evidence, it was with reference to matters brought to light subsequently.

MR. WALKER said, he wished to refer to one or two matters mentioned by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). He meant the charges and attacks made against certain persons who had discharged their duties in respect of the Tubbercurry case. First, there were the Resident Magistrates, who held the investigation; secondly, the Crown Solicitor; and, thirdly, the constables who had been named by the hon. Member for Sligo; and with regard to the latter he would say that, although they occupied a lower position, they were as much entitled to the same treatment which any fair-minded man would extend to persons in a higher situation. They also lived by their character, and their bread depended upon their maintaining it. He agreed with his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland in saying that they ought not to form an opinion as to the conduct of persons upon *ex parte* statements, even when made by responsible Members in that House. They knew that in those cases statements of the kind had circulated far and wide throughout the country, and that they had received a significance far beyond what they deserved, as coming before the public with a certain amount of weight attached to them. Whenever any statements had been made in that House with reference to the conduct of persons connected with the administration of the law in Ireland and those statements reached his ears, he had taken what he considered to be the right course of inquiring into the matter, and ascertaining whether there was any foundation for them. It was a fact that a charge had been made against the Resident Magistrate referred to, on the representation of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and that matter was investigated—it was thoroughly inquired into, and, upon the statement of everyone connected with the matter, the most complete contradiction was given to the charge, which was, of course, inconsistent with the high position filled by the gentleman in question. Then, as regarded Mr. Randal Peyton, that gentleman had held, and still held, a high position in the Public Service; it had been his lot to meet him on several occasions, and so far as he knew his character he entirely concurred with his right hon. and learned Friend opposite in believing that he would be utterly incapable of committing anything in the nature of the act ascribed to him by the hon. Member for Sligo. The charge against this gentleman had never been made in any definite form, so far as he was aware; he therefore treated the statement as entirely *ex parte*, and he was sure the Committee would attach no value to it until it had been substantiated. With regard to the constables, the charge against them, as the hon. Member for Sligo agreed, was now mentioned in that House for the first time. He had been present on almost all the occasions on which the Tubbercurry case had been mentioned, and he could say that no allusion had ever been made to this statement with regard to the three constables. He thought it unfortunate that, if there was any foundation for the charges made against them, the case had not been referred to those in authority over them, in which case, as far as he knew, the Chief of the Force would have been ready to deal with it, and everyone would admit that if he did not do so, his conduct would deserve the strongest condemnation. Then, with regard to the affidavit which the hon. Member for Sligo read, as coming from the porter at the Sligo Workhouse, who said that he had been threatened with respect to his place; a charge of that kind had certainly been hinted at, but he had never heard it specifically stated. Upon the face of it, he thought the statement required some further corroboration before it could be accepted as true. Finally, all the charges made had been thoroughly investigated and disproved.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he believed hon. Members on those Benches were quite prepared to acknowledge the courtesy in tone and the kindness in spirit exhibited by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland in his reply to the hon. Member for Sligo; but he thought they would have been better pleased if the result had been different. His hon. Friend the Member for Sligo had brought before the attention of the Committee certain definite charges, expressed in unmistakable language; and he thought that while the right hon. and learned Gentleman was justified, indeed, called upon, to refuse to express any opinion on those charges, he might have gone more fully into them and said that an investigation would be held. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had pointed to several obstacles in the way of investigation; but he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) thought that those obstacles would not be found to be insuperable if the charge had been laid against a person accused of agrarian crime. What were the obstacles which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had brought forward. First, he said that the statements were *ex parte;* but his hon. Friend had placed statements in the hands of the authorities with everything necessary to support them. He said with regard to the constables, that men charged with such grievous offences should not be allowed to remain in the Force, or, at any rate, that they should be suspended until those charges had been investigated. If the charges had the slightest foundation in fact, the men in question were a danger and a pest to society, and it was the duty of the Government to see that they were no longer continued in their present position. With regard to the man Morrin, he saw no reason why he should not be brought to trial; his statements contradicted themselves; he said that men were present at a place at a time when they were really suffering terms of imprisonment. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken of the discrepancies in this man's statements as small discrepancies; but the hon. Member for Sligo had been able to show that there was a very wide difference between the statements of Morrin and the actual facts. His hon. Friend had shown that some of the men who Morrin said were at a certain place at a certain time, on a certain day, were not and never had been at the place. Certainly he thought there was a *primâ facie* case for inquiry into that matter, and hon. Members on those Benches would be very disappointed if the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not mean that an investigation should be made. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had, of course, adopted the usual tone with regard to these matters. It seemed to him to be a villainous tradition of the Office that the Law Officers of the Crown were bound to stand by all officials, whether they were good, bad, or indifferent; and he said that the very attitude of the Government towards officials in Ireland was one of the strongest reasons why law and justice were sometimes in contempt. It was not part of the case of his hon. Friend to challenge the composition of juries or the verdicts they had given, although Irish Members were quite ready to discuss that question when it was properly raised. But there were cases in which the verdicts were open and might be said to be in suspense, in consequence of evidence which had come forward since they were given. He referred to cases which he and his hon. Friends thought demanded re-inquiry, and in which they had been able to bring forward evidence that was not at first in their possession. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland seemed to cast some doubt on the statement of the hon. Member for Sligo with regard to the general conduct of these cases in Ireland. He ventured to say that the right hon. and learned Gentleman was the one solitary individual in Ireland who was not acquainted with the fact that the testimony in these cases had been obtained by the liberal use of bribes and threats. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken with becoming horror of the profession of informer. But was it not extraordinary that not only had the Government got informers to give evidence, but that they seemed to have gone on a voyage of discovery for the purpose of getting men of the lowest and basest description to support their case? Take the witnesses in the cases under consideration, and it would be found that not only were they persons belonging to the lowest classes, but that they were criminals before these trials occurred. The informers in most of the cases had been men who, long before these trials, were notorious as the pests, outcasts, and scourges of society in their neighbourhoods; and that alone was one of the most suspicious circumstances connected with the trials. And then the rewards given to informers and witnesses had been, considering the circumstances of Ireland, monstrous in amount. Did they not know that in England, where Government offered a large reward for the detection of a crime, there were always some persons degraded enough to come forward and try to get it by giving false evidence? There was the case of the trial which took place in connection with a murder in Holborn. A soldier of the Grenadier Guards was killed, and the assassin had not been discovered; the Government of the day offered a large reward, and the result was that a few days afterwards a man was arrested; a woman went before the magistrates and gave evidence which seemed to connect him with the murder; she broke down, however, in her story, and it was perfectly clear that the wicked creature had come forward with manufactured evidence in the hope of gaining the large reward offered for the discovery of the murderer. The man who had been arrested was discharged; he was not sure whether the woman was prosecuted for perjury; but there was no newspaper in the country which did not comment on the danger of offering large rewards for the detection of crime; and so much indignation was felt that the late Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt) issued a public Memorandum to the effect that these rewards did, usually, far more harm than good. That was the second point that had to be taken into consideration in the case. Thirdly, there was no doubt that the men when taken from the dock were plied for days and weeks with all the resources of terrorism which the Prevention of Crime Act placed in the hands of officials in Ireland. It could not be denied that they were threatened, and that Inspectors and others had been in their cells in order to cajole these wretched men to make statements in aid of the prosecution; so that, in fact, they had in this case all the circumstances which cast doubt on public trials. The Crown witnesses were spies, and their informers were outcasts. Their witnesses had been subjected alike to the hope of reward and the fear of punishment, and in many cases the witnesses had given the clearest disproof of the truth of their evidence by their own contradiction. In consequence of the ruling of a distinguished authority he would not even make the suggestion that there could be, even in the imagination, such a thing as hypothetical partizanship of Judges; but here they had the preliminaries of the trial attended with all those circumstances which throw suspicion on the proceedings. Then there was a question which occurred to the mind of everybody who considered these cases. He referred to a policy that had been recently vindicated in that House by the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). The extraordinary doctrine had been laid down that the foundations of law and order would be shaken if the Head of the Executive in Ireland, who had the prerogative of mercy at his disposal, did not refuse investigation in cases of this kind, no matter what might be brought forward. But it was only yesterday that a Question was asked in the House with regard to the case of Dr. Bradley, who had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for an assault on a woman, who it was afterwards found was habitually and constantly bringing false charges against men; and, in reply to that Question, the Home Secretary said that he had investigated the case, and found so much doubt involved in it that he had ordered the man to be released. Now, if the case he had mentioned had occurred in Ireland, instead of in England, the right hon. Gentleman would have been blamed for investigating the case after the sentence, because, on the doctrine which had been laid down with regard to Ireland, he had done that which would shake the whole foundations of law and order. [Mr. BERESFORD dissented.] The hon. Member for Armagh dissented from that; but if he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) were convicted and imprisoned, and subsequently to his conviction it was shown that there was doubt in the case, he was entitled to have the case retried. He was, therefore, unable to perceive the nature of the objection which the hon. Gentleman brought forward. But here the principle had been laid down that it was better for the preservation of law and order that an innocent man should remain in prison than that an investigation should be held. They were finding the principles of the Liberal Party put forward by the most conspicuous Tories in the House; and he repeated that it had been laid down by one of them that it was necessary for the preservation of law and order in Ireland that innocent men should continue in gaol, rather than that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should hold an investigation. Well, he said that the Government should not allow themselves to be deterred from dealing with these matters by the cry of every malcontent below the Gangway, and of their Friends on the opposite side of the House. In this matter he said to Her Majesty's Government — "Be just and fear not," and he was certain that they would stand the better for it. Was it not an intolerable thing, when the whole mind of Ireland was shaken with doubt as to the justice of a verdict on which a man had been hanged, when men in that House holding opposite political opinions joined in a demand for inquiry—was it not intolerable that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should be called on to refuse all inquiry and investigation, and that men should be allowed to remain in prison, under the circumstances that had been described, without any chance of being released? He watched with some interest the electioneering manœuvres now taking place; and, as far as he could see, one of the cries with which the Liberal Party were going to the country was that Earl Spencer, whether right or wrong, ought to be defended by his Successors in Office; that they should stand up for him, although they had no share in his appointment or his government in Ireland. If that cry was to be adopted by the Liberal Party, he would suggest a counter cry for the use of the Conservative Party. The Government should ask the country to answer the question—"Was it our duty to keep innocent men in gaol, or to hang innocent men; if there was alleged proof of their innocence, was it not our duty to investigate their case, and declare them free if innocent?" What strength would there not be in that appeal in the mind of every honest man in the Kingdom! The great argument against granting the inquiry which his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo demanded in the case of the Tubbercurry prisoners and other cases was that the abuses pointed out were necessary for the maintenance of law and order in Ireland. But, he asked, what had this system of bribing, terrifying, and jury-packing done for the maintenance of law and order in Ireland? He said that these trials had done more to sow the seeds of future discord and crime in that country than if all the guilty men who had been recently brought to justice there had been acquitted.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND said, he had listened with some interest to the speech of the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland in reply to that of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). It had been remarked that nothing could be more courteous than the manner in which he had addressed himself on that and on previous occasions to Irish questions; but he (Mr. Redmond) thought it incumbent on Irish Members to point out to him that he would be greatly disappointed if he thought that he would be able to rule Ireland by giving courteous replies, and if he did not go further in the direction of satisfying the demands now made upon him. It would seem that the right hon. and learned Gentleman misunderstood, almost purposely, the demand made by Irish Members on the present occasion; he appealed to the Committee for support when he said that he should not be justified, on *ex parte* statements, in expressing an opinion as to the guilt of certain persons connected with the Tubbercurry case; and he very rightly said that he could not, on such statements, use his authority to order an indictment. But he (Mr. Redmond) understood that neither his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo nor his Colleagues expected the Attorney General for Ireland to stand up at the Table and say at once that he would on that *ex parte* statement order an indictment. What they wanted was that he should consider the grave charges made, and that when he had received those formulated charges, and duly considered the evidence brought forward to sustain them, he should then make up his mind as to whether he would order an indictment or not. It seemed to him, therefore, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had almost purposely misunderstood the real nature of the demand made. He trusted that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who had listened to the debate with the attention he was accustomed to bestow upon Irish questions, would be able to give them more satisfaction in this matter. He was obliged to say, also, that he had listened with some regret to the sweeping comments of the right hon. and learned Gentleman on the conduct of the Judges and juries throughout Ireland; it looked as if he were answering the speeches from the Front Opposition Bench, which charged the new Government with having abandoned the Judges and juries in Ireland. But they had not been attacked by Irish Members, as an essential part of their case in reference to these miscarriages of justice. They agreed that in some of the cases the juries had acted independently and honestly; their point was, that the constitution of juries was such that they probably found verdicts which men otherwise chosen could not have found. It was all very well to say that the Government were sure the juries had found verdicts in accordance with their honest convictions; but the reply to that was that those juries were taken from a class whose bias and political prejudice must have unfitted them to form a free judgment. Of course, it was true that those juries had been selected under the Prevention of Crime Act, which Act was about to expire, and they might hereafter be saved the miserable exhibition of prisoners being brought from one end of the country to another, to be tried before juries composed substantially from a class known to be hostile to the National movement. He might, perhaps, be allowed for one moment to allude to the action of the officials and Judges in one of the cases which he hoped would also become the subject of inquiry; and he would do so simply to afford an illustration to the Committee of the manner in which the Crown officials had acted, and to show how careless had been the sweeping comments of the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland. He referred now to the Barbavilla case, with regard to which some extraordinary revelations had come to light. The case was one of murder, and it rested on a certain meeting, on a certain day, in a certain house; the only witnesses were the two M'Keowns, father and son, and an informer, who had afterwards stated that he had given false evidence. The two men named made statements to the Crown at different periods; the father made a statement which was not corroborated by the statement of the younger man; but in a subsequent statement it was corroborated, and it was then alleged that collusion had taken place. The idea was scouted out of Court, and the learned Judge himself said that—

> "To insinuate that collusion had taken place was to insinuate that the very sources of justice were polluted."

The suggestion, as he had said, was scouted out of Court. One of the jurors, he believed, had written to the papers to say that if collusion had been proved at the trial, he, for one, would not have brought in a verdict of guilty. He was alluding to this case in illustration of the manner in which the Crown officials and Judges acted in cases where it could be proved that collusion had taken place. An official of the Crown who still occupied a position in the Police had come forward to make a solemn declaration that collusion did take place; and here he would again emphasize the fact that upon this one point of evidence depended the whole case, because Judge Lawson had also stated that if the evidence of these witnesses was shaken, the case of the Crown would not hold water. Sergeant Fitzgerald, who was concerned in making up the case, and who was still in the Police Force, had come forward to prove that this collusion did take place. He stated that, in regard to the difference between the two statements, the father had said that if he had an interview with his son he could make it all right; whereupon the Crown officials put the two men together, and allowed them to arrange the point between them, and thus it was that the evidence of the two men was made to coincide, and their story was hashed up for the jury. It was in this way that the officials who had been extravagantly praised by the Attorney General for Ireland had acted in some of the cases. It was notorious that some of the juries had been packed. A panel of 200 jurors was returned to try the Barbavilla case; the whole of whom were called out and had to answer to their names in Court; the prisoner had the right to challenge six jurors, while the Crown had the unlimited power of challenging the rest of the jurors; 24 Catholic gentlemen were ordered to stand aside, one of whom was a magistrate of the county of Down. So that it was notorious that these jurors were picked from a class which could not be expected to give the prisoner that fair and important trial which every accused man had a right to. It had been the custom throughout all the trials, whether the alleged crime arose from agrarian disputes or not, for the Crown officials to give every one of them a political aspect. A political aspect had been given to the Barbavilla case; and that should be taken together with the well-known political bias of the Judges, and the fact that juries were packed with men hostile to the movement from which they thought these crimes had sprung. He did not wish to go into the merits of these cases, because they had been told that they would be reconsidered by the Lord Lieutenant. The only use of this debate was to show that the investigation which was about to take place should be a thorough and a sweeping one, and that it would not do for the Government to dispose of charges like those made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo against Government officials in the cavalier way in which they had been disposed of by the right hon. and learned Gentleman at the Table that day. If those charges were formulated—as, no doubt, they would be—and if the evidence on which they rested were sent to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, it would be his duty to have them inquired into. If, after that, he thought that a case was made out against those men, he should order an indictment. He (Mr. Redmond) trusted that the present Administration would endeavour to get rid of any opprobrium which rested as supporters of the late Government by showing a willingness to do justice to Ireland. If they did that, he was convinced that they would be more successful in the government of Ireland than any of their Predecessors had been.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he had heard part of the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and also part of the reply of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, and he could not say that he had any fault to find with the expressions of opinion he had heard from his hon. Friends as to the manner in which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had replied to the case put before him. At the same time, he (Mr. Biggar) might be permitted to say that he considered the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman very plausible and very unsatisfactory. One point on which he was disposed to find fault with the right hon. and learned Gentleman was this. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had expressed himself very strongly against certain lines of conduct which he said had taken place, and he had declared that, so far as he could help it, such conduct should not take place in time to come. But the right hon. and learned Gentleman had gone further, and had, unfortunately, declared that in his opinion his Predecessors had acted in times past as it would be fitting for him to act in the future. He (Mr. Biggar) considered it a mistake on the part of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to endeavour to whitewash his Predecessors, whose conduct had been so notoriously bad that it would be impossible for any conduct to be worse. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, as a matter of fact, had acknowledged every point laid before him. He had commenced by saying that the system of paying extravagant fees to the Crown witnesses and stingy fees to witnesses for defence was one which he could not defend, and one which he intended, in time to come, to use every exertion to put an end to; but he had gone on to say that his Predecessors in his present Office had also used every exertion to set aside that pernicious system. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman intended to display the same kind of exertion to set aside the pernicious system as his Predecessors had shown, could it be supposed that his discharge of his duties as Attorney General for Ireland would be more successful than that of his Predecessors? He (Mr. Biggar) was willing to acknowledge that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had much greater ability than one or two of his Predecessors; but, at the same time, the Gentlemen who had held the Office of Attorney General before him were Gentlemen of considerable standing at the Irish Bar, and it must not, after all, be assumed that they were without intelligence and capacity. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had also said that he objected very much to the employment of informers where it could be avoided, and that he would do all he could to manage without them. Now, he (Mr. Biggar) did not know that he would say that an informer should never be allowed to give to evidence. So far as he could form an opinion, he thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had preceded the present Attorney General for Ireland in Office also objected strenuously to allowing informers to give evidence. The Irish Members had no objection to urge on that score; but they did object to encouraging parties to give evidence which those parties knew to be false. They objected, in the first place, to the offering of such heavy awards in the shape of payments to witnesses—the public offering of awards for untrustworthy testimony. They objected to men of disreputable character being permitted to give evidence that was not of a trustworthy character; and they objected strongly to police officers being allowed to go into the cells of persons in custody who were known to be of low character for the purpose of threatening them that unless they gave evidence of a certain kind they would suffer punishment—that charges, false or otherwise, would be made against them, and that they would be brought up for punishment. That was the conduct on the part of the late Government of which he complained, and he thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman might announce his objection to such a system. He thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman did say that, so far as he could avoid it, he would do so; but the right hon. and learned Gentleman should have refrained from defending the acts of his Predecessors which had notoriously been of the kind referred to. After the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had dealt with the circumstances of the getting up of the case against the Tubbercurry prisoners, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had been very emphatic in pointing out to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wexford (Mr. W. Redmond) that he did not undertake to investigate what he called "*ex parte* charges." It was no use talking about "*ex parte* charges," because every indictment was an *ex parte* charge until it had been investigated. The right hon. and learned Gentleman should have said this—"Lay the case before me; I will look into the indictment, and if I find sufficient evidence on which to found a charge of subornation and perjury I will do my duty." But instead of that, so far as he (Mr. Biggar) could form an opinion, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had refused even to investigate these charges. He should have said—and have said very properly—"I offer no opinion." No one asked him to give an opinion whether John Morrin was guilty of perjury, and whether or not the authorities had supported him in it. All he was asked to find was whether there was a case for investigation. If there was no case, the right hon. and learned Gentleman would not allow it; but if, on the other hand, the evidence warranted a prosecution, he would only be doing his duty in ordering one. Even in spite of the fact that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had avoided giving a pledge on the subject, he (Mr. Biggar) did not think the right hon. and learned Gentleman would be acting within his duty if he refused to order an investigation and to order a prosecution if it were warranted by the facts. As to the persons affected by the charges which were made, there was, first of all, Mr. Peyton, Sessional Crown Solicitor for Sligo. With regard to him, he might say that these allegations as to the character of judicial personages were, of course, of more or less value, but not of extreme value, because, after all, a person was assumed to be innocent until he was proved to be guilty. But no matter what Mr. Peyton's reputation was or might have been, if he had been guilty of the charges brought against him, it was only right that he should be made amenable to the law. As to Mr. Randal Peyton, he was employed as Crown Solicitor for this special prosecution—in point of fact, in a position which the right hon. and learned Gentleman acknowledged in a subsequent part of his speech to be of a very objectionable nature.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES): He was the Crown Solicitor and doing his ordinary work, receiving for it no special remuneration.

MR. BIGGAR said, he had perhaps been misinformed, and he apologized for any allegation he made which was not accurate. He (Mr. Biggar) had been informed by one of his hon. Friends that this person was Sessional Crown

Prosecutor for the county of Sligo. He withdrew this part of his allegation against Mr. Peyton—as to his having the inducement of special fees for special services in connection with this particular action. Still they did know that in many cases men in a professional position exhibited great zeal of a nature which was not always to be defended. If Mr. Peyton had been guilty of collusion with this man Morrin—and it was charged against him that he had been guilty of the subornation of perjury—he would be entitled to the punishment his offence deserved. Then, as to the police officers, he (Mr. Biggar) was disposed, *primâ facie,* to believe almost everything which was said as to the misconduct of the police in Ireland. The position of the police officer in Ireland was that of a professional suborner of perjury. To believe his oath was a thing which was never done by any intelligent person in Ireland. Such a phenomenon in that country as a police officer who would tell the truth might exist; but the general opinion with regard to the Force was that their oaths were not to be believed. Then they came to the case of Morrin himself. There was something very peculiar in that. He had described the personal appearance of John Daly, whom he had alleged to have seen at a particular meeting; and then, in his description of the man in connection with a second meeting, he had given the personal characteristics of a totally different individual. In one affidavit he had described the man as stoop-backed; whilst, subsequently, the man he pointed out as having been at the meeting was a man extremely straight and active. The evidence of this man Morrin was used against John Daly, notwithstanding that the authorities knew that he had sworn two affidavits of an absolutely contradictory nature as to the personal appearance of the man. He would take a case which was of a most conclusive nature—a case of alleged watching to shoot a particular person. This man swore that on a particular night named by him—in the month of February or March—certain parties were present at a certain place and did certain things. He described all the details in the most minute manner. But what was the fact? Why, one of the men whom he named and described had gone to America before the date of the meeting he was said to have attended, as the register of the steamship conclusively proved. In two other cases, men spoken to as having been present were absolutely in prison at the time; one had been two months in gaol before the alleged occurrence took place, and the other three months. And not only were those men in prison, one for two months and the other for three months, before the alleged occurrence took place, but they were imprisoned for several months under the Prevention of Crime Act after those proceedings took place. If the hon. Member for Sligo had not made out a conclusive case against Morrin, then he should think that such a thing as a conclusive case could not exist. This man, first of all, swore to the personal appearance of a man, giving him two descriptions which were the descriptions of totally dissimilar individuals — individuals as dissimilar in appearance as himself and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo; and then he swore to men having been at a particular place, at a particular time, in a particular month, when, as a matter of fact, the men were in gaol at the time, and continued there for months after. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman, on such evidence as this, refused to investigate the case, and to bring this man to trial, he (Mr. Biggar) did not know what sort of evidence would satisfy him. The Government were to blame if they refused to investigate a case of this sort. With regard to the conduct of the jurors and Judges, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken as to the fact of the jury in the Maamtrasna case having found two persons guilty who undoubtedly were guilty. Was that not an extraordinary thing—that they should find two persons guilty who were guilty? But the charge against them was that they found men guilty whether they were guilty or not—that they condemned two men guilty and one innocent. As to the Judges, would anyone say that it was not a peculiar thing that for these Crimes Act trials the Government always selected one of two Judges—either Judge Lawson or Judge William O'Brien? One could form only one view as to why they did that. If they had allowed other Judges to take part in the trials it would have been far more satisfactory.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, he was not familiar enough with the circumstances to warrant him in making a statement as to the Tubbercurry case; but a few words which had fallen from the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) as to judicial arrangements in Ireland induced him to rise as an Irish Member and in the interests of public decorum. The hon. Member had alluded to a large class in Ireland—the Constabulary—to whom, in a great degree, was committed the preservation of law and order in that country. He (Sir Patrick O'Brien) very much regretted that the hon. Member should have considered it necessary, or consistent with what he considered to be his duty, to impute charges of perjury and subornation of perjury to this class. His impression of the judicial arrangements in Ireland—derived from knowledge of what happened in the olden days, perhaps, although not very long ago—was that if the Government so far forgot its duty as to refuse to proceed on a proper statement made in reference to misconduct or malfeasance on the part of these officials, it lay with anyone to indict them and have them tried before juries of their countrymen; and he thought it would be more becoming, if these gross outrages on public justice in Ireland were so patent as to require nothing but a statement in that House to prove them, that the offenders should be brought to the bar to which every subject of Her Majesty was liable to be brought for outrages of the sort, and, if found guilty, should be punished as the law directed. But one thing he did object to, and that was that in that House—where there was full protection for every man against assaults, by libel or otherwise—an hon. Member should come forward and bring charges against officials which he could not make outside without, perhaps, incurring certain liabilities. He was not saying that the charges which had been brought were untrue, because he had no special knowledge of the proceedings in question; but he held that it was not fair to these people, who were intrusted, to a certain extent, in difficult circumstances, with the administration of the law in Ireland, to call them perjurers and suborners. Of the Maamtrasna case he knew nothing at all. He did not know that the hon. Member for Cavan was not right in the statement he had made; but his regret was that the hon. Member should select the safety of these Benches to make charges against these men which he would not make elsewhere, where he might be held answerable for what he said. ["Oh, oh!"] Whenever anything was said unpleasant to his hon. Friends below the Gangway the word "Oh!" was about the strongest argument they got in reply. A series of transactions had taken place in Ireland during the past five or six years which one side of the House might say merited the approval of the House, but which the other side would condemn as meriting the disapproval of the House, the country, and even of Europe; and he could well understand this latter section saying—"We have had too much of this thing for six years past; would it not be better to do as has been done in England and other countries—that is to say, proclaim an amnesty in regard to these transactions?" Whilst he was as anxious for the peace of Ireland as anyone, he certainly thought it would be right to proclaim an amnesty on the one side and on the other. But he would not sit silent, no matter what disfavour he might encounter for it, and hear the character of men whom he knew to be deserving of the highest possible approbation so violently attacked. Many of those men were drawn from the national ranks, as he was in a position to testify. Applications had been made to him and others of his acquaintance for the use of what influence they might possess to secure appointments in the Constabulary for Nationalists. He could not sit silent and hear these gross and outrageous charges made against as well-conducted a lot of men as existed in Europe. Hon. Members might attack individuals. They might attack the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone); they might attack the late Viceroy of Ireland. They had Friends in the House who would defend them; but he strenuously resented the attack which had been made on the Irish police, to whom he and many men in his county, often under intimidation, were under extreme obligation. Without going into the Tubbercurry case, he must again say he would not sit silent and hear those men described as perjurers when there was no possibility of answering the charge, and when the person who made it was not liable to those consequences to which he would be liable if he made the charge outside.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he thought the hon. Baronet had gone too far in what he had said. He had asked for a general amnesty in regard to every criminal affair in Ireland. He (Mr. Biggar) and his Friends did not ask for anything of the kind. They asked for an amnesty only in regard to those people who had been proved innocent—not for persons who had been proved guilty of crime. They did not ask that men proved guilty and confined in gaol should be set free. All they asked was that men who were proved to be innocent, after proper inquiry, should be liberated. He did not defend criminality; but he objected to the system of convicting men on insufficient evidence by packed juries and the other means to which reference had been made. The hon. Baronet also said that the Irish Members belonging to the National Party ought to prosecute these men at their own trouble and expense. Well, he (Mr. Biggar) should like to know how he could carry on a prosecution against this man Morrin or the other parties against whom these charges were made? He and his Friends had certain duties to perform, such as calling attention to these matters, in their capacity of Members of Parliament. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had duties to perform as Law Officer of the Crown, and it was his duty to prosecute parties if a *primâ facie* case for prosecution were made out. He (Mr. Biggar) would not undertake to prosecute criminals, because he had no connection with the law, and had no means of procuring evidence against the accused parties without great trouble and expense to himself and great risk of a miscarriage of justice.

Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN said, he was sure the hon. Gentleman did not wish to misrepresent him. He had put a suppositious case as to what might take place under the change of Government. He had not recommended a general amnesty, neither had he called on his hon. Friend to prosecute these individuals. He had risen to protect the 14,000 men of the Irish Constabulary from broadcast accusations of perjury, and to what he had said on that subject the hon. Member had made no reply.

Mr. SEXTON said, he was puzzled to understand why the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had thought it necessary to intervene in the debate, or, having intervened, why he had not thought it necessary to say something relevant to the subject before the Committee in place of scattering about idle compliments. He failed to see why the right hon. and learned Gentleman should have thought himself called on to act as master of ceremonies and teacher of deportment, and why he should have come so readily to the defence of late Administrators who had been attacked. He (Mr. Sexton) highly approved of the right hon. and learned Gentleman's determination to equalize the expenses of witnesses for the Crown and witnesses for the defence; and he shared the right hon. and learned Gentleman's abhorence at the character of the informer. He called upon the right hon. and learned Gentleman, as Law Officer of the Crown in Ireland, always and in all circumstances to reject the evidence of men who testified to acts in which they themselves had been concerned in order to bring about the conviction of others. It was a vile thing to put a number of respectable men in gaol on the sole and uncorroborated evidence of an informer, and then, when there was manifest perjury in the information of that person, to endeavour by threats and bribes, through agents of the Crown, to get other men to support the informer's statement. He recognized, however, in the tone and temper of the right hon. and learned Gentleman an agreeable contrast to the tone and temper which had characterized some of the utterances of his Predecessors; and he could only tell the right hon. and learned Gentleman that if the principles of jurisprudence which he had stated that day were carried into effect in the law of Ireland, the Irish Members would not be compelled to continue in the course they had been obliged to adopt in that House, and his own career would be easier and more honourable. He (Mr. Sexton) had been glad to hear the right hon. and learned Gentleman's statement with regard to Mr. George Bolton. There had been no part of the right hon. and learned Gentleman's speech which he had more rejoiced to hear than that in which he had stated that special individuals would not be employed in connection with criminal investigations all over Ireland, for nothing could have a more demoralizing effect than allowing free scope to an agent of the Cabinet like Mr. George Bolton to mix himself up in every case in which these miscarriages of justice happened. Mr. George Bolton had pleaded his employment in the Barbavilla and Tubbercurry cases, in reply to attacks which had been made upon him by the Irish Members; he had thrown himself upon the consideration and protection of the Crown, because he had been concerned in cases in which justice had miserably failed. What did that mean? Why, just as was said when James Ellis French was dragged to the bar of justice, that there was no one in Ireland who knew so well how to work up a case, that there was no one who sailed so close to the wind. George Bolton had made his knowledge of criminal cases his reason why he should not be prosecuted. He (Mr. Sexton) declared that when a Government sent out an unscrupulous agent, and established a common understanding that he was to be allowed to set traps for men in order to obtain evidence, all pure government was at an end, because the agent acquired an immoral power over the Government which employed him which they found it impossible to shake off. He (Mr. Sexton) had not gathered that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had refused what he had asked him that day. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had said that he could not form an opinion on the matter; but, as a matter of fact, he believed the right hon. and learned Gentleman had already done what he said he could not do. The right hon. and learned Gentleman was not his own master in this matter. Certain statements had been laid before him on the most credible authority; it was shown that the Crown Solicitor had compounded felony by offering to give sums of money to men accused of crime, if they would give certain testimony. It had been shown that the detectives and magistrates had threatened imprisonment unless particular constructions were placed on certain incidents, and that, in order to obtain evidence, promises of release from prison had been made, and men had been primed with liquor. All these means had been adopted to obtain evidence of a certain colour. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had heard those allegations, and he must have come to some conclusion about them. Everyone who had heard him (Mr. Sexton) that day must have come to some conclusion or other as to his statement. Some believed that he was right, others believed that he was wrong, but all believed something. In like manner the right hon. and learned Gentleman must have formed an opinion on the matter—he could not help himself. Well, he would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman what was he going to do to follow up the impression he must have formed in his own mind? Did he not think it was his duty to ascertain whether or not there was any foundation for the statements which had been made? There was plenty of evidence before the House—would the right hon. and learned Gentleman take any measures to ascertain whether it was true? Would he ascertain whether the persons who had been mentioned were willing to verify the information communicated to the Committee by sworn testimony? He (Mr. Sexton) did not think there was a rational man of any school of politics who had not come to believe in his secret heart that there was a strong foundation for what he had said. The hon. Baronet the Member for King's County (Sir Patrick O'Brien) seemed to think that he (Mr. Sexton) lay open to some blame, or was open to some question——

Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN: No, no!

Mr. SEXTON: I think he objected to the manner in which the question has been brought forward.

Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN: No, no!

Mr. SEXTON: He thinks it better that I should make a statement elsewhere, where I shall be subject to an action for libel?

Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN: No!

Mr. SEXTON: He thinks it desirable that I should bring these charges where men can defend themselves?

Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN: No; the only complaint I made was against the attack made on the Royal Irish Constabulary by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar).

Mr. SEXTON said, he did not share in the attack to which the hon. Baronet referred. He believed there were as many honourable men in the Constabulary as were to be found elsewhere. But here they had the case of 11 of his constituents taken out of their beds, taken from their shops and from their farms, and brought, as the late Prime Minister would say, "within a measurable distance" of penal servitude. He (Mr. Sexton) had to defend those men and present their case, and he was told that he must do it elsewhere. That House was the place in which he must defend his constituents as their Representative in Parliament. He had procured for them the ordinary facilities for defence, which were given to the commonest criminals in England, with the greatest labour and trouble. And if he had given Notice of this debate, what would have been the result? Why, the Government would have asked the magistrates and the constables and all persons concerned on the part of the Crown whether they were guilty or not, and of course those people would have said no —men usually said "no" when asked if they were guilty, whether guilty or not. His statement would have been met with a flat contradiction; therefore, it made no difference whether he gave Notice or not. The public would now see the grounds on which he had made his complaint; and, whatever the Government did, the public would make up their minds upon the matter. The Government would be the losers, and not him, if they refused to take up the matter in a proper way. Before he sat down he would mention another case, with regard to which he would like to ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he had received any information— he should like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether he had any knowledge of it, and why it had not come before the police magistrate of the Northern Division of the City of Dublin? He had received a letter in which it was stated that Mr. W. Ormsby, the Sub-Sheriff of Dublin, who had a great deal to do with the selection of juries in that city, had been found lying drunk in the street. It was stated in this letter that the writer had requested a policeman to take Mr. Ormsby in charge, and that after having exhibited a great deal of reluctance the constable at length did as requested, Mr. Ormsby being removed on a stretcher. Although this gentleman had been removed by the police, no charge had been brought against him in the police court on the following morning. That was another case which shed some light on the impunity with which certain officials in Ireland could break the law, whilst all the resources of wealth were employed for the purpose of securing evidence to obtain verdicts of guilty against ordinary individuals who were accused of offences. He would ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether he had received any information on this matter? It was necessary, if people in Ireland were to have any respect for the law, that they should feel that justice was administered equally to all classes.

Mr. DEASY said, he understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland to say that he could not go into the conduct of the late legal officials in Ireland in that House on account of the great pressure of business upon him. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had denied that jury packing took place in Ireland; but, coming as he (Mr. Deasy) did from Cork, where a most deliberate system of jury packing had been practised, he could not allow the observation to pass without bringing a few facts within his own knowledge to bear upon the question. During the Winter Assizes Mr. Peter O'Brien, in almost every case under the Prevention of Crime Act, had brought about the almost entire exclusion of Catholics from the juries, those who were empannelled being almost exclusively Orangemen and Freemasons. In one case 23 jurors were challenged, 22 of them being Roman Catholics. In another case four jurors were challenged, all of whom were Roman Catholics, nine Protestants being on the jury. In a case in which seven men were indicted for conspiracy to murder 23 Catholics were challenged. In another case 39 Catholics and five Protestants were challenged, a remarkable fact being that each of those five Protestants had served on juries which had disagreed. On the 31st of December 19 Catholics were challenged, and the jury was composed of 11 Protestants and one Catholic, this one Catholic being well known in the county of Cork as one of the worst landlords and one of the strongest opponents of the popular will in the county. He did not care to mention that gentleman's name now; but if pressed to do so he would comply. In the next case 34 Catholics were challenged, and the jury was composed of 10 Protestants and two Catholics, one of the two Catholics being the gentleman to whom he had just referred. In the next case 15 Catholics were challenged, the jury being composed of 10 Protestants and two Catholics, the two Catholics who were permitted to serve being the two who were on a previous jury, and who had brought in a verdict of guilty. That, he thought, showed clearly that in the county of Cork this jury-packing had been carried on to a most alarming and unwarrantable extent; in fact, to such an extent that some of the Protestants themselves who happened to serve on the juries actually proposed a resolution censuring the Government for administering the law in that horrible and disgraceful manner, and declaring that a Petition should be presented to the Government protesting against that system of justice. That resolution was put to 12 jurors in the Grand Jury room, and only defeated by seven votes to five. Well, when five men of that character could be got to say that the Government behaved badly in packing those juries, he thought it was sufficient evidence that he was justified in making this statement, that jury packing had prevailed in Cork, and had been carried on there very largely. A most respectable shopkeeper in the City of Cork, a Mr. M'Sweeney, a member of the Town Council, had protested in open Court against this system of excluding Catholics from the jury panel, and the Judge had not committed him for contempt of Court, or censured him in any way. He (Mr. Deasy) found, on looking over *Hansard*, that in the City of Dublin a still more striking state of things had existed; for there, out of a panel of 200, composed of 153 Catholics and 47 Protestants, 56 jurors tried almost every case at a particular Assizes, and of those 56 47 were Protestants, the remaining nine being Catholics. In one case 56 Catholics were challenged, and the jury was entirely composed of Protestants. In another case 47 Catholics were challenged, and so on. He did not think he need say anything further than that it was a very regrettable fact that when such a serious state of things as that existed the right hon. and learned Gentleman should not have better informed himself on the question he addressed himself to. The late Solicitor General for Ireland would not have attempted to deny that accusation, because he knew perfectly well it was true; but here they had the case of an official coming over to England to throw light on Irish matters who seemed to know nothing of what had gone on or of what was going on in Ireland at that moment. It would be impossible in the future to pack juries as they had been packed during the past five years, owing to the fact that the Act under which Crown officials had been allowed to do it was about to expire. There would be a certain limited power of packing juries in the future; and he hoped that for their own sakes and for the sake of the country it would not be availed of, and that Catholics would not be excluded from juries without sufficient reason. It was not because a man was a Catholic or a Protestant that he should be allowed to serve on a jury. So far as he (Mr. Deasy) was concerned, some of his Protestant friends were amongst the best men in Ireland, and he would trust them quite as much as he would trust many of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. On the other hand, there were some Protestants who were opposed to all National movements, and who, though they might go into jury boxes with the best intentions, could not give a verdict according to the evidence. Their minds were biassed, and they could only see one side of the question; and if juries were to be solely composed of those men it would be impossible to get honest and true verdicts. In Cork 86 or 87 per cent of the population was Catholic. The percentage was not so high in Dublin; but it was clearly an outrage upon justice in such communities that juries should be composed of 10 or 11 Protestants and one or two Catholics, and sometimes of Protestants altogether. In conclusion, he could only express a hope that the right hon. and learned Gentleman would be better up in his facts before he addressed the House again upon this question.

MR. P. J. POWER called attention to the fact that the Crown Solicitor for Tipperary still continued to hold a separate legal appointment under the Government, for which he received a salary of £400 a-year. He had thought that person had ceased to hold the separate appointment; but he found that such was not the case.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £53,677, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Irish Land Commission."

COLONEL COLTHURST said, he wished to call the attention of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to one point in the Report of the Land Commission published last year. The right hon. Gentleman and the Committee would remember that by Clause 19 of the Land Act complete power was given to the Sub-Commissioners to investigate as to whether labourers' cottages were required in any given part, and that power was conferred on them to order the erection of such cottages. By an Act subsequently passed at the instance of the senior Member for the County of Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart) a heavy penalty was imposed on every man who after a certain time—he thought six months — failed to comply with an order of that kind. A fine of £1 a-week was to be levied by the magistrates. His hon. Friend, who understood the subject very well, had put a section in his Bill providing that an Inspector should be appointed by the Land Court to see that the work was carried out. The Treasury, that had to bear many sins of omission and commission, would not consent to that; therefore, though it was in the power of several people to put the Act in force it was nobody's duty to do it. And yet the Land Commissioners made orders; the Land Court in Dublin reported to the Local Government Board the name of the occupier and the Union in which he lived. The Local Government Board, as he showed the other night, had no power except what was given them temporarily by statute. They had no power to compel the Board of Guardians to act on the order. They sent down the name to the Board of Guardians, and on the Board of Guardians devolved the compelling of the occupier to comply with the order of the Court. If the Board ordered the occupier to do it and he failed they could —but they need not—summon him before the magistrates, and he was liable to a fine of £1 per week for every week which he delayed. But Boards of Guardians were largely composed of the very class of people upon whom those orders were made; and, therefore, without naming them and attributing their *laches* to anything but the ordinary feelings of human nature, the Committee would not be surprised to learn that, by a Return which was published last year which gave the story of this Clause 19 of the old Act up to August, 1884, it was shown that no action whatever had been taken in more than half the cases in which the Sub-Commissioners had declared that a labourer's cottage was necessary. Of course, many thousands of cases came before the Sub-Commissioners; and it was a fair thing on his part, he thought, to assume that they did not order cottages to be built except in the most flagrant cases—except in cases where it was absolutely not to be avoided. The Sub-Commissioners had power also to order cottages to be rebuilt, and the occupiers could obtain from the Board of Works, on the easiest terms, the smallest sum of money—even £10 or £5—in order to rebuild cottages; and yet, through the unfortunate action of the Treasury in striking out the power which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Waterford had desired to give of having persons appointed to see that the work was done, the Act had been almost a perfect failure. The Land Commission spoke of it themselves in these terms—

> "We have again, on this occasion, to state that the 19th section of the Act which aimed at increasing and improving the accommodation for labourers has not been operative to any large extent."

He had had another object in mentioning that, or he should not have obtruded himself on the Committee. They were about, or were believed to be about, considering a Bill which was called the Labourers' Bill. He thought it was very important that Her Majesty's Government and the House, whilst they were considering an important subject of that kind, and when they trusted or expected that the Bill would be carried out by those various Boards of Guardians, should know how completely those Boards of Guardians had, as a rule, failed in their duty to carry out the law as it at present stood, notwithstanding that no burden was imposed upon the ratepayers — because this money was only charged when a man had derived benefit from the Land Act by having his rent fixed. No burden whatever was imposed on the ratepayers in general. Yet, for some reason or other, there had been a sort of unwillingness on the part of Boards of Guardians to put the Act in force. He wished to be germane to the subject before the Committee, and would, therefore, ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to call the attention of the Land Commissioners again to the subject. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) had, at his request, some two or three years ago, issued either an order or a recommendation—he thought the right hon. Gentleman could not order, but had recommended—to the Sub-Commissioners, advising them, in every case that came before them, to inquire themselves whether the accommodation for labourers was sufficient. It would be very important, he thought, if that recommendation were repeated; and, secondly, the right hon. Gentleman, as President of the Local Government Board, might inquire as to whether some statutory power should not be given to the Local Government Board to compel the erection of those labourers' cottages after a certain time. There was a belief in the country that no one was in earnest on this question. A neighbour of his had come to him complaining that a fine of £20 or £30 had been imposed on him. He (Colonel Colthurst) had said to him —"You knew you wanted a cottage; why on earth did you not obey the order before?" "Oh!" was the reply—"To tell you the truth, I never believed the order was to be carried out at all."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member were rather instructive when viewed in connection with the demands which had been so frequently advanced in favour of Irish local self-government. It was amusing to hear hon. Members opposite complaining of the action of elected Boards of Guardians—connected with whom there were some *ex officio* members—and desiring to place power in the hands of the Land Commission. The hon. and gallant Member threw out grave doubts—and that was the least that could be said of it—as to the manner in which elected Boards would discharge their duty. But he (Mr. Lowther) rose to express a hope that great caution would be observed in meeting even half-way the demands now so freely made for the application of public money in the erection of what were called labourers' dwellings. Of course, that the labourers might be adequately housed was an object they all of them had at heart; but the proposal to hand public money over to the Local Authorities to be expended by interested parties, without any adequate safeguard to be observed as to due economy, was, he thought, a step which that House ought most carefully to scan. Of course, they would be told it was desirable that funds should be forthcoming to enable buildings to be erected of a suitable character for the occupation of the agricultural classes; but, as he understood it, the condition on which the hon. and gallant Member relied was power given to occupying tenants—or, rather, powers which were thrust upon occupying tenants—to provide dwellings on land of which they were not the freehold possessors. That, of course, opened up a very serious future. He did not wish to refer to legislation of the past few years, which had thrown an entirely new complexion over arrangements of this kind; but he would express a hope that the greatest caution would be observed in facilitating the advance of public money to be expended by persons not on their own property, but on the property of other persons, without any adequate safeguard as to economy being observed. In connection with this matter, he would remark that the Land Commission, to which reference had been made, and to the funds for the maintenance of which the Committee was now called on to vote, had failed in the most signal manner to command the confidence of every body of men in Ireland. They had heard the Commission freely condemned from every quarter of the House. He had before now taken on himself to say that in no shape or form was it a Judicial Body; that it had not been actuated by judicial principles; that it was essentially a political institution, composed of political partizans, who had acted without the slightest regard for the first elementary principles of fairness and justice, and who had been generally condemned from both sides. The representatives of the proprietary—or, rather, he should say, the ex-proprietary class —["Oh!"]—he meant the class to whom the land formerly belonged, and from whom it had been taken without compensation to give to those to whom it did not belong, and who had only hired it for a time—had generally condemned the proceedings of the Land Commission. And when he spoke of the Land Commission, he was not dealing with the humble and obscure personages who had been so frequently referred to—namely, the Sub-Commissioners, better known as the "sub-confiscators," to whom were relegated the details of transferring property from one set of persons to whom it did belong to another set of persons to whom it did not belong. He referred not to those, but to the chief movers in this system of confiscation—he meant the Chief Commissioners. Those gentlemen—against whom, personally, he had not a word to say—had, in their collective capacity, been the instruments of the perpetration of as great a series of frauds as had ever defaced the pages of history; and he hoped the House would be very careful before it assigned any further powers to a body which had so misused those it already possessed.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, that one illustration was sometimes worth a score of arguments, and he thought the illustration given just now of the way English officials—or, rather, ex-officials—understood Irish affairs was worth any amount of reasoning which could be brought to bear upon the matter. The right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down was at one time connected with what the right hon. Gentleman would call the Government of Ireland. During the time he acted as Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant he did not seem to have acquired the most elementary knowledge of the manner in which the Boards of Guardians were constructed in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had said the Irish Members were complaining of something done or not done by the Irish Boards of Guardians, and that in so complaining they were condemning their own proposition for local self-government, "because," said he, "these are your Boards, chosen of the Irish people representing Irish opinion; and surely they do not do their duty." The right hon. Gentleman, whilst associated with the Government of Ireland, might have been expected to have at least rendered himself familiar with the fact that Boards of Guardians in Ireland were, to a great extent, composed of *ex officio* members. [Mr. J. Lowther: I said so.] The right hon. Gentleman had also declared the Boards of Guardians to be the elect of the Irish people. There was no meaning in his imputation; at any rate, he (Mr. M'Carthy) could not understand it. If the Board of Guardians were not the elect of the Irish people, it was because the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends had prevented them from being so. The right hon. Gentleman had gone on to warn the House against devoting public money to the erection of labourers' cottages, after having admitted the complaint that the Boards of Guardians had done practically nothing in the matter. He (Mr. M'Carthy) had been reminded, whilst the right hon. Gentleman was speaking, of the reply given by Prince Metternich to those appealed to on the subject of German Confederation. He had said he had one advice to give them, and it was "not to be precipitate." In alluding to what he called the transfer of property in Ireland from one set of persons to another, the right hon. Gentleman had not gone back far enough in his history. If he had gone back a little further, he would have found that some of his friends, the landlords, had obtained their property very much after the manner in which the brigand obtained his. He (Mr. M'Carthy) would not, however, pursue those subjects, but would merely appeal to the memories of hon. Gentlemen as to how the Labourers' Clauses in the Land Act passed.

Mr. P. J. POWER said, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. Lowther) wished the Committee to understand that the failure of the Labourers' Act in Ireland was attributable, to a great extent, to the action of the elected Guardians. Well, from a little experience in this matter, he (Mr. Power) could say that in the vast majority of cases in Ireland the Act had been opposed far more by the *ex officio* than the elected class of Guardians. When the elected class had opposed it, that class were Guardians returned by the *ex officio* vote.

Colonel COLTHURST said, that his observations had had no reference to the Labourers' Act, his allusion having been to Clause 19 of the Land Act.

MR. P. J. POWER said, he was referring to what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He wished to show that the Act was far more likely to be worked satisfactorily by popularly-elected Guardians than by *ex officio* Guardians, or Guardians elected by the *ex officio* vote. His experience in connection with Unions—and it was shared by others—was that in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, the Act had failed in consequence of the action taken by its enemies, the *ex officios.* He imagined that there was more difficulty in the way of obtaining the loans for the construction of labourers' dwellings than the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think; and in connection with this matter he would point out that the labourers themselves were not so anxious for the cottages as the right hon. Gentleman imagined, for the reason that if the cottages were built by the tenants under the order of the Sub-Commissioners, the labourers occupied them merely at the will of the employers, and that they were not in a position to dispose of their labour in the best market. There was, consequently, a difficulty amongst the labourers themselves in this matter, which those who were not familiar with the subject did not quite appreciate. He pointed out to the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Colthurst) that action had been taken by several Boards of Guardians in this matter. In the Union of which he was Chairman proceedings had been instituted; indeed, he should be sorry if it were to go forth that the elected Guardians generally had not been fairly anxious to discharge their duties to the labourers.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN understood the contention of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the County of Cork (Colonel Colthurst) was that in certain cases where reductions were made and judicial rents fixed it was possible there should be appended to the reduction a condition that certain labourers' cottages should be built. It might be asked how that was to be carried out. It was to be carried out by the action of the Boards of Guardians. Without wishing to enter into the question whether it was the fault of the *ex officio* or of the elected Guardians, he must say it was patent to everyone who knew anything of Ireland that in certain cases the statutory directions in the 19th clause of the Land Act had been inoperative in consequence of the inaction of the Boards of Guardians. His hon. and gallant Friend came to the House and asked—as he was quite justified in asking—how matters were to be altered, and then the Committee were treated to dull disquisitions like that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) and of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy). First of all, let them consider how the provision of the Land Act relating to labourers' cottages, which, up to the present, had been inoperative, was to be amended. The appeal of his hon. and gallant Friend to right hon. Gentlemen opposite was whether they were prepared to make the amendment, an amendment which was essentially necessary in the interest of the Irish people.

The Usher of the Black Rod, being come with a Message for the House to attend the Lords Commissioners, the Chairman left the Chair:—

MR. SPEAKER resumed the Chair:—

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners;—

The House went;—and being returned;—

MR. SPEAKER *reported* the *Royal Assent* to several Bills.

SUPPLY again *considered* in Committee.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, that, to continue for a moment the observations he was offering to the Committee, he would impress on Her Majesty's Government the necessity of remedying the present state of affairs, so as to make a provision intended to benefit the Irish labourer a reality, instead of, as it was now, a phantasm.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, that the Committee would, perhaps, allow him to say a word or two before the discussion proceeded further. There was no doubt that Orders made under the 19th section of the Land Act had been disregarded by Boards of Guardians; but it was impossible for him to say off-hand what remedy could be applied. He admitted that the present state of things ought not to continue if a remedy could be found for it. He would cause it to be brought to the attention of the Land Courts that those Orders were being constantly disregarded, and he would also bring the question before the notice of the Local Government Board in Ireland. The hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Colthurst) had suggested that the Treasury might render some assistance in the matter. He (the Chief Secretary) would communicate with his hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), and see what could be done in the direction the hon. and gallant Gentleman suggested.

Mr. DEASY said, he thought the speech they had just heard would commend itself to the Members of the Irish Party. There could be no doubt at all that there was a general disinclination amongst Boards of Guardians in Ireland to carry out the 19th section of the Land Act. There were several reasons for that disinclination. In the first place, there was an Act of a very different character in force — namely, the Labourers' Act, introduced by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor). That Act contemplated that labourers should get plots of ground and be altogether independent of their employers. Under that Act a labourer could retain possession of his house as long as he paid the rent imposed; but under the section of the Land Act to which the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Colthurst) had addressed himself a labourer was completely at the mercy of his employer. There was power to compel the erection of labourers' cottages on a farm the judicial rent of which had been fixed; but a labourer occupying one of the cottages would be just as much at the mercy of his master as he had previously been—he might be dismissed from his employment and dispossessed of his house any week or month. Boards of Guardians were naturally not at all inclined to compel the erection of cottages under the Land Act, for the simple reason that the benefit conferred on the labourers was very little indeed. But if, however, the Labourers' Act and the Amendment Bill now before the House were to be carried into effect, the labourers would be in a much better position than they would if the 19th section of the Land Act were put in force. But there was a reason why Boards of Guardians should not be in a hurry to carry out the Labourers' Act as it now stood, and that was that the high rate of interest which the Treasury claimed made the charge on the rates of the country, already enormous, still very much higher. The Treasury would not lend money under £5 7*s.* 6*d.* per cent, or for a longer term than 35 years. The Treasury were empowered by that Act to lend money at a low rate of interest, and for a very much more extended time; but whenever the Boards of Guardians applied for a longer period of repayment the Treasury refused to make a grant. Again, the Guardians were unwilling to put a heavy tax on the ratepayers at present, particularly as there was every probability that the Bill now before the House would pass into law, and that under that Bill very much easier terms would be made for the erection of labourers' cottages. Under the present Act the cost of purchasing plots of ground for the erection of labourers' cottages was very great; and if the landlord or tenant objected, the Boards of Guardians would be obliged to come up to London for an Act of Parliament, and the legal expenses would be very much larger than the actual cost of the ground. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) made a statement which was altogether at variance with the facts. If the right hon. Gentleman would examine the Return presented to the House of the number of labourers' cottages which had been erected within the last year or two he would find that in those Unions in which the elected Guardians, the real representatives of the ratepayers, were in a majority, the Labourers' Act had been carried out in a very large degree; and, on the other hand, the right hon. Gentleman would find that where the *ex officio* Guardians preponderated the Act had not been put in force at all. Not long ago, in one of the Unions of County Cork, Macroom, it was decided to erect a number of labourers' cottages—a meeting was held in compliance with the Act, and it was unanimously decided to erect a number of labourers' cottages. Another meeting was called a fortnight afterwards for the purpose of complying with some necessary legal forms, and without giving the slightest intimation to the elected Guardians of their intention, a few of the *ex officio*, with a landlord's solicitor, attended and threw out the scheme. If the right hon. Gentleman only knew a little more of the particulars he would be slow to say that the fact that the Labourers' Act had not been put into force was largely due to the elected members of the Boards of Guardians. It was well known that the mode of appointing Guardians in Ireland was such that, as a general rule, the representatives of the people formed a very small minority of the Board. It was to remedy that state of things that a Bill, which was now before the House of Lords, was introduced. If that Bill was passed, and if the representatives of the ratepayers did in future form a majority of the Boards of Guardians in Ireland, the Committee might rest assured that before very long the Labourers' Act would be put into full operation, and that the labouring classes of Ireland would have nothing to complain of in the matter. In conclusion, he had only to say that he was not strongly in favour of the view taken by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for County Cork (Colonel Colthurst). He did not think it was very desirable that the 19th clause of the Land Act should be largely put into force. There was a reasonable prospect—indeed, there was almost the certainty—that during the present Session the Labourers' Act would be amended. It was only by the amendment of that Act which was sought that the condition of the labourers could be in any way improved. At the same time, it would be well if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Sir William Hart Dyke) communicated with the Members of the Land Commission, and asked them to see that some of the Orders they had made, particularly in the poorer parts of the country, for the erection of cottages were carried out.

MR. HEALY entirely agreed with the view which his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Deasy) had taken upon this question. There was not the slightest doubt that the Boards of Guardians had not been able to put the Act into force, owing to the ridiculous character of the measure which was passed at the instance of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart). No more absurd Bill was ever passed by the House of Commons, because it was a Bill to enforce penalties amounting, in some cases, to £60, £70, and £80, penalties so crushing that no Board of Guardians would impose them. It was another case of the old story; they put on a heavy penalty to check mischief; but the penalty was so great that the jury refused to convict. Supposing that a man applied to the Land Commission, and they made an Order for the erection of a cottage. Supposing that then the landlord appealed. It was sometimes three years before the appeal was heard, and during all the time penalties of £1 a-week were accumulating, owing to the absurd and idiotic Act which was passed at the suggestion of the hon. Member for Waterford, and which the Irish Members were so soft as to allow to pass without amendment. It would be simply ruinous to the tenants if those penalties were imposed. The tenants found the greatest difficulty in borrowing money from the Board of Works. He had known farmers to try for six or 12 months to get a paltry loan from the Board of Works. The farmers had no money with which to pay for the erection of the cottages; and yet, under the Bill of the hon. Member for Waterford, the fines against them increased weekly. What greater absurdity could there be? The men tried to get the money from the Board of Works, and because the Board of Works chose to employ the red tape for which they were so renowned the poor tenants were to have those fines of £1 a-week accumulating against them. He had had great experience in this matter, and he did not hesitate to say that the penalties provided prevented the Act of the hon. Member for Waterford being more rapidly enforced. What he recommended, when the Land Act was passing through Parliament, was that there should be an official attached to the Land Commission for the special purpose of inspecting labourers' cottages. That suggestion was received by a snort from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). Well, with regard to another subject. Not long ago the Government promised him that they would be able to make a statement with respect to the Sub-Commissioners who were to go out of office. Of course, the Tory Government knew very well that the Land Commissioners were supposed to be more favourable to the view of the landlords than they were to that of the tenants; therefore, very great suspicion naturally attached to the selection of the Sub-Commissioners who were to go out of office. The rumour had got about in the country that the Sub-Commissioners who were most favourable to the landlords were to be continued in office, and that those who had got the reputation of being friends of the tenants were to be turned away. He thought that everything that was possible should be done to guard against any ground for that suspicion. The state of the case with regard to the Sub-Commissioners was very unfortunate. They had a gentleman like Mr. Wylie hunted from office for the slightest supposed favour to the tenants. They had Mr. Meek and a number of other gentlemen, whose names it was not necessary to mention, hunted from office because it was supposed they purposely gave judgments in favour of the tenants as against the landlords. Now, he understood that the office held by Mr. M'Devitt would shortly be vacant. Mr. M'Devitt was notoriously the chief enemy of the tenants of Ireland; he was a gentleman who, wherever he had gone, had been a blister upon the Sub-Commission, and who had brought more odium on the Land Commission than anyone else. As he (Mr. Healy) showed in the House some time ago, Mr. M'Devitt on one occasion struck out the case of a poor widow in County Cork because she could not speak English. In fact, whenever Mr. M'Devitt had a chance of doing an injury to the tenants he did not fail to avail himself of it. His term of office would very shortly be brought to a close, and the very grave suspicion existed that he was to be re-employed to the detriment of other gentlemen who had not brought down upon themselves the odium of either Party. The main consideration which ought to weigh in this matter was which of the Sub-Commissioners had steered, as it were, an even keel, and not incurred the odium of the people. There was no doubt that the continuance of Mr. M'Devitt in office, to the detriment of Commissioners whose conduct had not caused an outcry against them, would strengthen the belief that the Government desired to retain the services of the friends of the landlords. Now, there was another matter to which he wished to refer. The Land Purchase Bill, which was coming down from "another place," proposed to create two additional Commissioners, and those Commissioners were to be drafted on to the existing work of the Land Commission. He must say he viewed with an entire want of confidence the proposal to entrust to the Land Commissioners any scheme of land purchase. The Committee could not have forgotten what Mr. Litton, Land Commissioner, declared on the question of land purchase in the House of Lords. That gentleman there said that to carry out a scheme of peasant proprietary in Ireland would tend to a separation of the two countries. Did the Committee imagine with any confidence that the people of Ireland would view with much favour a scheme of land purchase which was to be carried out by persons, one of whom had made such a declaration as that? Something should be done to separate the Land Commissioners, who were charged with the duty of fixing rents, from the body who had to deal with purchase. They could not forget how Mr. George Fottrell was treated by the Land Commission, simply because he was supposed to be inclined to promote a scheme of land purchase. Mr. Fottrell was obliged to retire from his position as Solicitor to the Land Commission, though the Government gave him a much better position, and no doubt a much happier position, since it had a salary of something like £1,000 a-year attached to it. The people had a deep distrust of the action of the Land Commissioners with regard to the scheme of land purchase. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Sir William Hart Dyke) and the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) must have read the comments of the Land Judges' Court on the Land Commission. Some tenants declared that they could not get money from the Land Commissioners, and the comments made by the Judges had been called attention to in "another place" by Lord Castletown. And yet it was to that body, which was admittedly a body of obstructives, so far as land purchase was concerned, that it was proposed to entrust the scheme of land purchase in Ireland. It would be very regrettable indeed if the proposal were adopted. He would like to receive from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary the names of the Sub-Commissioners whose services were to be retained, and the names of those whose services were to be discontinued, and he would also like to know what hope there was of a settlement of the question of appeals. There were only three gentlemen who heard appeals; and it was perfectly impossible for those men to settle, at the present rate of progress, the appeals which had already been made to them under three or four years. It would greatly facilitate the settlement of appeals if some assistance could be obtained. Besides, it was a hardship to tenants to be dragged up to Dublin from all parts of the country because of the Report of the Court Valuer. The system was most extraordinary. When the Sub-Commissioners heard a case there were valuers on both sides; but when an appeal was entered a most extraordinary system was inaugurated, as the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) well knew. He did not think the right hon. and learned Gentleman would have the courage to stand up at the Table and defend the system which now prevailed in the Appeal Court. What happened? A landlord entered an appeal against the decision of the Sub-Commission. A Court Valuer was sent down, and he gave his view of the value of the land as it stood, with improvements and everything else. He ought to say, first of all, that the Commission had to some extent discouraged appeals by the tariff they had adopted. 10*s.* was to be paid, and then the Court Valuer was sent down to the farm, and the landlord and tenant received a copy of the valuation, and then it very frequently happened that the landlord dropped the appeal. The landlord had put the tenant to the expense of getting a distinct valuation, to be made for himself, to the expense of getting a solicitor to attend to the case, and of bringing up his witnesses, and then he had the power to drop the appeal. Supposing he did not drop the appeal, what happened was even still worse. Witnesses on each side were brought up; but the landlord's advocate might get up in Court and say—"I produce no witnesses. I rely on the Court Valuer." The tenant might call for the production of the Court Valuer, but he was not called—he was not to be got at; he was not to be examined; he was a shadow which hung and prevailed over the entire Court; but as to how he arrived at his valuation, as to whether the valuation should have been £10 or £1,000, there was no means of ascertaining. That bloodless shadow poisoned the entire system of appeal. It was hardly possible to conceive the feeling of suspicion which was created in the minds of the people when a valuation was flung on to the table of the Court, and there was no chance of cross-examining the valuer. The system was a most mischievous one, and one which ought at once to be corrected. He was amazed that his countrymen had not made a strong protest against the system. If the landlord had the option of cross-examining the Court Valuer, why should not the tenant? The system was bad—it was a makeshift which should not have been attempted. There was one other matter to which he wished to call attention. The Treasury had now got in hand something like £5,000 of the tenants' money, which, according to a recent decision, they had no business to have. It was held lately by the Court of Appeal that the affixing of a stamp—he believed it was a 1*s.* stamp—on the original notice and on the appeal notice was illegal; it was held to be an infringement of the right of the subject, which was guarded against by a distinct Act of Parliament. What were the Treasury going to do with the tenants' money? He thought they ought to give it up. Of course, the distribution of the money amongst the tenants of the country would not be worth the expense which it would involve; but the Irish people ought to get the money back in some shape or form. It might possibly be given in prizes for some educational subject. Anyhow, the Treasury had no right to it, and they ought to give a pledge that they would refund it in some way or other.

MR. MARUM said, that Boards of Guardians would carry out the Act, but for the enormous taxation involved in doing so. Take his own county, Kilkenny. In 1840 the population was 202,000; it was now only 99,000. Upwards of 100,000 of the labouring classes had left the county owing to the depression in the agricultural interest. When they spoke of Boards of Guardians, they must bear in mind that the Guardians themselves felt like other people the effects of the agricultural depression, and that therefore they were not as active in incurring expenditure as they might otherwise be. He agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) that the appeal system amounted to a very grave scandal. Within the last few days he had called the attention of the Chief Secretary (Sir William Hart Dyke) to the fact that there were about 10,000 appealsunheard, and that of those appeals a great number would not be heard, because the difficulties and injustices which the tenants had to struggle against in the Appeal Court were such that sooner than go on with their appeals the tenants withdrew them. There could be no graver scandal than that poor appellants were absolutely obliged to give up the chance of getting their rights, because of the condition of things which had been so graphically described by the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would give his earnest attention to this subject, because there was nothing which so much disposed people to disaffection and discontent as to find that they could not get justice in the Courts of Law.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he should like to say a word upon a question which only indirectly arose upon this Vote—namely, the question of land purchase. He was extremely anxious to see the Land Purchase Bill passed ; but he understood it was proposed that the machinery of the Bill should be worked by the Land Commission Court.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Ritchie): It is well I should direct the hon. Gentleman's attention to the fact that we are now considering the Vote for the Irish Land Commission; and, therefore, we cannot now discuss the merits of the Irish Land Purchase Bill.

Mr. BIGGAR, continuing, said, there was nothing in the shape of permanence with regard to any of the officials of the Land Commission when they were appointed. He did not wish to draw any invidious distinctions; but it was well known that none of the gentlemen connected with the Land Commission Court were trained officials. They were men without experience, gathered together in an emergency; and, therefore, he held that they were not competent to settle land titles, and questions of that kind. The Sub-Commissioners, and also the Chief Commissioners, moved about from place to place; and the duties they had had to perform in times past did not fit them for an office of a real, permanent, and substantial character. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had very properly raised the question of the 1*s*. fee upon the original and appeal notices. He did not know what was the best way to dispose of the £5,000 which the Treasury illegally held ; but he had not the slightest doubt that there were many beneficial purposes to which it could be applied. He also desired to impress upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary the importance of the question of appeals. It was quite true, as had been pointed out, that many litigants were ruined by delay. The tenant was held liable for the old rent until the appeal had been decided ; and therefore, if the old rent was a very extravagant one, the tenant was ruined before he had an opportunity of obtaining a decision of his case. That was a grievous state of things, which no time should be lost in remedying.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND said, it was proposed to reduce the number of Sub-Commissioners, and thus effect a saving of something like £5,000. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had referred to the reconstitution of the Sub-Commission. He could not at that moment give the names of the Sub-Commissioners of the future; but if hon. Members would allow this Vote to pass now, he would, either to-morrow or the next day, possibly by Report, give them the names they desired. Of course, he need not say that, in the interest of the body itself, it was very necessary it should be constituted in the most impartial manner. Various other matters had been mentioned by the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Healy); but he (the Chief Secretary) was unable to go into them, because he was not acquainted with the circumstances. With regard to the valuers, however, he might say it appeared to him that the valuers were a Judicial Body, constituted by Act of Parliament for the purpose of attending to appeals, and that, of course, he had no power to interfere in any way with their judgments. It was perfectly obvious that the question of the block in the Appeal Court did require attention on his part, and he promised hon. Gentlemen that it should have his attention. That was the first time that the question of the 1*s.* fees charged on notices had been brought under his notice. He had communicated with his hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), and that Gentleman had informed him that the sum specified was in the hands of the Treasury.

MR. SEXTON asked whether, in case Irish Members accepted the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman, and awaited further explanations on Report, the Government would be willing to report Progress after this Vote?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND: After the next Vote.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(3.) £60, to complete the sum for the Transit of Venus.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Friday.*

Committee to sit again upon *Friday.*

TRAMWAYS ORDER IN COUNCIL (IRELAND) BILL (*changed from* TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (No. 2) BILL).

FIRST READING.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read the first time."

MR. HEALY inquired whether the Bill was to be regarded as a Public or as a Private Bill, there being some uncertainty on the point, owing to what had occurred in the other House, and a great Constitutional question might arise upon it?

MR. SPEAKER said, that the measure had been treated as a Public Bill in the House of Lords.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read the first time. [Bill 243.]

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT (THE SOUDAN)—REPORTED DEATH OF THE MAHDI.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government had received any confirmation of the reported death of the Mahdi?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No, Sir; we have received no official confirmation of the report.

EGYPT (THE SOUDAN)—REPORTED FIGHTING AT KASSALA.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether there was any truth in the report which had appeared in the newspapers of a great slaughter of Arabs having taken place at Kassala; and whether he had received any information on the subject?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: There appears to have been an attack made upon Kassala, and the attacking party appears to have been defeated. As to the amount of slaughter the Government have no information.

EGYPT—OLIVIER PAIN.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked, Whether there was any reason to believe that the report that Olivier Pain was living and at Berber was correct?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No, Sir; we have no authentic information.

LUNACY LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ARTHUR BALFOUR, Bill to amend the Law relating to Lunatics, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ARTHUR BALFOUR and Mr. STUART-WORTLEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 244.]

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 23rd July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices)* (199); School Boards * (200); Exchequer and Treasury Bills *; Greenwich Hospital * (201); Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) * (202).

Second Reading—River Thames (No. 2) (171); Turnpike Acts Continuance * (174); Public Health (Ships, &c.) * (186); Artillery and Rifle Ranges * (193).

Committee — Submarine Telegraph Cables (104-203).

Report — Shannon Navigation * (172); Land Purchase (Ireland) (184-204-205).

Third Reading — Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment * (192); Metropolis Management Acts Amendment * (162), and *passed.*

WORCESTER EXTENSION BILL.

THIRD READING.

Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments.

On Motion "That the Bill do pass?"

THE PAYMASTER GENERAL (Earl BEAUCHAMP) said, he rose to move the omission of Clause 22, as amended in Committee, relating to the assessment of railways. He took this course, not as a Member of the Government, but as Lord Lieutenant of the county of Worcester; but he believed the Home Office and the Local Government Board approved his opposition to the clause. It really did not receive the consideration of the Committee of the House. The Bill was one for the extension of the boundaries of the borough of Worcester. The Great Western Railway opposed the Bill before the Commons' Committee, but on clauses only. The Company gave notice that they would offer the same opposition in this House; but they opposed the Preamble, and the promoters being unprepared, offered this clause. The facts were that since 1832 the boundaries of the population of Worcester had been greatly increased. In consequence of this, it had been agreed to add to the civic area about 2,000 acres, and a population thereon of about 8,000. Within this area there was some property belonging to the Railway Company, and this property would, according to the general law, be rated in the city; but by this clause it would be still rated as if it were in the county. There was no justification whatever for such an exemption. There was no reason why the Great Western Railway Company should be exempt from the operation of the ordinary laws, and should be placed in a more favourable position in Worcester than any railway in any other borough in the Kingdom. All the promoters asked was that matters should be left to the operation of the general law. The interests at stake were so large that he must ask their Lordships to overlook the error of judgment committed by the promoters, and, in justice to the ratepayers of Worcester, to omit the 22nd clause.

Moved, to leave out Clause 22 (of the Bill as amended in Committee) "Assessment of Railways, &c."—(*The Earl Beauchamp.*)

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, that, having been Chairman of the Committee to which the Bill had been referred, he desired to make a few observations. He was sorry that he could not agree to the Motion which had been made by his noble Friend. This Session there had been more attacks on the decisions of Select Committees than he ever remembered to have been made in any previous year; and those attacks must have a depressing effect upon noble Lords who endeavoured to do their duty as Members of Committees. The object of the Bill was to include within the boundaries of the City of Worcester about 2,000 acres, with a population of about 8,000. There would thus be about four persons to an acre, and, considering that much of the land was agricultural, the Committee was quite right in determining on a differential rating. When the promoters had called witnesses and concluded their case, the counsel for the opponents rose and asked whether he had any case to meet. The Committee intimated that they saw no reason at that stage of the case to stop the Bill. Shortly afterwards the counsel on both sides came to an arrangement which was embodied in this clause. Everything that had been done in the matter had been done with the assent of the promoters, and, the clause having been accepted by them, all further opposition to the measure had been withdrawn. He did not think that the promoters of the Bill had any cause of complaint, and, while wishing to avoid the use of strong language, he could not help saying that their action in assenting to the introduction of the clause before the Committee, and then taking the first opportunity to get rid of it, was hardly straightforward. If their Lordships decided to reject the clause on the ground that it was against public policy, he hoped that they would recommit the

Bill, in order that those who opposed it might have an opportunity of being heard.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN said, he agreed with the suggestion of the noble Earl who had just sat down that if the clause were rejected the Bill should be re-committed. In his opinion, there was no ground for supposing that the Great Western Railway Company attempted to take the promoters at any disadvantage.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Earl BROWNLOW) said, he believed there was no exact precedent for the principle laid down in the clause; and, therefore, he should support the Amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Earl of REDESDALE) said, he thought the Committee had not acted with judgment in accepting the proposal for an arrangement. However, the only question before the House was whether they would support the decision of the Committee or would reject the clause, because to re-commit the Bill would be to throw it over for the present Session. For his own part, he was opposed to the rejection of the clause.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 18; Not-Contents 35: Majority 17.

Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

RIVER THAMES (No. 2) BILL.—(No. 171.)

(*The Lord Mount Temple.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD MOUNT-TEMPLE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was to improve by regulation the use and enjoyment which the inhabitants of London derived from the Thames. The traffic on this navigable highway was no longer for business, but for pleasure. The Conservancy had not sufficient authority for preventing disorderly, ill-behaved people emerging from the boats into lawns and pleasure grounds, to the annoyance of riparian residents. Power would be given to the Conservators to prevent such abuses. Provisions were made to prevent landowners from claiming rights which did not belong to them—of shutting pleasure boats out of inlets and narrow passages between islands and banks of the river. The Bill would regulate the use of the river to the advantage of all parties; but it did not deprive the public or the riparian owners of their lawful rights.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^{a}."—(*The Lord Mount-Temple.*)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Viscount BURY) said, he had great sympathy with a good many of the provisions of the Bill, which he thought would do a great many things that were very desirable, just, and right. But the noble Lord would see that the Bill in one or two instances made legal that which he wished to prevent. For instance, the 4th clause gave the right to anchor and moor for a reasonable time. The whole point of that clause turned upon the construction to be placed upon the words "reasonable time." Then, again, the 6th clause provided that no house boat should anchor, moor, or remain stationary opposite any gardens, house, or pleasure grounds for more than seven days without the sanction of the occupier of the house or grounds. That clause gave a distinct permission to moor and anchor these boats for a certain time. Anybody who knew the River Thames also knew that house boats were very large floating palaces, and attracted people down to stay with those who owned them. He supposed that throughout the length of the river they numbered 1,000; and he thought that if the owners of these boats were to be empowered to anchor for seven days immediately opposite a man's pleasure grounds without any licence from the occupier a grievous injustice would be fixed by the Bill. If the noble Lord would strike out seven days and insert 24 hours that objection would fall to the ground. But he considered that the Bill ought to contain a further provision. In his opinion, if the owner of any one of these boats wished to anchor opposite a man's lawn or house he should be compelled, in the first place, to obtain permission from the Conservancy so to anchor, and the riparian proprietors should have a voice in the matter. If a man desired to keep a boat stationed at a particular spot for more than 24 hours the riparian ought to have some means of approaching the Conservancy, and of making himself heard in the matter, At the same time, the Conservators themselves ought not to have complete jurisdiction, and the riparian owner should be able to appeal from their decision if they gave permission for a boat to be anchored opposite his house or pleasure grounds. Clause 53 gave jurisdiction to the magistrates in certain matters connected with the police; and he thought that the magistrates' court should be the tribunal to appeal to from the decision of the Conservators. If the noble Lord would undertake that these points should be attended to in Committee the Bill would do a great public service.

Lord CLINTON said, that, while approving the second reading of the Bill, which was in many respects an admirable measure, he thought that in some matters of detail its provisions would require Amendment. He hoped, therefore, that sufficient time would be allowed to elapse before the Committee stage, in order that opportunity might be given to prepare Amendments.

Lord MOUNT-TEMPLE observed that the objections of the noble Viscount were not, in his opinion, valid. The first duty imposed upon the Conservators was to prevent annoyance; but if they thought that under certain circumstances there was a case in which no annoyance would be caused by the mooring of a boat, then they had power to determine that the mooring did not constitute an annoyance. Under other circumstances, the Conservators might say that the boat should not be moored for more than seven days. They might fairly consider in Committee whether seven days should be the exact period. He might add that the Bill was generally approved of by the riparian owners, who were anxious to see it passed.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (The Duke of Richmond and Gordon) said, he would support the appeal made by the noble Lord behind him that the Committee stage should not be taken before those interested in the Bill had an opportunity of drawing up Amendments to meet the cases in which they were interested. The noble Lord had stated that the riparian owners were desirous of having these powers. That might be so in the case of some; but there were persons who were very much opposed to the Bill, and who would not care to have boats moored opposite their houses or grounds for a period of seven days. The power given to the Conservancy to permit the mooring of boats opposite a man's grounds, whether he liked it or not, was a very strong power. He hoped the details would be discussed in Committee.

The Earl of ABINGDON wished to say, as a Member of a Committee appointed by riparian owners to consider this Bill, that he proposed in Committee to suggest certain Amendments, which he hoped would be agreed to.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH CABLES BILL.—(No. 104.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."

The Marquess of TWEEDDALE said, he wished to take that opportunity of protesting against the manner in which the Convention dealing with submarine telegraph cables had been conducted. The property affected by the Convention consisted of 110,000 miles of telegraph cable, of which 98,000 miles belonged to private individuals or to private Companies. The whole of those cables had been laid down at different times by English hands, and were for the greater part maintained, kept in order, and repaired by English hands. The value of the property in submarine cables owned by private individuals or Companies was estimated at £34,000,000, and the owners of that property were, for the greater part, inhabitants of the United Kingdom. That was the nature of the property to which the Convention applied, and for the protection of which the Convention was held in March, 1884. The Convention was composed of the Representatives of 26 Powers, including the European Powers, two Asiatic Powers—namely, the Shah of Persia and the Indian Government—the United States, and some eight or ten small Governments in South America. The only feature common to all those Representatives was their complete ignorance of everything connected with submarine telegraphy. He did not believe there was one person at that Convention who had any knowledge, theoretically or practically, of the laying or maintenance of submarine cables. It was naturally to be expected that the Convention would communicate in some way with the owners of this valuable property. So far from doing so, they legislated for it in complete ignorance of the subject, and without inviting the owners or other persons capable of doing so to give them information. The result, as might be anticipated, was that the Bill carrying out the deliberations of the Convention contained clauses so objectionable that the owners of this valuable property, almost to a man, had petitioned that this Bill, designed for their protection, should not become law. They alleged that so far from the Bill being calculated to protect them it was eminently calculated to injure and, in some cases, to ruin them. The best evidence he could give that the objections to the Bill were not exaggerated was afforded by the Amendments which the noble Duke who had charge of the Bill had placed upon the Paper. In one case the Amendment proposed by the noble Duke was very considerable, and in another it entirely wiped out one of the Articles of the Convention. He ventured to think, however, that the Amendments he had placed on the Paper were preferable to those of the noble Duke; at any rate, the owners of the telegraph cables preferred them. He had risen to record this protest, because he thought it intolerable that a large and valuable property like this should be dealt with, as this had been, without any communication with those for whose benefit the Convention was ostensibly held.

Motion *agreed to;* House in Committee accordingly.

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Confirmation of Convention).

On the Motion of the Marquess of TWEEDDALE, the following Amendment made:—"In page 1, line 9, after ("and"), insert ("subject to the provisions of this Act").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Punishment of violation of Article two of Convention).

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND), who had given Notice of the following Amendment:—In page 2, after subsection (3), insert as a new subsection (3a)—

"A person shall not be deemed to have acted wilfully who in order to the repair of one submarine cable is unavoidably compelled, by reason of not being able to effect the repair otherwise, to break or injure another submarine cable; but this provision shall not apply so as to exempt such person from any liability under this Act to pay the cost of repairing and breakage or injury;"

Also after the clause, to insert as a new clause—

(Limitation of Article four of Convention.)

"Article four of the Schedule to this Act shall not apply to a depth of water exceeding one hundred fathoms,"

said, it had been adopted by him in consequence of representations made by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Tweeddale) and other Gentlemen interested in the subject. It was pointed out by them that the clause affected Telegraph Companies injuriously, and rendered them liable to be punished by fines and imprisonment if in the exercise of their duty to repair their own cables they injured those of somebody else. It might very well happen that in repairing their cable a Company might unintentionally damage the cable of another. To meet this difficulty he now moved to amend the clause by providing that no person should be deemed to have acted wilfully who, in order to repair one submarine cable, should be unavoidably compelled to injure another submarine cable. The provision was not, however, to exempt the person injuring the cable of someone else from liability for the cost of repairing it.

THE MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE said, that he entirely agreed with the principle of the Amendment, though it did not, in his opinion, afford sufficient protection to those for whom it was intended. He objected to the use of the ambiguous word "unavoidable." It would be almost impossible to say whether any particular act done by the captain of a ship in mid-Atlantic in the repair of a cable was, under the circumstances of the case, unavoidable or not. It should be sufficient that everything was done in reason to prevent injury to other cables. He would suggest an Amendment to the effect that punishment should not be inflicted when sufficient and reasonable precautions had been taken to prevent injury being done to another cable.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he could not help thinking that this was a very dangerous piece of legislation. It appeared to him, however, that the Amendment of the noble Duke was an improvement on the original clause, and that the Amendment of the noble Marquess was an improvement on that of the noble Duke; but he himself intended to suggest a third Amendment to the effect that this section should not extend to any case where in a *bonâ fide* attempt to repair a submarine cable injury had been caused to another cable or the same had been broken, but that the section should not apply so as to prevent a civil remedy.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND) said, that his Amendment was substantially the same as that proposed by the noble Marquess. The noble Marquess had referred to the difficulty of mending a cable in the Atlantic; but the Amendment he proposed to insert in the Bill had reference only to the 100 fathom limit, and, consequently, what the noble Marquess said was not much to the purpose. They had all the same object in view, and that was not to subject persons to what would certainly be an injury in the execution of what was their legitimate duty. There were three propositions before the Committee—his own, that of the noble Marquess, and that of the noble and learned Lord. He liked the third better than the second, and it was possible the second might be better than his own. He would suggest that that of the noble and learned Lord should be printed, and that the matter should be left open to the Report, which he hoped might be taken on Friday.

THE MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE said, he did not understand the noble Duke's criticism as to the 100 fathom limit—which applied solely to Article IV. of the Convention, and not to Clause 3 now under discussion.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) suggested that there were some ambiguities in the clause of the noble and learned Lord (Lord Bramwell), which he might correct in putting it on the Paper. The words "*bonâ fide*" and "reasonable care" involved the question which would have to be determined by a jury.

Clause *agreed to.*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND) said, he proposed to insert after Clause 3 a clause to meet objections which had been raised that the measure went far beyond what was reasonable. It was said that it would be very difficult indeed, if not impossible, in mid ocean to take up a cable, especially in places where they were in close proximity to each other. He therefore proposed that Article 4 of the Schedule should only apply to a depth of water not exceeding 100 fathoms, a limit which was well defined in all charts. There was no difficulty in dealing with cables within that depth; it was easy to take them up and repair them. He added to the clause a Proviso preserving any right or remedy possessed independently of the Convention or of the Act.

Moved, to insert new clause after Clause 3—

(Limitation of Article four of Convention.)

"Article four of the Schedule to this Act shall not apply at a depth of water exceeding one hundred fathoms."—(*The Duke of Richmond.*)

THE MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE, in accepting the Amendment, said, he was obliged to the noble Duke for the manner in which he had endeavoured to meet the wishes of those concerned.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN asked whether the limitation in the Amendment was consistent with the Convention, which applied to all cables, and for which the contracting parties undertook to ask the sanction of their Legislatures?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND) said, that Parliament could not be compelled to carry out the whole Convention.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he was afraid we were establishing a system of punishment for British subjects which would not be enforced by foreign nations against their own subjects engaged in these operations, which would be undertaken when we were neither at peace nor at war, but between the two.

Amendment *agreed to;* Clause *inserted* accordingly.

Clauses 4 to 7, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Masters of vessels liable to punishment).

THE MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE, in moving the insertion of the following clause:—

(Provisions as to a concession of right of landing cables.)

"With respect to concessions to be hereafter granted of the right of landing submarine cables on the shores of the United Kingdom the following enactments shall have effect:

"(1.) No such concession shall be granted unless public notice of the application for and purport of the proposed concession has been previously given by advertisement once in *The London Gazette* and twice in two successive weeks in two daily morning newspapers published in London.

"(2.) Before any such concession be granted the Board of Trade shall consider any objections which may be made thereto by any company or persons affected thereby, and of which notice in writing shall be given to the Board of Trade within twenty-one days after the date of the insertion in *The London Gazette* of the advertisement mentioned in this section.

"(3.) A copy or statement of the material provisions of every such concession shall be inserted in *The London Gazette* within fourteen days from the date thereof, and copies shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within the like period if Parliament be then sitting, and if not, then within fourteen days from the next sitting thereof,"

said, the object of Article 3 was to secure in future that a cable should be laid in such a manner that it would not cause any injury to any other cable, and he wished to provide that in future when a concession was given before it became valid it should be treated as a provisional order—in other words, that the concession should remain for a certain number of days so that it might be examined, discussed, and, if necessary, objected to. At present, there was no machinery whatever for ascertaining the nature of the concession which might be granted by the Board of Trade or the Post Office.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND) said, he objected most strongly to this clause, which seemed to have been drawn up very much in favour of existing Companies. It would be very difficult for new Companies to become established as means might be taken during the time application was being made to endeavour to buy up the new Company. He also thought it would be a great hardship upon the owner of a foreshore that he should not be able to grant a concession to a Cable Company to land upon it without coming to Parliament.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he should support the Amendment.

THE MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE said, he had had no communication with any of the Companies on this subject, and there was no intention to stop concessions.

Clause (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

The Report of the said Amendments to be received *To-morrow;* and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 203.)

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

(NO. 197.) REPORT.

Order of the Day for the Report of the Amendments to be received read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE), in moving that the Report of Amendments to this Bill be received, said, that it would save time if he laid before their Lordships as shortly as possible a sketch of the principal Amendments which he proposed to make. He had endeavoured, in the Amendments he now submitted to the House, to deal with the various points raised in the discussion that had taken place on the Bill. He had also availed himself of many suggestions made to him from various quarters with regard to different parts of the Bill. The first important Amendment was one which dealt with the one-fifth of the purchase-money which it was proposed to leave as a guarantee. He had already inserted various Amendments in the Bill at the Committee stage dealing with that matter, and he now proposed to introduce further safeguards for those whose money would thus be retained for the security of the State. Another important question was with reference to the power proposed to be given by the Bill to the Land Commission in certain instances to make vesting orders. The Bill proposed that these vesting orders should give an indefeasible title; but it had been pointed out in that House, and also suggested to him by various persons outside, that it would be desirable to permit other vesting orders to be made in cases where the Land Commission might find itself unable to pronounce vesting orders giving an indefeasible title. It was thought that in such cases it would be desirable that the Commission should have power to give vesting orders which should not be absolutely indefeasible. Another Amendment was with reference to a subject brought to their Lordships' attention by the noble Earl the late Viceroy of Ireland (Earl Spencer). It had relation to the possible danger from the apportionment of rent charges and the possible injustice which would accrue from the apportionment of mortgages. For instance, a person might now receive a rent charge of £1,000 a-year from two or three solvent tenants, and it might be very inconvenient for him to have substituted for those two or three solvent persons 30 or 40 others, from whom he might have considerable difficulty in collecting his money. In the same way a person might have a mortgage of £5,000 secured on the property of one person, and it might be very inconvenient for him to have to look for his interest to a multiplicity of owners. He had, therefore, struck out of the Bill the power of apportioning rent charges and mortgages. He was supported in that by the information which had been communicated to him that the Landed Estates Court had not been in the habit for years of using its power of apportioning rent charges, owing probably to the inconvenience and injustice resulting therefrom. The Landed Estates Court, he believed, had never had the power of apportioning or dividing mortgages, and, therefore, there was no precedent in that matter. Another point to which he thought their Lordships would readily give their assent was with regard to the position of members of both branches of the Legal Profession employed in the business of the Land Commission. It had been felt a grievance that persons of distinguished and honourable position in both branches of the Legal Profession should, by their employment about the business of the Commission, cease to be regarded as practising part of their profession. That grievance he proposed to remedy. He also had taken power to appoint, if thought necessary, a separate solicitor for that part of the work connected with land purchase. With that sketch of the Amendments which he had now to submit, he begged to move their adoption.

Lord FITZGERALD agreed that the proposed Amendments would carry out the intention referred to; but he wished to give Notice that on the third reading he should raise the question of the desirability of giving power to the Land Commission to grant an indefeasible title.

Moved, "That the Report of the Amendments be received."—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

Motion *agreed to;* further Amendments made; Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow;* and to be *printed* as amended. (Nos. 204 and 205.)

HARBOUR ACCOMMODATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Viscount SIDMOUTH asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether it is their intention to adopt any measures for improving and extending harbour accommodation on the coasts of the United Kingdom, with a view to the increased protection of human life and of commerce from shipwreck? From the evidence recently laid before the public it appeared that there were but very few harbours on the Eastern Coast. When the Royal Commission reported in 1859 the loss of property by wrecks amounted to £1,500,000 annually, but it now amounted to £2,000,000. He hoped the Government would look at the question from a financial point of view. He introduced a deputation upon this subject to the late President of the Board of Trade, who spoke in a most discouraging manner, and said that he did not believe that the loss of life and property would be very much lessened by the establishment of harbours of refuge. That statement, he might say, was received with murmurs of disapprobation, followed by something like laughter, by the 30 or 40 gentlemen connected with naval affairs who were present. Such was his opinion of the importance of the subject that, whatever Government might be in Office next year, he should bring it under the notice of the House.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND) said, there was no Member of that House, and certainly no Member of the Government, who did not admit most fully the great importance of harbour accommodation throughout the country, and everyone must deplore very much the loss of life among our sailors at sea. But, on the part of the Government, he was bound to say that they had no intention of departing from the policy of successive Governments for, he thought, 25 years past, by which they had always declined to make grants to public authorities for harbour construction except in cases of Imperial and national necessity. With regard to the subject of loans to harbour authorities, that matter was now under the consideration of the Board of Trade and of the Treasury, and he hoped that at no great distance of time some arrangement would be made. These loans were granted to assist authorities in making harbours. But the noble Lord, he took it, had an idea that the Government should undertake to construct harbours all round the coast. He was afraid he could not give his noble Friend a more distinct answer.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, that £24,000,000 had already been expended by private bodies upon harbour works, and what he wished was that the Government should give every encouragement and assistance in its power to those who would in the future undertake the construction of harbours.

House adjourned at a quarter past
Seven o'clock, till To-morrow,
a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 23rd July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered — First Reading*—Metropolitan Police Staff Superannuation * [246].
Second Reading—Revising Barristers [237]; Evidence by Commission * [238]; Police Enfranchisement Extension [219], *debate adjourned.*
Referred to Select Committee—Crown Lands * [51].
Committee—Pluralities (*re-comm.*) [241]—R.P.
Committee—Report—Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2) [223].
Considered as amended—Committee — Report — Medical Relief Disqualification Removal [232].
Considered as amended—Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [224].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

SOUTHWARK AND VAUXHALL WATER BILL [*Lords*].

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the case of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill [*Lords*], Standing Order 204 be dispensed with."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that this was the same Bill in regard to which the House had arrived at a decision on the previous Tuesday. On that occasion it was proposed to suspend Standing Order 235; but the House rejected the Motion, and by so doing virtually refused to read the Bill a second time. He had been desirous on that occasion of moving that the Bill be read a second time upon that day three months; but in consequence of the form in which the proposal was placed upon the Paper he was precluded from moving that Amendment, and, consequently, the Bill could not at that stage be finally disposed of, although the House certainly discussed the merits of the scheme at some length before it decided not to suspend the Standing Order on Tuesday. The result, technically, was that the promoters were not at that time able to propose the second reading; but they now proposed to return to the attack, and, as a first step in their further action, they invited the House to suspend Standing Order 204, which related only to the question of Notice as between three and seven days. Of course, that was comparatively a minor matter; but, after the decision of the House the other day, he thought they would be perfectly justified in refusing to assent to any proposal in regard to this Bill at all, which ought justly to be regarded as one which had been rejected as a Bill by the House on the second reading. He understood that he could not move any Amendment to this particular Motion; but he certainly objected to the Motion itself.

MR. PEMBERTON said, he desired to explain how the matter stood. He had no interest whatever in the Bill, and he was only acting for the right hon. Baronet the Chairman of Ways and

Means, who had charge of Private Bills, and who was absent on that occasion from indisposition. He wished simply to point out that this proceeding was solely to enable the Bill to be submitted to the House again and to be tried upon its merits on Monday next. The Standing Order required that it should be brought forward not more than seven days after the first reading; but that was impossible now, owing to what took place the other day. As to the merits of the Bill, he had nothing whatever to do with them; but he thought he might say that, as far as the Private Bill Office was concerned, his right hon. Friend the Chairman of Ways and Means saw no objection to this proceeding, and, as he had said, the House would have an opportunity of discussing the Bill upon its merits on Monday. This Motion was only submitted in order to enable the House to entertain the Bill again. So far as the merits were concerned, he would not say that the House would have rejected the Bill if it had been in possession of the full facts. At all events, he believed it was undoubted that his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) would have assented, on behalf of the Government, to the Bill on Tuesday if a certain clause had been introduced. As that was the case, he thought the House would feel that it was only fair, seeing that a false issue had been presented to it on the former occasion, that no technical Rule should be enforced so as to prevent the House from having the whole question properly and fairly put before it.

Colonel MAKINS said, he believed, as the hon. and learned Gentleman had explained, that the sense of the House was against the Bill on a former occasion, because it did not contain a particular clause which was in it when it was originally introduced into the House of Lords about the purchase of a dust-yard at Battersea Park. There was also another clause objected to in reference to the putting up of the fresh capital to auction. He was informed and believed that his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board was now satisfied, and that the Water Company was prepared to re-introduce the Bill with the clause relating to the purchase of the site at Battersea, and also with an amended clause dealing with the capital powers. So that the only objections which had been urged against the Bill had been removed by the Company voluntarily. Under these circumstances, he thought it would be only fair to give to the Company an opportunity of having the question argued again upon its merits, and to afford them that opportunity he would support the Motion now before the House authorizing the Standing Order to be suspended.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. Balfour) said, he should like, after what had taken place, to say a word upon this Bill. He thought that no objection could now be made to the Motion. On Tuesday he had raised an objection on behalf of the Government to the Bill as it was introduced into that House, because no provision was contained in it for removing the dust-yard, which, in the opinion of the Local Government Board, contaminated one of the filter beds of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company. But the Company had acceded to the demands of the Local Government Board in reference to that dust-yard, and had gone further and proposed to introduce a certain clause with respect of the debenture capital, on which point some objection was raised on Tuesday. The reason which induced him now to urge the House most strongly not to stop the Bill was that he was informed by the official responsible to the Local Government Board in matters connected with the water supply of London, that it was absolutely and vitally essential to the water supply of the Metropolis that this Bill should pass, or otherwise the water supply of this particular district would run short. The maximum had already been reached, or nearly so. The population of the district supplied by the Water Company was largely increasing, and if the Bill were not carried, this part of London, supplied by the Southwark and Vauxhall Company, would, in all probability, receive an insufficient supply. The responsibility was so great that he was convinced the House would not interpose any obstacle in the way of the passing of the Bill.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he could not quite agree with the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken. It was perfectly true that the right hon. Gentleman was one of the Gentlemen on the other side of the House who, when the Bill was under discussion on Tuesday, raised the question of the dust-yard; but that was really, so far as he (Mr. Labouchere) conceived, to throw dust in the eyes of the House, for it had absolutely nothing to do with the question, and was altogether a minor point. The real objection to the Bill was taken by the hon. Baronet the Member for Truro (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg)—namely, that the Metropolitan Board of Works had not agreed to the provisions of the Bill, but had opposed it, before the House of Lords, as representatives of the ratepayers of London, and had declared that if it were persisted in, they would oppose it before the Committee of that House. What the Metropolitan Board objected to, and what the House agreed upon on Tuesday, was that the Bill had been introduced without the concurrence of the Metropolitan Board. What was urged was that no Bill of any Water Company ought to be read a second time in that House, or sent to a Committee upstairs, unless it had upon it the *imprimatur* of the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board. That was his (Mr. Labouchere's) idea of local self-government. Hon. Members knew perfectly well that it was always intended, when the Bill for the re-arrangement of the institutions of London was brought on, that London itself should have an opportunity of deciding upon these water questions, and the only reason why that was not the case now was that there had been no time to bring in the large Municipal Bill which had been so long promised. Until that Bill was brought in, he thought they ought to place some permanent authority in these matters in the hands of the Metropolitan Board of Works. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board said that if this Bill were not passed, this particular part of London would be put on a short supply. The right hon. Gentleman only heard that from the Company themselves.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) begged the hon. Member's pardon. What he had stated was that he received this information from the official responsible to the Local Government Board in matters connected with the water supply of the Metropolis.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that might be so; but all these gentlemen were very much under the influence of the Water Companies. Was this part of London put upon a short supply now, or was it likely that it was going to be placed on a short supply, if the House refused to read this Bill a second time? This was just the sort of thing which the Water Company would say—"If you do not give us leave to borrow £200,000 on our own promise, we will put you on short supply." That had been the bullying habit of the Water Companies for a long time. He did not believe in a short supply. One of the reasons why the Metropolitan Board opposed the Bill was that, if the money were borrowed without any arrangement as to back dividends, when the public came to buy up this Water Company they would have to pay 100 per cent on all the increased capital which Parliament was now asked to authorize. The law, as it at present stood, was most unfair to the consumer, and whenever these Water Companies came for fresh powers to Parliament, protection ought to be given in order to make the Company pay a species of ransom for the right of getting fresh capital. He would not enter into details, as that was not the time for doing so; but he would remind the House that they had already refused to suspend the Standing Orders, and had come to that decision on the merits of the case. Everyone who voted on Tuesday against the suspension of the Standing Orders, did so under the impression that he was voting against the second reading of the Bill; and now, after having practically decided against the second reading, they were asked, for the benefit of this Water Company, to support this wretched Bill. When the House went to a division on Tuesday, there were a great many more Members present than there were now; but he trusted, if they were to divide again, that the same result would be arrived at.

MR. ALDERMAN COTTON said, that, individually, he was as much opposed to granting additional powers to the Water Companies as any Member of the House could possibly be; but he thought, in this case, that the appeal which had been made by the President of the Local Government Board was one that ought to be listened to. The proposal was merely to suspend one of the Standing Orders so that the whole question might be discussed. He thought enough had been thrown out to convince the House that with justice the Standing Order might be suspended, and the whole matter discussed on Monday on its merits.

Mr. BIGGAR said, that as a question of Order he would ask whether or not, as the Motion had been objected to, it ought not, as a matter of course, to stand over until to-morrow?

Mr. SPEAKER said, that that Rule only applied to Orders of the Day. The Motion did not come before the House as an Order of the Day, but its only object was to facilitate a further stage of the Bill at a future time. Therefore, it was not irregular to discuss the Motion now.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 76; Noes 53: Majority 23.—(Div. List, No. 240.)

Ordered, That, in the case of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill [*Lords*], Standing Order 204 be dispensed with.

QUESTIONS.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—STEWARTSTOWN PETTY SESSIONS—PARTY PROCESSIONS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the magistrates in Stewartstown Petty Sessions ordered that no drumming parties should be allowed to parade the roads in their district; whether, in spite of this order by the magistrates, the police allowed the Orange Party to parade the roads on 1st, 13th, and 14th instant, without interference; whether, on the 13th, they stopped a party of Nationalists; and, whether he will take care that the police for time to come carry out impartially the orders of the magistrates?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke): It appears that the magistrates made an order forbidding drumming parties in the public streets; but, on the 1st instant, they directed the police not to enforce the order without further instructions. The police consequently did not interfere with the Orangemen on the 1st, 13th, and 14th instant. On the 13th instant, the sergeant turned a drumming party of Nationalists back in order to prevent their coming into collision with a large body of Orangemen who were returning home. The Police authorities are satisfied that if this had not been done a serious riot would have occurred. On a previous occasion they treated a party of Orangemen in Coalisland in a similar manner. From the reports I have received I do not think that any charge of partiality can be sustained against the police in the discharge of a most difficult duty.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—MUSSEL FISHERIES.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secresary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, so long ago as April last, the Rev. James O'Laverty, P.P. of Holywood, county Down, wrote to the Conservators of Irish Fisheries, complaining of the great destruction of Mussel Fisheries in Belfast Lough; and, if so, why no action has been taken thereon, and why no reply has, up to the present, been sent to the Rev. gentleman; and, if the inspectors will now take any action thereon or make inquiries into the matter?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke): It appears that through some oversight in the Office of the Fishery Inspectors no action was taken on Mr. O'Laverty's letter. The officer responsible has been admonished to be more careful in future, and the Inspectors will proceed to hold an inquiry into the matter complained of. They fear, however, that under the present law they will have no power to apply a remedy.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CAVAN GRAND JURY.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the charges made by the Secretary to the Cavan Grand Jury for contract forms, cheques, &c. are legal charges; and, if not, will he use his influence to have the illegality discontinued?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke): The Secretary of a Grand Jury is not an officer of Government, and it does not fall within my province to advise as to the legality of the charges he may make. It is open to those who doubt his power to make these charges to contest the matter in such a way as they may be advised.

SEA FISHERIES (IRELAND)—THE BOYLE AND BANN.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the steamer employed by the Conservators of Fisheries, Londonderry district, and the lessees under the Irish Society of the Salmon Fisheries of the Boyle and Bann, is still allowed to go among the fishing fleet at night in the open sea off the county of Londonderry, and without lights, notwithstanding the late inquiry held by the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries, and that a few nights ago she ran through the nets belonging to poor fishermen who were legally fishing in the open sea at the time; if the coastguard made any report on the subject; and, what steps will be taken to prevent this steamer continuing the acts of injury which were sworn to at the inquiry referred to?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): A Report in this matter has been made by the Coastguard, and the Inspectors of Fisheries are at present investigating it. They inform me that in some particulars the allegations are conflicting. I will ask the Inspectors to give me a Report when they have finished the inquiries.

THE LIGHTHOUSE COMMISSION—PROFESSOR TYNDALL.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether Her Majesty's Government have under their consideration, in the interests of science and of the Maritime welfare of the Country, the advisability of requesting Professor Tyndall to resume the position he recently occupied in connection with the Lighthouse Commission?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD (Baron HENRY DE WORMS): In March, 1883, Professor Tyndall resigned the office of Scientific Adviser to the Trinity House, the Commissioners of Irish Lights, and the Board of Trade. He has made no application to the President to be reinstated in that position.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ABSTRACTION OF CATTLE, CO. LEITRIM.

COLONEL O'BEIRNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that two bullocks, value respectively £12 each, were driven off a farm in the parish of Kiltoghart, county Leitrim, the property of Francis O'Beirne, a minor, on the night of the 13th inst., and that the cattle have not yet been found, although the country all round the farm for a radius of ten miles has been searched by the police; whether it is also a fact, that in May 1882 fourteen bullocks, worth £16 each, were driven off a farm, the property of a Mr. Ormsby Lawder, and close to Fenagh Police Barracks, county Leitrim, and that up to present date, in each of the above-mentioned instances, no traces of the stolen cattle have been found, nor the person or persons who carried out the robbery; if any reason can be assigned for the complete failure of the authorities in each instance, either to trace the whereabouts of the stolen property or to obtain some information as to who or what were the persons that planned and effected the theft; and, what legal redress is available to the owners of the stolen property?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The facts are as stated in the two first paragraphs of this Question. The Divisional Magistrate assures me that no effort has been spared to trace the animals and the perpetrators of the thefts; and he has himself personally directed the inquiries, and can say that nothing has been neglected, though the exertions of the police have, so far, been unsuccessful. I will see that the vigilance of the police in this matter is not relaxed.

INDIA—NATIVE STATES—EXPULSION OF A FRENCH CITIZEN FROM TRAVANCORE.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether the India Office has any information regarding the expulsion from the Native State of Travancore of M. Montelar, a French citizen; and, if so, by what authority he was expelled, and why?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL), in reply, said, that the matter referred to in the Question occurred some years ago. M. Montelar had been discovered by the Regent of Travancore to be engaged in some very questionable business; and having abused his influence, the Regent requested him to leave the territory. This step was concurred in by the Government of Madras as being essential to the welfare of Travancore.

THE LUNACY REPORTS (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND).

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the English and Scotch Lunacy Reports will be presented; and, whether there is any insurmountable difficulty in getting them printed at an earlier date in future?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY), who replied, said, that the Report of the English Commissioners was presented to Parliament yesterday. The Report of the Scotch Commissioners was now in type, and he had reason to hope that it would be presented to the House before the end of the month. The delay in the issue of these Reports was due to the large amount of statistical matter which the Commissioners had considered it desirable to include in the Reports; and he was informed that the Reports could not be presented earlier, unless an increase was either made in the staff of the Commissioners or a considerable amount of the information presented to the public was omitted.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked if an abstract could not be presented at an earlier date?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY): I will make inquiry.

THE UNITED STATES—BOUNTY ON SUGAR EXPORTATION.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade, Whether it is the fact that 73,000 tons of refined sugar have been imported from the United States in the first six months of this year, and that, according to statements made in America, a bounty of £2 per ton is paid by the United States Government on its exportation?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD (Baron HENRY DE WORMS): It is a fact that 73,000 tons of refined sugar have been imported from the United States in the first six months of the present year. In reply to the latter part of the noble Lord's Question, I would say that Her Majesty's Minister at Washington has recently reported that a Commission has been appointed by the new Administration of the United States to consider the drawbacks, and that in some of the evidence taken before that Commission the present bounty on refined sugar has been estimated at £2 per ton.

HARBOUR ACCOMMODATION—NATIONAL HARBOURS OF REFUGE.

MR. CHARLES ROSS asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether it is the intention of the Government to adopt the recommendation of the Select Committee on Harbour Accommodation (1884), and to appoint a Commission for the purpose of visiting and reporting on those portions of the coasts of the United Kingdom which have been indicated in the Report of the Committee as sites suitable for the construction of National Harbours of Refuge, or as localities urgently in need of refuges especially adapted to the requirements of fishermen and of the coasting trade?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD (Baron HENRY DE WORMS): Her Majesty's Government have no intention of departing from the policy of successive Governments during the last 25 years under which they have hitherto declined to make grants of public money for harbour construction, except in cases of Imperial and National necessity. As the recommendation by the Select Committee of the appointment of such a Commission as is suggested in my hon. Friend's Question contemplated grants of public money, and not loans, the Government do not propose to appoint this Commission. With regard to the subject of loans to harbour authorities, the Treasury and the Board of Trade are considering the matter.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—DISTRICT INSPECTOR GIBBONS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether James S. Gibbons, District Inspector, Irish Constabulary, who, as appears by official returns, was—

> "Promoted ten steps on the seniority list, and granted a first-class favourable record (1. H. Y. S.) for special detective intelligence and capacity, as shown in the successful prosecution of the Maamtrasna murderers,"

still retains the post of District Inspector, and the seniority so granted, although he has been serving for more than two years past as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Egyptian police; and, whether he will be removed from the Irish force?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): In April, 1883, the services of Mr. Gibbons were lent to the Egyptian Government for a period of two years in connection with their Police Force, and, on their application, the time has been extended by a further 12 months. Mr. Gibbons is allowed to retain the rank he held in the Royal Irish Constabulary, but without pay. He will not, of course, be promoted to any higher rank should his turn arise while he is serving in Egypt.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—EXPENSES OF WITNESSES—MRS. MARGARET RAFTERY.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any representation has been made to the Irish Government, or whether they are aware that, out of the sum of £42 5*s.* 0*d.* allowed by the Crown for the expenses of Margaret Raftery, who attended at Summer and Winter Assizes 1883, and Spring, Summer, and Winter Assizes 1884, as witness for the defence in the case of the Craughwell prisoners, the sum of £13 2*s.* 0*d.* remains still unpaid; and, what steps will be taken to secure the discharge of the debt?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The Crown Solicitor in this case is on duty at the Assizes, and in his absence from his head-quarters he is unable to give me a Report on the subject. I will, therefore, ask the hon. Member to repeat the Question on Monday next.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE SUAKIN AND RED SEA FORCE—THE INDIAN CONTINGENT.

MR. M'LAREN asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether the officers and men of the Indian contingent at Suakin, under orders to return to Bombay at the beginning of June, have yet embarked; and, if so, in what transport; whether the *Goa*, the *Scindia*, the *Roehampton*, or the *Persian Monarch* transports were successively intended for this service, and whether none of these vessels arrived at Suakin last month; and, if he can say how many of the Force in question have been invalided during June, what has become of those invalided, and how many horses and camels at Suakin have died in the same period?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH), who replied, said: The 9th Bengal Cavalry, to which, I presume, the hon. Member refers, left Suakin on the 10th of June in the *Italy* and *Persian Monarch*, and had reached Bombay on the 21st of June. The *Goa*, *Scindia*, and five other vessels not only arrived last month at Suakin but subsequently reached Bombay within the month, with followers, labourers, and mules. The *Roehampton* arrived later, and left Suakin for Bombay on the 12th of July. I am not yet in a position to state the casualties and invaliding for the month of June.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MILITIA.

MR. RICHARD POWER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will take into consideration the advisability of giving the Militia regiments now embodied an assurance of not being disembodied before a definite date, so that the officers and non-commissioned officers may be enabled to make arrangements with regard to the housing of their families, which they cannot do in the present state of uncertainty?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH): I am afraid that I can give no such assurance. The duration of the embodiment of the Militia must depend upon political conditions, which I cannot forecast.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS AT ARKLOW.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Postmaster General, Whether the request of the people of the Johnstown Post Office District, near Arklow, for a different arrangement in regard to the delivery of letters, will be acceded to?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS): The inquiries on the subject to which the hon. Member refers are not yet complete; but I have ascertained that if the rural post of Arklow were not despatched until after the arrival of the day mail at Arklow, a detention of four hours, and not two hours only, as suggested in the Memorial, would be necessary; and it seems doubtful whether the majority of the residents would acquiesce in such a change. There is also a question of affording a collection of letters in the evening over the whole line of post; but it is feared that the expense involved in meeting the wishes of the Memorialists would be greater than the correspondence would warrant. On this point, however, further information is being collected.

EDUCATION (IRELAND) — NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS' RESIDENCES.

Colonel COLTHURST asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will consider the advisability of extending the period of repayment for loans for teachers' residences in Ireland from 35 to 50 years, thus reducing the annual charge from £5 to £3 15*s.* per cent., as suggested in a Memorial by the Catholic Bishops recently laid upon the Table?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Sir Henry Holland): The extension suggested by the Roman Catholic Bishops cannot, I fear, be agreed to, either in the interests of managers and teachers, or of the public. I may add that in any case the change would have required legislation, and therefore could not have been secured this Session. The question whether any less extension would be possible will receive careful consideration.

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND).

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government, in view of the experience obtained from attempts to work the Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883, will consider the suggestion made by the Grand Jury of Sligo, in their Petition presented to the House on the 17th instant, that certain provisions of the Relief of Distress Act, 1880, should be applied to Tramways and similar undertakings in the West of Ireland; and, whether the Government will endeavour to pass, this Session, a short Bill to deal with the subject, or will introduce Clauses for the purpose into some Bill before Parliament?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke): The Grand Jury of Sligo have communicated with me on this subject, but I am unable to hold out any hope of legislation in the direction suggested in their Petition. It is impossible to institute any comparison between the circumstances of the present time and those of 1880, when public money was advanced at very exceptional rates to meet the prevailing distress.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

Mr. SMALL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government intend to introduce into the Irish Land Purchase Bill any provision for the relief of the purchasers of church and glebe lands, or any provision to enable such purchasers to obtain a loan of the balance of the purchase-money due to the Irish Land Commissioners at a less rate than that which they have to pay said Commissioners, namely, five and a-half per cent.?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke): This matter is at present under consideration; but the time at the disposal of the Government renders it difficult for them to incur fresh legislative obligations without great circumspection.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND—THE GREYSTONES HARBOUR.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If Greystones Harbour is to be constructed on the monolithic system, as asked by the inhabitants of the town in a recent Memorial to the Treasury?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Sir Henry Holland): I am making inquiries into this matter, and I would be obliged to the hon. Member if he would postpone his Question until Monday.

IRISH LUNACY REPORT.

Mr. W. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why the Report of the Inspector of Lunatics has not been presented to Parliament; and, will he take steps to have it printed in future earlier in the year?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke): The Inspectors inform me that their Report had been unavoidably delayed by pressure of business of an urgent nature at the Government printing office. They add that this is an exceptional year, and that a similar delay is not likely to occur in future.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — EDUCATION OF THE DEAF—A ROYAL COMMISSION.

Mr. ACKERS asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether he will advise that a Royal Commission be appointed to consider the education and condition of the deaf in the United Kingdom, similar to the Commission that has been granted in the case of the blind?

The VICE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. Stanhope): I have already stated the form of inquiry which Her Majesty's Government think ought to be instituted into the education of the deaf and dumb; and although it is very possible that some principles which may be laid down by the Royal Commission on the condition of the blind may be also applicable to the case of the deaf, we do not see our way to the appointment of a second Commission.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)— MEDICAL OFFICERS.

Mr. BERESFORD asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that some of the Medical Officers, recently returned from the campaign in the Soudan, are to be sent abroad again immediately; what is the usual run of home service for Surgeons and Surgeon Majors; with reference to the recent rules made as to examinations for promotion, what chance have the Medical Officers of attending Civil Hospitals and gaining information, and why are not Medical Officers allowed leave to attend classes as the combatant officers are to attend Garrison Classes for their promotion examinations; and, can no arrangement be made which would insure a Medical Officer remaining at least a year in a station without a move?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. W. H. Smith): Service in Egypt and the Soudan does not count as a tour of foreign service unless it extends to 12 months; and, therefore, medical officers who have returned home after less than that service there will be required to complete their periods of foreign service, and will probably be sent abroad during the autumn for this purpose. The tour of home service during peace ranges from two and a-half to three years. Campaigns abroad reduce this average in proportion to the medical officers required. Medical officers, as a rule, have 61 days' leave yearly, during which they can adopt any means they think desirable for increasing their professional knowledge. Special leave for the purpose of attending civil hospitals is occasionally granted; but the grant could not be made a general practice unless the medical staff were greatly augmented, the number of medical officers scarcely sufficing at any time for the work to be performed. Officers can attend civil hospitals or schools at places where they are stationed if their military duties are not thereby interfered with. Every endeavour is made to keep officers at the same station during a tour of home service. With this view applications for change of station are constantly refused.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN SCOTLAND.

Mr. C. S. PARKER asked the honourable Member for Bute, Whether Her Majesty's Government are willing to insert in the Housing of the Working Classes (England) Bill a Clause applying the Act, or parts of it, to Scotland (as in "The Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act, 1868," amended by the Bill); and, whether they will give effect to the suggestion of the Royal Commissioners that the expenses of transfer of small houses could be reduced (probably without loss of revenue), by making some abatement of the registration fees in Scotland, and of the Stamp Duties on such transfers, throughout the United Kingdom?

The LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. Dalrymple): In reply to the first part of my hon. Friend's Question, I have to say that I cannot positively state whether it is proposed to make the Bill applicable to Scotland or not; but I may mention that there are clauses in the Burgh Health and Police (Scotland) Bill which will secure the same benefits to Scotland which are desired by my hon. Friend. At the same time, unless the Scotch Members are disposed to accept that enormous Bill *en bloc*, it is not likely to be proceeded with this

Session. As regards the second part of the Question, that will be answered by my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): The suggestion of the Royal Commissioners will, no doubt, receive due consideration; but, as at present advised, the Revenue authorities do not think the present scale of stamp duties on transfers of small houses unreasonable. A reduction of the scale in cases of a small consideration would be subversive of the principle of an *ad valorem* scale, and it would be difficult to confine any reduction to cases where the purchaser was poor. As regards the register house fees on searches, these are being reconsidered, with a view to their reduction.

CHINA—NAVIGATION OF SHANGHAI RIVER.

MR. SUTHERLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government will direct the attention of the Chinese authorities to the necessity of removing all traces of the barriers which were constructed some time ago at the entrance of the Shanghai River, with the intention of eventually blocking access to that port, inasmuch as these partial barriers, remaining in the Channel, constitute a danger to safe navigation; and, whether, at the same time, Her Majesty's Government will further urge upon the Chinese authorities the imperative necessity of resuming the work of dredging the entrance to the Shanghai River, which, only having been undertaken after long and continuous pressure on the part of the mercantile and shipping communities, was suddenly discontinued before any real work had been done?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BOURKE): Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Pekin will be directed to represent to the Chinese authorities the importance of removing all obstructions to navigation at the mouth of the Shanghai River. Instructions were sent in June of last year to the late Sir Harry Parkes to press on the attention of the Chinese Government the necessity of putting back the dredger which had been sent from England for the purpose of clearing the Woosung Bar, but which was temporarily removed to another place. Mr. O'Conor will now be directed to urge the Chinese authorities to proceed with this important work with the least possible delay.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS) BILL.

MR. FRESHFIELD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If it is his intention to move the insertion of a Clause in the Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Bill, to increase the scale of allowance prescribed by "The Returning Officers Act, 1875," in respect of the presiding officers and clerks employed in elections, in consequence of the enlargement of the constituency, the increased number of the polling places and the clerks necessary, and the extension of the hours of polling?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER), who replied, said, that he must remind the hon. Member for Dover that this question was practically answered on Monday. He might, however, state that several Amendments having been put down by independent Members, which would enable the House to express an opinion on this matter, it was not the intention of the Home Secretary to propose any clause himself.

IMPERIAL DEFENCES—DEFENCE OF LONDONDERRY HARBOUR.

MR. LEWIS asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he has received a Communication from the Port and Harbour Commissioners of Londonderry, complaining of the defenceless state of that port, and of Lough Foyle generally; whether the Government contemplate any steps to improve the condition of affairs, either by a man-of-war being stationed there, or a training ship and a volunteer torpedo brigade in connection therewith; and, if any, and what, local aid can be recommended by the Government?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON): Yes; a communication has been received from the Port and Harbour Commissioners of Londonderry, complaining of the defenceless state of that port and of Lough Foyle generally. The Government do not contemplate stationing a vessel of war permanently at Lough Foyle. In time of war every assistance would be rendered by the Navy to protect the coasts of the United Kingdom to the extent which could be afforded by cruising ships, but vessels could not be kept permanently for the defence of any one port; such permanent defences must be provided by fortifications and gunboats, supplemented, if necessary, by torpedo boats, submarine mines, and torpedoes. As to the establishment of torpedo corps for the protection of the various commercial ports in the United Kingdom and the manner in which they can be provided and manned in an efficient manner, the question is at present being thoroughly considered, but no decision has as yet been finally arrived at.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOL GRANTS—VICAR OF ST. MARK'S, SOUTH SHIELDS.

Mr. BROADHURST asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether his attention has been called to a recent case in the Newcastle on Tyne Bankruptcy Court of the Vicar of St. Mark's, South Shields, in which it was stated in evidence that he had handed over for the purpose of liquidating his debts, among other sources of income, his draft from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and his "school grant;" whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the truth of these statements; and, whether the teaching staff of the school for which the grant was intended have lost any part of their income in consequence of such reported diversion of funds?

The VICE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. Stanhope): I have not seen any such statement as that to which the hon. Member refers, nor has he, as I requested, furnished me with a copy of it. It is a fact that during the last two years the Vicar of St. Mark's, South Shields, has been in difficulties; but the suggestion of this Question is that public money has been applied by him to liquidate his private debts. The hon. Member does not seem to be aware that the "draft from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners," which means the half-yearly cheque sent by them in payment of his stipend, is absolutely at the disposal of the vicar. The school grant, which is awarded to the managers of the school after each examination, form part of the general income of the school, and has been handed over by the Vicar to his solicitor, with instructions to pay school liabilities out of the school grant. The cash-books and vouchers are annually submitted to the Inspector of Schools, and I am informed that no member of the teaching staff has lost any of his income, although on one occasion, owing to a lack of funds, there was an unavoidable delay. Perhaps the House will allow me to express an opinion that it is hardly fair to bring charges of dishonesty in the form of a Question without taking the trouble to verify their correctness in any way.

Mr. BROADHURST: My Question was based on a newspaper report which I hold in my hand. I must remind the right hon. Gentleman that I had asked a Question only, and it is a departure from the recognized principles for a Member of the Government to make such a statement in answer to a Question.

THE NEW EGYPTIAN LOAN (£9,000,000).

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is true that negotiations are in progress for the very early issue of the £9,000,000 new Egyptian Loan; and, if so, whether, in pursuance of the pledges of both the late and the present Government that the requirements of the Law in this matter should be fulfilled, any steps have yet been taken to convene the Egyptian General Assembly and submit to them the proposal for a new loan, as required by the Egyptian Constitution in the case of a loan of this amount, thus:—Article 60. The General Assembly shall be consulted on every public loan exceeding £1,000,000?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Bourke): It is quite true that negotiations are in progress for the issue of this loan. Her Majesty's Government cannot pledge themselves to the view taken for some time by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy in respect to the General Assembly. It is a question in which I know the hon. Gentleman takes a great interest; but, at the same time, the Government have every reason to believe that the Egyptian Government will take all the steps with respect to it which they consider to be legally necessary. With respect to the other

Question asked by the hon. Member, I do not think I can go into that matter within the limits of a Parliamentary answer.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, surely the hon. Gentleman could say if it was a fact that the Assembly had been convened, and that the loan proposed would be laid before it?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE: We have received corroboration of the telegram on the subject.

Mr. RUSTON asked whether the statements that had appeared in the newspapers were substantially correct, to the effect that the whole of the Great Powers had given their consent to the raising of this loan?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE: I think I have answered that Question before. Yes, Sir; the statements are substantially correct.

THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

Sir HARRY VERNEY asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the Government, in view of the rebuilding of the Portrait Gallery, which will soon require more space, and of the Natural History Museum, which Sir Richard Owen declared would require in another generation to be enlarged, will acquire from the Commissioners of the South Kensington Exhibition the extra land now offered for building lots on each side of the entrance in Queen's Gate, which otherwise will have to be bought at great cost when the public buildings in question require increase?

The FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. Plunket): I cannot foresee any circumstances which are likely to arise which would justify me in asking the Government to purchase the lots of ground on each side of the entrance in Queen's Gate referred to in the Question of the hon. Baronet. The Government are now the owners of 16 acres of land adjoining the property of the Exhibition Commissioners of 1851. Of this only four acres are at present covered by the Natural History Museum, so that there will be ample space for enlarging that building whenever it becomes necessary to do so, and also for the erection of a new building for the National Portrait Gallery if it should be thought desirable to build it at South Kensington; but nothing has yet been decided on that subject.

EGYPT—SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION.

Mr. M'LAREN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he can give the House any further information as to the mission of the Right honourable Member for Portsmouth; and, whether he will lay the terms of his instructions upon the Table?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I am afraid that I have nothing to state to the House on this subject. The matter is not yet settled.

Mr. M'LAREN: Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake to lay the terms of the Instructions to the right hon. Gentleman upon the Table?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I could not make any promise on this subject without first communicating with my noble Friend the Prime Minister. I have not had the opportunity of doing so, as the Question only appeared on the Paper to-day.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he intends to proceed with the Scotch Universities Bill, and if so, after what hour he will not proceed with it? I take this opportunity of informing the right hon. Gentleman that several Notices in regard to this Bill were dropped from the Paper in consequence of the statement formerly made on the subject.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach): I do not quite understand whether the hon. Member intends to state that the opposition to this Bill is diminishing or increasing.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY: What I say is, that in consequence of the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman last week—not saying decisively, but indicating—that the Government had abandoned the Bill, the Notices have been allowed to drop in the expectation that the Bill would not be allowed to go on. What I ask now is, does he intend to proceed with the Bill?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I stated that as far as I could learn the feeling of the hon. Members for Scotland on the subject, the opposition was such that it would be impossible to proceed with the Bill; but I have heard since that that opposition is decreasing. Although we do not propose to proceed with it to-night, we would like to keep it amongst the Orders for to-morrow night to see what chances it may have.

Captain AYLMER asked, when the Government would take the Land Purchase Bill in the House of Commons?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I am afraid I cannot name a day at present.

Mr. PARNELL asked the Government, whether a day had yet been definitely fixed for the Queen's College Estimates?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke) said, it would be impossible to say. He was afraid to take the Votes to-morrow; but he would be able to tell the hon. Member before the evening was over.

Mr. BUCHANAN asked, whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would secure that the discussion in connection with the Telegraph Amendment Act should not prevent him bringing forward his Motion in regard to Heriot's Hospital?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, that the Government would not take any Order that would throw the hon. Member later than half-past 12 o'clock; but it would be no use declining to proceed up to that time with their own Bills, though they would not proceed with anything after the Telegraphs Bill if it was likely to carry them beyond half-past 12 o'clock.

AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Mr. R. H. PAGET asked, Whether the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster would consent to lay on the Table a Return of the number of occasions on which the members of the Agricultural Committee of the Privy Council had been summoned to meet since the first appointment of the Committee in April, 1883; the names of the Committee present; and the official record, if any, of business transacted on each of such occasions?

The CHANCELLOR of the DUCHY (Mr. Chaplin): No, Sir; I am afraid I cannot lay on the Table the Return for which my hon. Friend proposes to move, and for this reason. I have inquired into the matter; but I find there is no record in the Department of the Agricultural Committee, which was appointed in 1883, ever having been formally summoned, and consequently no record of the business transacted by them. With regard to the present Committee, it was only appointed on the 27th of June, and there has been no business before the Department to render such a course necessary. The hon. Member, however, will understand that it can be summoned at any time, and that it will be summoned at any time should the occasion arise.

EGYPT—THE SOUDAN—REPORTED DEATH OF THE MAHDI.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has received any information confirming the reported death of the Mahdi?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. Bourke): Yes, Sir; a telegram reached the Foreign Office a short time ago from Cairo. It mentions that Brigadier General Grenfell, who is on the Nile between Assouan and Wady Halfa, had telegraphed to Mr. Egerton to say the report of the Mahdi's death seemed to be generally confirmed; that a Sheik who had arrived in the neighbourhood of Assouan spoke of having attended the Mahdi's funeral. Most of the Mahdi's agents in and around Dongola appear to have returned South from that place, and Brigadier General Grenfell adds—"The news of the death is universally believed in and around Dongola."

CHINA—THE OPIUM TRADE—THE TREATY.

Mr. CROPPER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he would be good enough to say whether the Treaty with China on the opium question had been signed; and, if so, when he would lay it on the Table?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. Bourke): The Treaty is signed, and will be laid on the Table as soon as possible. We are awaiting the ratification.

MOTIONS.

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PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS—R. A. GOSSET, ESQ., SERJEANT-AT-ARMS.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I beg to move that the letter of Mr. Gosset be read by the Clerk at the Table.

Motion *agreed to.*

The following letter was then read:—

"*House of Commons,*
"*20th July,* 1885.

"*Sir,*

"*I have the honour to make application to you that you will be pleased to sanction my retirement on the 30th of September next from my office, by Patent, of Her Majesty's Serjeant-at-Arms attending the Speaker of the House of Commons.*

"*I have been in the service of this honourable House for upwards of* 49 *years, and I feel that the time has arrived when it is desirable that I should no longer retain my appointment.*

"*I make this early communication in order that arrangements may be made without inconvenience.*

"*I have the honour to be,*
"*Sir,*
"*Your very obedient Servant,*
"*R. A. GOSSET,*
"*Serjeant-at-Arms.*

"*The Rt. Honble.*
"*The Speaker.*"

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I am sure that the House will have received the letter which has just been read with a feeling of universal and sincere regret. The Serjeant-at-Arms entered the service of this House, as he reminds us in that letter, at a period now more than 49 years ago. He was first appointed on the 1st of July, 1836, as Assistant Serjeant by his father Sir William Gosset, who, as the House will recollect, was himself for 30 years Serjeant-at-Arms of this House. On the 1st of April, 1854, Mr. Gosset was promoted to be Deputy Serjeant, and on the 5th April, 1875, in response to what was at the time described as the strong if not the unanimous feeling of the House of Commons, Her Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint him Serjeant-at-Arms. This would be, in any event, a long record of able and faithful service to the State on the part of one of those officials to whom this House has always owed much, but to whom, I think, in view of our ever-increasing labours, it every year owes more on account of their faithful discharge of duty. But I think that the House will feel that this is no ordinary case. Mr. Gosset has not only obtained our confidence and esteem by the firmness and dignity with which he has always discharged the duties of a very important office, but he has also brought to bear upon the discharge of those duties—and I may perhaps say especially at those times when they have been most trying and most difficult—a genial and kindly courtesy which have won for him the affectionate regard of every Member of this House. Sir, we are very sorry to lose him. He has well earned the honourable repose which he seeks, and I am sure that he will carry with him into it a feeling of personal friendship on the part of everyone who has known him as a Member of this House. Sir, in accordance with precedent, I beg leave to move the Resolution which I now place in your hands.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Mr. Speaker be requested to acquaint Ralph Allen Gosset, esquire, that this House entertains a just sense of the exemplary manner in which he has uniformly discharged the duties of the office of Serjeant-at-Arms, and has devoted himself to the service of the House for a period of nearly fifty years."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I rise, Sir, with great satisfaction to second the Motion just made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I doubt if any Motion could be made in this House which would receive a more unanimous assent. There are few Members of this House—I doubt whether there is any Member present to-day—who can remember a period antecedent to that at which Mr. Gosset commenced his service towards this House. We all know the important nature of the duties with which he has been charged, and how much the personal convenience of Members depends upon those duties being discharged with diligence and judgment. The qualities which Mr. Gosset brought to bear upon the performance of those duties we have all experienced. We have all felt his constant courtesy and kindness, and I am sure that we join in the regret which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has expressed that we are now to lose his services. We feel that in losing Mr. Gosset we are losing not merely an invaluable public servant, but each and all of us feel that we are losing a valued personal friend.

MR. PARNELL: Sir, I desire to join in the expression of regret that Captain Gosset is to be no more among us in this House. Speaking for all my hon. Friends, as well as expressing my own opinion, I desire to take this opportunity of recording my high appreciation of the uniform kindness and courtesy which Captain Gosset has shown to each and all of us, and sometimes under trying circumstances. I do not know whether the old maxim is exemplified in regard to Captain Gosset—*Hibernicis ipsis Hibernior.* But it has been often observed that those who dwell among Irishmen catch some of their character, and especially of their humour and amiability. Captain Gosset has been, for many years, in that part of the House which is sacred to the Irish Members, no matter what Government is in power. Whether that fact has had any effect upon the natural disposition of Captain Gosset I cannot say; but we certainly have all found him exceptionally kind and amiable to us Irishmen who sit near him, and I have often noticed that, while generous and patient and good to everybody, Captain Gosset seemed to acquire an additionally pleasant aspect whenever he had to extend his courtesy to any one of us.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That Mr. Speaker be requested to acquaint Ralph Allen Gosset, esquire, that this House entertains a just sense of the exemplary manner in which he has uniformly discharged the duties of the office of Serjeant-at-Arms, and has devoted himself to the service of the House, for a period of nearly fifty years.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Dalrymple.*)

[BILL 232.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. THOMASSON, in moving the insertion of the following clause:—

(Removal of disqualification of members of Provident Medical Societies.)

"Any person otherwise duly qualified to have his or her name inserted in a list of voters entitled to vote at a Parliamentary, municipal, school board, or statutory election, but disqualified by reason of having received relief from the poor rates, who is legally entitled to receive medical assistance or hospital treatment for himself or for any member of his family, from any friendly society or friendly club registered under the Friendly Societies' Acts, or from any provident dispensary or other society or body providing medical assistance or hospital treatment, may claim to have his name inserted in such list of voters;

"Such claim shall be in writing, signed by such person, and shall be sent by registered letter, addressed to the clerk to the Board of Guardians in the Poor Law Union in which such person has received relief from the rates, and shall be posted in the present year on or before the first day of September, and in any subsequent year on or before the twentieth day of July;

"Every revising barrister shall appoint a day for hearing such claims, and shall give public notice of the same in the same manner as public notice is required by Law to be given of the holding of Revising Barristers' Courts for the Revision of Lists of Parliamentary or Municipal Voters;

"The clerk to the Poor Law Guardians in each and every Poor Law Union shall prepare lists of such claims made by persons who have received Poor Law relief so disqualifying, and shall deliver such lists of claims to the revising barrister on or before the day appointed for hearing such claims, and shall attend in the Revising Barrister's Court to give evidence respecting such claims;

"A Post Office receipt for a registered letter addressed to the clerk to the Guardians of any Poor Law Union in which a person claiming under this section has received relief from the Poor Rates, shall be primâ facie evidence of such claim having been made and of the date of such claim;

"If the revising barrister be satisfied that the person claiming under this section is legally entitled to receive medical relief or hospital treatment from any such registered friendly society or friendly club, or from any provident dispensary or other society or body providing medical assistance or hospital treatment, being in the opinion of such revising barrister a bonâ fide society or body providing such medical assistance or hospital treatment, the revising barrister shall insert the name of the person so claiming in the list of persons entitled to vote at such election or elections, and such person shall be entitled to vote accordingly: Provided always, That the revising barrister shall not insert any such name unless he is satisfied that the person so claiming is or would be entitled to be placed on such list of voters but for the fact of his having received relief from the Poor Rates,"

said, he did so because he thought the

Bill would have the effect of discouraging persons from joining friendly and provident societies, the growth of which latter in Manchester and other districts he regarded with approval. He desired the House to show that some value was attached to the principle of providence in medical and other affairs; and he contended that the persons who belonged to these societies should not be placed on the same level as those who made no provision for themselves whatever. If the clause were accepted by the Government it would not delay the Bill, as he was certain that no one on the Front Opposition Bench would oppose it.

Clause (Removal of disqualification of members of Provident Medical Societies,)—(*Mr. Thomasson,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, that he entirely sympathized with the object which the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Thomasson) appeared to have in view; because he understood that the hon. Member meant to give what encouragement he could to friendly societies, and the Government were anxious to do all in their power to prevent this Bill having any hostile effect upon such societies. It was not possible, however, for them to accept the clause proposed by the hon. Member. If he understood it aright, under this clause a man might receive any amount whatever of relief from the rates; and if he subscribed a single farthing to a friendly society, whatever relief he received from the rates, he would not be disqualified. In other words, the smallest contribution to a friendly society would guard him from the results of the reception of any amount of relief of any kind from the poor rates. He thought that if that was the effect of the proposed clause it would be hardly necessary for him to argue against it. A man might receive a far greater amount from the rates than he had any right to from his society. Therefore, much as he sympathized with the objects of the hon. Member, he could not, on behalf of the Government, agree to this clause.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. JESSE COLLINGS, in moving the insertion of the following clause:—

> "The term 'medical or surgical assistance' in this Act shall include all medical and surgical attendance and all matters and things supplied by or on the recommendation of the medical officer having authority to give such attendance and recommendation at the expense of any poor rate,"

said, he thought that it was not necessary to go at length into the merits of the question, as it had already been pretty well thrashed out. He had received scores of letters from doctors, overseers, and medical officers in favour of the proposal he now asked the House to adopt. He had originally thought that the Government had made the provision contained in this clause; but on Tuesday, when the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) had asked the Question whether medical comforts and medical extras, such as beef tea or port wine, would be included under medical relief, he had heard with profound astonishment that medical relief was only to include drugs and physic. Under these conditions, he maintained that the Bill was a mere sham. On Tuesday night the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) and the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) held an informal meeting to see what should be forced on the House in reference to the measure. The hon. and learned Member for Monaghan twitted hon. Members for their slow zeal in the matter. But he begged to point out that the action of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan and his Friends would disfranchise thousands of Irish voters whose poverty compelled them to accept beef tea or wine, or something else which the medical officers might give them. He appealed to the hon. Member for Cork City (Mr. Deasy), who had as large an experience as any Member of the House on the subject, and that hon. Member in an exhaustive speech argued that the clause would affect numbers of Irish voters, and he went into the Lobby in support, not of the Government, but of the poor Irish voter, whose interest he would not oppose on any consideration. He would appeal to the President of the Local Government Board to make the Bill a real Bill, because without this clause it would not effect its object. In order that there should be no difficulty afterwards in regard to the question, he hoped that the House would accept the clause which he proposed. If it was not accepted, the effect would be to intensify agitation; and, so far as the Government were concerned, they would have directly violated the pledge which they gave when they introduced the Bill.

Clause (Definition of medical and surgical assistance,)—(*Mr. Jesse Collings,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, that the hon. Member implored him to make the Bill a real Bill. He had certainly hoped, when he introduced the Bill, framed exactly on the lines of the hon. Member himself, using the very words which the hon. Member used, and in the same manner, that it could not be described by him as an unreal Bill. The hon. Member seemed to think that he had some power of altering the English language as interpreted by the Judges. But how could the hon. Gentleman think that the words "medical relief" meant one thing when introduced in his Bill, and another when introduced in the Bill of the Government? The meaning of the words was perfectly well known, as they were suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) in his famous Amendment to the Registration Bill. Anyone who should consult *Hansard* would see that by medical and surgical assistance was meant then what was meant now. And the thing was made still clearer by the late Lord Chancellor (Lord Selborne) in the other House, because he distinctly asserted that the words did not mean, as now suggested, medical comforts. When the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) went down to agitate the country upon this question, he was as well aware as the House was of the actual meaning of the words, as stated by his own Colleague. And yet the right hon. Gentleman, at a late hour on Tuesday night, told the House, in language more forcible than classical, that unless they introduced the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) the Bill was not worth "a rap," that being the very Bill for which the right hon. Gentleman tried to raise the whole country, and for rejecting which he denounced the House of Lords. The right hon. Gentleman, after careful consideration, in a letter which had been published, described the clause of the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch as a clause which would remove a gross injustice. But he would ask the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues, and hon. Members who desired this clause, how it was that words which in June would remove a gross injustice would "not be worth a rap" in July? When the right hon. Gentleman had explained that to their satisfaction, they should, perhaps, be able to understand the motives that had influenced him. After what had passed in that House and in "another place," and after the correspondence between the right hon. Member for Birmingham and Lord Balfour of Burleigh, no one could say that the Government intended anything different now from what they intended before. He admitted that it was extremely difficult and almost invidious to draw a distinction between ordinary drugs and a glass of brandy given to remove faintness. But if they were to draw the line at all before reaching the point of removing the disqualification from everyone receiving outdoor relief, this was the place to draw it. He did not mean to argue the question now whether persons receiving outdoor relief should be disqualified. Gentlemen on both sides, with one or two very rare exceptions, desired to continue the disqualification which did exist, and had always existed, with regard to persons receiving outdoor relief. If they wished to continue that disqualification, they ought to draw the line where it had been drawn by the late Government, and was drawn by the present Government. That line was already familiar in the administration of the Poor Law system. It was not in the power of a medical officer to give anything to a patient beyond medicine. If he did so it was upon his own responsibility. The line drawn by the Bill was also consistent with the practice of hospitals. Outdoor patients received medical assistance; but they did not receive medical comforts. He wished, further, to impress upon the House that if they accepted the clause hon. Gentlemen would make the relieving officer potentially a political agent, and give him an immense power of putting men on the Register or taking them off. Then, again, the House must bear in mind how great would be the inequalities which would exist between parish and parish, and union and union, if the Amendment were carried. If a doctor took a large view of his duties—if he thought it his duty to order mutton, chickens, beef-tea, port wine, and so forth—it would be in his power, by ordering a sufficiency of these extras, to prevent a man seeking any other form of relief, and the people in his parish would be kept on the Register. But in the neighbouring parish they might have a doctor who took an entirely different view of his responsibility, and who, before ordering these large medical extras, would think it his duty to call in the relieving officer. They would thus have two adjoining parishes under different medical authority, and they would have an entirely different practice as regarded the keeping on and the striking off from the Register. If the House were going to allow a man to get everything the medical officer gave, they would allow him to receive a great deal more, perhaps, than some hon. Members supposed. Medical officers were not obliged to restrict themselves in their advice to such things as beef-tea, port wine, and brandy. Within the last 24 hours a case had come under his notice where a medical officer recommended that the patient should be removed to a better house. If they once refused to disqualify a man from exercising the franchise when he received out of the rates better lodging, better food, perhaps clothes, perhaps bedding, perhaps nursing, he failed utterly to see how they were to maintain the distinction, which they all admitted to be a wholesome and necessary distinction, between the man who received outdoor relief and the man who did not receive outdoor relief. He did not think it was necessary for him to lay any more arguments before the House; but he might say, in anticipation of the discussion about to ensue, that it was the intention of the Government, at all events, to omit Scotland from the operation of the Bill. He should be out of Order if he were to state the grounds on which the Government had come to that determination; but to that determination they had come. He wanted to point out how great would be the inequality between Scotland and England if they left Scotland out of the Bill, and carried the Amendment. [An hon. MEMBER: And Ireland.] It would be recollected that he gave a promise across the floor of the House two nights ago that if the Irish Members also desired Ireland to be excluded from the Bill it should be so. He had taken pains to find what the views of hon. Members were; and he was now given to understand that not only the Scotch Members, but the Irish Members on both sides, and in every quarter of the House, also desired to be excluded from the Bill. If that were the case —if Ireland and Scotland were excluded from the Bill—and they introduced this Amendment, they would produce an enormous inequality between the three Kingdoms, and he could not believe that that was a wise proceeding. In Scotland a man would be absolutely excluded from the vote even if he got purely medical relief, and to that inequality it was now proposed to add the enormous inequality of allowing men in England to receive medical comforts, which might consist of new clothes, new bedding, and of a new house, and yet to retain their names on the list. Before the House sanctioned an inequality of that kind between England on the one hand, and Scotland and Ireland on the other, it would be well seriously to pause. The Government, then, objected to this clause, because it produced an inequality between the three parts of the Kingdom, because it broke down the only practical line which could be drawn between the existing system and one which should remove entirely the disqualification or account of outdoor relief, and because the Bill, as the Government had introduced it, was precisely the Bill as brought forward by hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, the Bill upon which the country had been agitated from end to end, and which had received the enthusiastic support of the agricultural labourers. If the House should force this clause on the Government, and any serious accident happened to the Bill in its future progress, on hon. Gentlemen opposite, and on them alone, would the responsibility rest.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down quite cheerfully accepted the invitation to leave Ireland out of the Bill, and to leave Scotland out of it, and apparently the right hon. Gentleman would not be sorry if he had the opportunity to leave England out of it also. He (Sir William Harcourt) did not, however, make any complaint of the way in which the Government had dealt with the Bill. On the contrary, he thought they had very fairly brought in a Bill for the purpose of meeting a grievance which might not have been at first fully understood or appreciated, but which, when it came to be insisted upon, was felt to be a very great grievance indeed. The right hon. Gentleman said, he dared say truly, that the words in the Bill were in former Amendments and in former Bills; but that really did not conclude the question. As regarded himself, all he could say was that, not having sufficiently critically examined the words of the Bill, he was distinctly under the impression that the Bill did include all medical relief—that was, that it included what might be called medical comforts as well as medicine and surgical aid. He admitted now that he was wrong in that impression; but it was not until he had made a careful legal investigation with his two hon. and learned Friends the late Attorney and Solicitor Generals that he discovered that the interpretation given to the words used in the Bill by the right hon. Gentleman was the right one. What was the state of the case. The great majority in the House were of opinion that certain persons who were unfortunate enough, under pressure of illness, to receive parochial relief in the form of medical assistance ought not to be disfranchised; and if that was the principle they ought to act upon it, and not introduce fine-drawn and invidious distinctions in the matter. Surely, everybody must feel that to draw a distinction between a stimulant administered in the form of brandy and one administered in the form of ammonia was a most invidious one. They should not, he thought, make any distinction between medical drugs and medical comforts. If they accepted the principle that disfranchisement was not to be the result of receiving assistance in illness by way of remedy, they ought to take a common-sense and liberal view of the question, and do, in fact, what they had said they intended doing. He believed that in nine cases out of ten medical assistance included medical comforts, and if this clause was rejected the Bill would —he did not say intentionally on the part of the Government—be practically inoperative. If that were so, there would be very great disappointment and regret. Then they ought not to overlook the danger that had been pointed out—namely, the danger of placing in the hands of the medical officer the power of disfranchisement. He did not desire to put the matter invidiously; but suppose that a medical officer did desire to disfranchise the poor people in his district, he had nothing to do but to recommend as necessary to the treatment of each case some medical comforts. Ought such a power to be placed in the hands of a medical officer? The right hon. Gentleman said he was going to exclude Scotland and Ireland from the Bill, and that if the Amendment were carried there would then be great inequality between the three countries. But inequality was not in the Amendment; it was in the Bill. To redress the grievance in the country where it existed was not to create an inequality between the countries—it was to create an equality. If no man was disfranchised from this cause in Scotland the grievance did not exist; and if men were disfranchised from it in England, then to cure that evil was to establish an equality, and not an inequality, between the two countries. He did not wish to argue the question in any hostile way; but he desired to put it very seriously before the House. There could be no doubt that great expectations had been raised throughout the country in regard to it. He dared say the exact bearing of the particular distinction which had been raised between medical drugs and medical comforts was not at first fully realized; but now that it was realized and was fully before the House they should take care not to practically destroy that which was intended to be given, and he imagined that what was intended to be given was that a man who, by misfortune and illness, required to receive medical relief was to receive such relief as was necessary for the cure of his illness. He hoped, therefore, that there would be no hair-splitting about what was and what was not medical relief; and that the House, having resolved to give a boon, would see that it gave a boon which was real.

Mr. MACARTNEY said, they had had an illustration of the extremely difficult position in which the Government had placed themselves by having caught the Whigs bathing and running away with their clothes. On this occasion the particular suit of clothes which had been taken away seemed to him to be of the pattern of the Kilmainham Treaty—indeed, he might call it of the Maamtrasna pattern. He supposed that, owing to an arrangement with the Scottish and Irish Members, Scotland and Ireland were to be excluded from the Bill. He never liked the Bill, and was one of the 22 Members who voted against it on Tuesday night; but it seemed to him that the principle having been admitted by a large majority of the House, it was extremely inconsistent to oppose the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ipswich. He (Mr. Macartney) belonged to what had been designated the reactionaries of the Tory Party. He could not understand the rapid changes of opinion which had recently taken place on the Ministerial side. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had said that Mr. Gosset, owing to sitting in the vicinity of Friends of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, had caught some of their geniality. The Members of the late Fourth Party who were now Members of the Cabinet also sat when in Opposition near the Friends of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and they appeared to have caught up the atmosphere of those hon. Gentlemen and to have brought it into the Cabinet. It was said that a little leaven leavened the whole lump; but a considerable leaven had in this instance got into the Cabinet. It seemed to him that at present the principle was that whatever had been advocated very loudly by one Party should be adopted by the other, and that they should hunt in couples and take alternative possession of the Treasury Bench. As to the present Amendment, he thought that when once the House had, by an overwhelming majority, decided to enfranchise paupers, this hair-splitting about medical relief was rather absurd. He was opposed to the entire Bill, and could neither vote for or against the proposed clause.

Mr. MELDON said, that the arguments which had been adduced against the Amendment had been of a somewhat extraordinary character. What was it that they had been told? That because the majority of the Scottish Members wished it Scotland was to be excluded from the Bill, and they were also told that Ireland was to be excluded for similar reasons. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board had thrown out the threat that if this clause was adopted they would give up all responsibility for the Bill. He must enter his protest against such a threat. He hoped the Amendment would be carried by an overwhelming majority, and if it were its supporters would easily find means to have the wishes of the majority of the House of Commons on this very important subject carried into effect, notwithstanding what had been said on behalf of the Government with regard to the fate of the Bill. He passed by the arguments that had been used, and would ask the House if the Conservative jerrymandering of 1867 was to be repeated with a large Liberal majority in the House of Commons? In 1867 the Conservative Government filched one of the eggs of the Liberal Party in the shape of a provision connected with the borough franchise. What did they do? What they gave with one hand they took away with the other by the operation of the Rating Clause. Was that transaction to be repeated now, or was it not? The Conservative Government had filched the Liberal measure brought in before they acceded to power, and they took away a great part of what was intended to be given by the framework of the Bill as it stood at present. It had never been the intention of the hon. Member for Ipswich nor of any supporters of his Bill that it should have a limited scope. This fact ought to be clearly understood. In regard to the exclusion of Ireland, he believed that instead of being an enfranchising measure, supposing the Bill were to apply to Ireland, it would, on the contrary, most distinctly be a disfranchising Bill. The systems of affording medical relief were different in the two countries, and this Bill, if extended to Ireland, would be highly prejudicial. He hoped, therefore, that it would not be sought to include Ireland within the scope of the measure. There was one danger which they must guard against. They practically made the medical officer the returning officer, and gave him the power of qualifying or disqualifying electors in a closely contested election. Indeed, the politics of the medical officer in an election contest would be one of the first things to be inquired into.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he thought that everyone must have sympathized with his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board when he was speaking on behalf of the Government in the endeavour which he made to draw distinctions which, some days ago, had been pointed out to him were absolutely untenable between the propositions he was discussing. He was one of those who thought that the Government was perfectly right in accepting this proposition; and he believed that they accepted the proposition, which was the main proposition of the Bill, with the cordial assent of the great majority of those who agreed with them in political matters. But the fact was that, although the two Front Benches had to some extent pledged themselves with regard to the principle of the Bill, the majority of the House of Commons had not pledged itself and had not really expressed any opinion upon the principle. In the divisions which took place when the Registration Bill was before the House, it was agreed by both Front Benches that it was undesirable to embody a clause of this kind in the Bill; and those who were anxious, in the pressing circumstances of the time, to get the Bill sent up to the House of Lords joined the Front Bench in resisting the introduction of a provision which was felt to be undesirable. Those who voted in the first division on the 6th of May expressed no judgment on the main principle at issue; it was merely on the question of the convenience of Parliament. But it was very difficult to understand the position taken up by his right hon. Friend. It was clear from his speech, and from the speech made by the late Attorney General, that there were those on both Front Benches who now had no heart in this proposal at all, who were not in favour of the principle of this Bill, but who were simply making it a matter of competition for the votes of the agricultural labourer at the next election. He did not take that view. He thought the proposal was a good one on its merits. He listened the other evening with great interest and with a feeling of admiration for his great courage to the speech of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney). Undoubtedly, if this Bill were to trench upon the principles which he then enunciated, he (Mr. E. Clarke) would steadily refuse to vote for it; but he thought the House had accepted the clear distinction between ordinary Poor Law relief and that form of relief which was generally given in consequence of sudden or unforeseen illness, when the heavy expenses to which the working man was put could hardly be provided for by him. He, like the late Home Secretary, quite believed, when he voted in favour of this provision for medical relief, that the term "medical relief" included not merely the doctor's fee and the medicine, but also included those things which, though they might be comforts and articles of food, were, in his judgment, necessary to the medical treatment of the patient. He had been entirely unable to find any strict definition of the term "medical relief;" but he believed that if a legal definition could be taken it would be found to include everything which the doctor ordered for the medical treatment of the case. But whether technically or not the term "medical relief" included those things, he understood it to include them when he voted for this Bill; and if it was necessary to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) in order to make the matter clear, he should quite readily and simply, in pursuance of the intentions he had the other night, vote for the Amendment. There had been certain considerations advanced with regard to the political influence of this matter. No one could be insensible to the danger that in all cases of this kind relieving officers and medical officers might act from political motives. Unfortunately, they could not get rid of those influences. If they made it a disqualification it might be as difficult to disqualify an opponent as to please a voter who remained on the list; and he was afraid by making this relief a matter of disqualification it would have the effect of obliging the poor man, instead of getting his relief from the rates, to go to the squire or to the clergyman, or some other private source of charity, for that which he had much better take from the rates. When a man was struck down with sudden necessity he had better go to the fund to which he had helped to subscribe, and out of which, with the help of his subscriptions, others had been relieved, than go to ask for individual doles from people of the neighbourhood. He believed that to do so would lower his self-respect and independence much more than by going to the rates. In these circumstances, he certainly intended to vote for the hon. Member's Amendment. He hoped the House would not take too seriously the last sentence of the right hon. Gentleman's speech with regard to an accident happening to this Bill, for if ever there was a Bill over which the Front Bench had no real effective right or control, it was this Bill. While he believed the Government were right in accepting the principle of the measure, he thought they would have been much better advised, though, perhaps, not perfectly consistent with their dignity, if they had accepted the Bill of the hon. Member for Ipswich. They had chosen, however, to accept the principle of the Bill; they had carried that principle by an overwhelming majority and by a strong use of their influence in the House; and, that being so, surely they were not at liberty to threaten the House with abandoning the Bill, and thereby securing the disqualification of a large number of voters if the House took a different view from that which they themselves took as to the interpretation to be placed on one of the phrases of the Bill. He thought this Amendment was simply for making the interpretation of the phrase "medical relief" that which the House believed it had, and intended it should have; and, believing that, he hoped the Amendment would be successful, and that the Bill would, nevertheless, live and be carried into effect.

Mr. HENEAGE said, he had assisted the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) with his Amendments to the Registration Bill, and was associated with him and the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), and the hon. and learned Member for Grantham (Mr. Mellor) in the preparation of their Bill and with the present Amendment, and they believed that the measure contained that provision for which they were now fighting. He was of opinion, however, that they owed nothing to the two Front Benches in this matter. It was absurd to say that the hon. Members from Ireland and Scotland were to have their way as regarded the application of the Bill to those countries, and that the English Members were not to have their way in regard to the measure. He considered that if the Government were to throw out this Bill on account of a majority in favour of the Amendment such conduct would be a breach of faith with the hon. Member for Ipswich, who withdrew his Bill on the understanding that Her Majesty's Government would take up the measure themselves and carry it forward.

Mr. Alderman COTTON said, he hoped the Government would see that the feeling of the House was in favour of the Amendment, and that they would think it proper to include it in the Bill and see it passed into law.

Mr. PELL said, he thought it might be convenient to state the course he intended to take with regard to this Amendment. The only course which to his mind was consistent and proper for him to pursue was to walk out of the House when the division was called. The House of Commons, as far as this Bill was concerned, had accepted what he believed to be a wrong principle—namely, that relief from the rates was not to disqualify when it was given to a poor man in the shape of medical relief. The Government said that so long as the parish doctor gave a man medicine and drugs the man should not be disqualified; but the moment he went beyond that, even to the extent of giving a teaspoonful of brandy, the man should be disqualified. He ventured to say that if they gave sick people good food and nourishment and kept the drugs and the doctor away, more people would recover. He detested the Bill, and thought it the most mischief-making measure ever considered since he had been a Member of the House; but he could not vote against the hon. Member for Ipswich's Amendment.

Mr. ACLAND, after the ominous declaration of the President of the Local Government Board, wished to suggest that, in the event of the present Amendment being carried, the Government, instead of sacrificing the Bill, should fall back on the purpose of the Amendment he had moved on Tuesday for making the Bill an experiment confined to a limited period.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 180; Noes 130: Majority 50.

AYES.

Ackers, B. St. J.
Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, W. S.
Armitage, B.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Barclay, J. W.
Baring, T. C.
Barran, J.
Barry, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Beaumont, W. B.
Biddell, W.
Biddulph, M.
Biggar, J. G.
Brassey, H. A.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, right hon. J.
Broadhurst, H.
Burt, T.
Buszard, M. C.
Buxton, F. W.
Caine, W. S.
Callan, P.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Causton, R. K.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Childers, right hon. H. C. E.
Clarke, E.
Cohen, A.
Collins, E.
Colman, J. J.
Corbett, J.
Cowen, J.
Davey, H.
Davies, R.
Deasy, J.
Dickson, T. A.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Earp, T.
Ebrington, Viscount
Edwards, P.
Ferguson, R.
Findlater, W.
Fitzwilliam, hon. C. W.
Flower, C.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Fowler, H. H.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.

Gladstone, H. J.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Gray, E. D.
Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Healy, T. M.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Holms, J.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Howard, E. S.
Ince, H. B.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, rt. hon. Sir H.
James, C.
Jenkins, D. J.
Johnson, E.
Kensington, rt. hn. Lord
Kinnear, J.
Labouchere, H.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Lennox, rt. hon. Lord H. G. C. G.
Lloyd, M.
Mackintosh, C. F.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, hon. E.
Martin, R. B.
Marum, E. M.
Maskelyne, M. H. N. Story-
Mason, H.
Meldon, C. H.
Molloy, B. C.
Monk, C. J.
Moreton, Lord
Morley, A.
Morley, S.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Brien, W.

O'Connor, A.
O'Kelly, J.
O'Shea, W. H.
Palmer, C. M.
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Pease, A.
Picton, J. A.
Power, J. O'C.
Power, P. J.
Power, R.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Roberts, J.
Robertson, H.
Roe, T.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Ross, C. C.
Rothschild, Baron F. J. de
Russell, C.
Russell, G. W. E.
Russell, T.
Ruston, J.
St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sexton, T.
Shaw, T.
Sheil, E.
Sheridan, H. B.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Sinclair, W. P.

Slagg, J.
Smith, Lieut-Col. G.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanton, W. J.
Storey, S.
Stuart, H. V.
Stuart, J.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Synan, E. J.
Tennant, Sir C.
Thompson, T. C.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Torrens, W. T. M.
Verney, rt. hon. Sir H.
Waddy, S. D.
Walker, S.
Wallace, Sir R.
Walter, J.
Waterlow, Sir S.
Watkin, Sir E. W.
West, H. W.
Whitworth, B.
Wiggin, H.
Williamson, S.
Wills, W. H.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wilson, C. H.

TELLERS.
Collings, J.
Heneage, E.

NOES.

Allsopp, C.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Aylmer, J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, rt. hon. A. J.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Bourke, right hon. R.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Burghley, Lord
Campbell, J. A.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Churchill, rt. hn. Lord R. H. S.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Close, M. C.
Coddington, W.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Corry, J. P.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Curzon, Major hon. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Digby, J. K. D. W.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Ecroyd, W. F.

Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Elliot, G. W.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Emlyn, Viscount
Evans, T. W.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, A. O.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Feilden, Lt.-Gen. R. J.
Finch, G. H.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Fowler, rt. hon. Sir R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Giles, A.
Gooch, Sir D.
Gorst, J. E.
Greene, E.
Greer, T.
Gunter, Col. R.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, I. T.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Holmes, rt. hon. H.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.

Hope, right hon. A. J. B. B.
Jackson, W. L.
Kennard, C. J.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
King-Harman, Colonel E. R.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, W. J.
Lewis, C. E.
Lindsay, Sir R. L.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J. J. R.
March, Earl of
Marriott, rt. hn. W. T.
Master, T. W. C.
Miles, C. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Milner, Sir F. G.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mulholland, J.
Nicholson, W. N.
Northcote, hon. H. S.
Paget, R. H.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Pemberton, E. L.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Ramsay, J.
Repton, G. W.
Ritchie, C. T.
Ross, A. H.
Round, J.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, M. D.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smith, A.
Stanhope, rt. hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Stevens, J. C. M.
Storer, G.
Talbot, J. G.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thornhill, Sir T.
Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Webster, Sir R. E.
Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Wolff, rt. hn. Sir H. D.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Wyndham, hon. P.
Wynn, Sir H. L. W.

TELLERS.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Walrond, Col. W. H.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: We did not conceal from the House, either on Tuesday or this evening, that in our opinion the adoption of the new clause or the Amendment of the hon. Member for Gravesend (Sir Sydney Waterlow) would be a matter of very great importance; and we cannot, under present circumstances, take any further responsibility with regard to the measure.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I would only say that under the circumstances I suppose that the responsibility devolves on the majority of the House, whose property this Bill is, and therefore I beg leave to give Notice—I do not know what course the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer wishes to take, or how far he means to carry his dissent from this Bill; but if he only cast upon us the responsibility for the Bill I will ask whether the House will allow the Bill now to be read a third time?

MR. SPEAKER: The Question now before the House is whether the clause be added to the Bill.

Clause *added.*

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked whether he might be enabled to move the Amendment to the new clause standing under the name of Mr. Arthur Balfour?

MR. SPEAKER said, that it was competent for the hon. Member to move the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In New Clause, "Provision for registration in the present year," line 12, leave out "qualification," and insert "qualifications."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

MR. WARTON submitted that this Amendment would not be in Order, as the new clause must naturally come after Clause 2.

MR. ORR-EWING said, that the last time the Bill was before the House he had moved as an Amendment that the words "United Kingdom" should be left out of the Bill, and "England and Wales" substituted.

MR. SPEAKER (interposing): The hon. Member is going to a point prior in the Bill to that in respect of which the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) has moved an Amendment; and it is only by asking the hon. Member to withdraw that Amendment that he can bring forward the Amendment to which he refers. Does the hon. Member withdraw his Amendment?

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: No.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. JESSE COLLINGS, the following Amendment, which stood in the name of Mr. A. J. Balfour, was agreed to. Line 39, after "registered," insert as a new paragraph:—

"Any person whose name ought to have been inserted in the list made by the overseers under this section, and has been omitted therefrom, may claim to have his name inserted in the list of voters by giving to the overseers, within six days after the publication of such list, notice of such claim in the manner and form provided by law with respect to other claims, and the overseers shall produce all such claims to the revising barrister, and he shall revise and deal with the same in like manner as with ordinary claims."

MR. ORR-EWING: I beg to move that the words "United Kingdom"——

MR. SPEAKER: That is not in Order now.

MR. HEALY said, he begged to move an Amendment to the effect that no new disability should be created by the application of the clauses to Ireland where such disability did not exist.

MR. WARTON pointed out that the two Amendments which had been adopted were Amendments to the new clause. He thought that it was not competent for the hon. and learned Member to move this Amendment now, as it was in precisely the same position as the Amendment of the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing).

MR. HEALY contended that this was an ordinary Amendment, and might be moved in the ordinary way.

MR. SPEAKER held that it was competent for the hon. and learned Member to move his Amendment, as the place of the new clause in the Bill had not yet been determined.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN wished to know how far this Amendment would go in regard to ratepayers who received medical comforts for their wives or children on the recommendation of the relieving officer or the recommendation of the doctor?

MR. PARNELL said, that the purpose of the Amendment was to insure that such persons should not be disqualified.

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. ORR-EWING: I beg to move that the words "United Kingdom"——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not in Order now. We have passed that point, and if no further Amendments are proposed a day will be fixed for the third reading.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: With the consent of the House, I will move that the Bill be now read a third time.

MR. SPEAKER: It would be very unusual under the circumstances to take the third reading of the Bill now, and I can only assent to that with the assent of the House.

MR. RAMSAY: I wish to move that the Bill be now re-committed, and if that Motion is competent I hope the House will at once assent to it, in order that the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire may have an opportunity of moving his Amendment.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member will be perfectly in Order in moving that the Bill be re-committed if he will state the purpose for which it is proposed.

MR. RAMSAY: It is in order that the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire may have an opportunity of moving his Amendment.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of an Amendment to Clause 2."—(*Mr. Ramsay.*)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he thought the proposal of his hon. Friend behind him (Mr. Ramsay) was not an unfair one. He was quite sure nobody would wish that by a mere accident a question of this importance should be excluded. He did not himself know what the view of the Scottish Members generally might be in regard to the question of the exclusion of Scotland.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): Might I ask, Sir, whether it is in accordance with precedent or custom for a Motion for re-commitment of a Bill to be made other than as an Amendment to the Motion to read the Bill a third time, or to make such a Motion without Notice?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member would be in Order in moving to re-commit the Bill with a view to insert a definite Amendment.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he wished it to be understood that the Scottish Members were not unanimous on the question whether Scotland should be excluded from the operation of the Bill.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, that in view of the great urgency of the Bill he trusted the House would not allow it to be re-committed, as Scottish Members were not agreed as to the Amendment.

DR. CAMERON said, he was entirely opposed to the exclusion of Scotland from the Bill. He came down to the House resolved to oppose that exclusion, or the infliction upon Scotland of a penalty which was not inflicted upon the other parts of the United Kingdom; but he would prefer to have the matter threshed out in that House rather than to have it debated in the House of Lords. He hoped, therefore, the hon. Member for Ipswich would not oppose the re-committal of the Bill.

MR. WARTON said, that it was by mere accident that the hon. Member for Dumbarton had been prevented from moving his Amendment.

MR. SPEAKER said, it was perfectly competent for the House to agree to the re-committal.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Mr. RAMSAY said, that he was only desirous of addressing a word to the House with reference to the remarks of the hon. Member for Glasgow. Of the Scottish Members who had been consulted in this matter, 21 were in favour of the exclusion of Scotland, and five were indifferent about it, but were rather in favour of Scotland being included. The hon. Members for Glasgow and Kirkcaldy made two more who adopted the latter view.

Mr. A. R. D. ELLIOT asked whether, when the Speaker left the Chair, it would be perfectly competent for any Member to move that Scotland be excluded from the Bill?

Mr. SPEAKER: After I have left the Chair an Amendment is to be moved in accordance with the Motion which has been carried, that the Bill be re-committed for the purpose of proposing an Amendment in respect of Clause 2.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 2 (Medical relief not to disqualify).

Mr. ORR-EWING proposed to leave out the words, in line 7, "the United Kingdom," and insert the words "England and Wales." He said it would be remembered that when this question was last before the Committee every Scotch Member in the House at that time spoke in favour of Scotland being omitted from the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) promised that he would make inquiries, and if he found that the majority of the Scotch Members were in favour of Scotland being left out of the Bill, he would, at a later stage, move the exclusion of Scotland. In consequence of what had taken place since then, he (Mr. Orr-Ewing) moved this Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In line 7, to leave out the words "the United Kingdom," in order to insert the words "England and Wales,"—(*Mr. Orr-Ewing,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'United Kingdom' stand part of the Clause."

Dr. CAMERON said, it was quite true, as had been said by his hon. Friend (Mr. Orr-Ewing), that the other night there was a chorus of Scotch opinion in favour of omitting Scotland from the Bill; but, as a matter of fact, that was accounted for because there was no Radical Representative from Scotland in the House at the time, and he thought it was to be also accounted for by the fact that the representations made as to the law in Scotland on the subject were totally inaccurate. They had been told to-night by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board that the Irish Members wished to have Ireland omitted from the scope of the Bill. It was true they did so, because they had got a better Bill of their own. To include them in this Bill would be to create a certain disfranchisement in respect to medical relief. It would disfranchise those who received it from voting in the election of Poor Law Guardians. As a matter of fact, outdoor medical relief in Scotland was administered in a manner so parsimonious and stingy as to be a disgrace to any civilized nation. But there was a certain amount of medical relief given in Scotland. That House voted annually a sum of £20,000 as a grant in aid of medical relief in Scotland. The sum was handed over to the Board of Supervision—their only equivalent for the English Local Government Board—for distribution amongst the various Parochial Boards. The Board of Supervision had laid down certain regulations with regard to participation in this grant. Any Board wishing to have a share must comply with certain regulations, and the medical officer must attend to the poor on certain conditions; but there were 117 parishes in Scotland which did not think it worth their while to comply even with the rudimentary requirements laid down by the Board of Supervision, and did not participate at all in the grant in aid of medical relief in Scotland. Let the Committee understand precisely what amount of money was spent on Scotland in medical relief. The amount per head of the population spent in the parishes which complied with the requirements of the Board of

Supervision, and which participated in the grant, was only 2½*d.* per head per annum, or, to speak accurately, 2·61 of a penny per head of the population per annum; and in the parishes which did not think it worth their while to comply with the very rudimentary requirements of the Board of Supervision, the amount spent in medical relief was less than 1¾*d.* per head of the population per annum. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) spoke to them about medical relief including fine clothes, and new houses, and all sorts of things. He (Dr. Cameron) thought the Committee might understand from the figures he had given what amount of fine clothing, or what number of new houses, could be provided for the sick poor of Scotland out of 2½*d.* or 1¾*d.* per head per annum. He believed that the Public Health Act of Scotland created the municipal body in towns the local sanitary authority, and in parishes it created the Parochial Board the local sanitary authority. If a man in a town contracted fever, or any infectious disease. and was unable to take care of himself, and to prevent himself from becoming a vehicle for the dissemination of disease, the municipal body, which was the sanitary authority, took possession of him and placed him in hospital; and although he was maintained there out of the municipal rates, there was no question of his pauperization. In certain places in counties it was the custom for the Parochial Board to levy a special rate in respect to expenses required for epidemic diseases; but that was not universal. He had been told that in such cases men did not receive grants from the Poor Law funds, and were not thereby pauperized; but he had looked into the law on this point, and he had in his hand a standard work, in which it was laid down that the Public Health Act did not relieve the Parochial Board of the duty incumbent upon them by law, in cases of infectious disease, to take all means in their power to suppress it. It declared that it was the duty of the Parochial Board either to isolate the patients itself, or to allow the Local Authority to do so; and then it stated how the Local Authority might recover from the Board. The patients would be in receipt of relief from the Poor Law authorities, and would thus be pauperized. He believed that in certain counties they would come on the Poor Roll, and that in other counties they would not. But, to put aside all those cases, there were in every county a great number of cases which must come on the Poor Roll. When a man broke his leg, or met with a serious accident, he was no longer able-bodied, and he at once came to be in the position of a pauper. He received a certain share of medical attendance, equivalent to his share of the 1¾*d.* per head per annum; and if they were to exclude Scotland from the operation of this Bill, that man would thereupon become pauperized, and lose his right to vote. This would occur not merely in the case of accidents; there were constant and innumerable cases of persons—persons suffering from consumption, or from chronic diseases of various sorts—whose relations were perfectly well able to pay for their keep, but who could not afford to pay for medical assistance for them. If the House were to exclude Scotland from the operation of the Bill, such persons as he had indicated in Scotland would be treated in a manner quite distinct from the treatment accorded to people in a similar position in England and Ireland. One principle had run through all those electoral reforms, and that was that they should take the widest measure of enfranchisement existing in any portion of the United Kingdom, and apply it to all portions of the United Kingdom. There was no justification and no logic to recommend a departure from this principle. If Parliament adopted the view of the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing), there would be enormous dissatisfaction throughout Scotland. He was glad the matter had come before the House in a shape in which they could take a division upon it. If any Scotch Members were opposed to Scotland obtaining the same benefit in the way of the franchise as England and Ireland had obtained it, it was right that those Members should be paraded through the Lobby, and thus have their names brought before the constituencies. The constituencies would thus be able in November next to form an opinion of the difference between the different kinds of Scotch Liberals who came to the House of Commons.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was very much in favour of Home Rule, and was quite ready that the Scottish Members should decide this matter. It was said there had been no consultation amongst Scotch Members; there had been no meeting, and still less had there been any opportunity of conferring with the constituencies. He was told that the majority of Scotch Members wished to exclude Scotland from the Bill. He thought he knew one hon. Member, the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), who at one time was in favour of excluding Scotland from the Bill, but who, on obtaining further information, had changed his mind, and was now decidedly against the proposal. Another hon. Member, the Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) told him he had been in communication with Scotland, with the result that he was prepared to resist the proposal of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing). He did not see how it could be assumed that the majority of Scotch Members and of the people of Scotland were in favour of the exclusion of Scotland, because there had really been no opportunity of ascertaining how the people of Scotland really wished this question to be decided. It was true that in Scotland an able-bodied man was not entitled to relief; but, as the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had pointed out, a man who met with an accident or who became ill was no longer able-bodied, and therefore, under the law of Scotland, was entitled to relief. He (Sir George Campbell) was convinced that if the House of Commons adopted the view of his hon. Friend the Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing), there would, whether the majority of Scotch Members were of one opinion or the other, be enormous dissatisfaction in Scotland; because of the inequality which would be created between the treatment of Englishmen and Scotchmen in the matter of medical relief. He agreed with his hon. Friend (Dr. Cameron) that those Members who proposed to leave Scotland out of the Bill should bear the responsibility which would be involved.

Mr. BOLTON said, he was one of those who were quite prepared to bear the responsibility of omitting Scotland from the Bill. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had given the Committee some very interesting statistics; but, unfortunately, they bore very slightly upon the matter. The Poor Law of Scotland excluded all able-bodied men from the pauper roll. No man in Scotland could get upon the Poor Roll unless he was destitute and disabled, and being upon the Poor Roll this Bill would not enfranchise him. A man could only be enfranchised by the Bill if he received assistance from the Parochial Board in the shape only of medical relief; but in Scotland he could not receive medical relief until he was upon the Poor Roll. Consequently for the Bill to be of effect there must be a change in the Poor Law of Scotland, and he questioned whether even the very Radical Member for Glasgow would propose the assimilation of the Scottish Poor Law to that of England. He (Mr. Bolton) opposed the inclusion of Scotland; first, because if the Bill were operative at all it could only be operative in an objectionable sense. It would be an encouragement to the people of Scotland, who now looked with horror and contempt upon the name of pauper, to accept that name, and plead for it the sanction of the House of Commons. He also objected to the Bill, because he felt it was the first step towards some change in the Poor Law of Scotland, and to that he was most decidedly opposed. He had still another objection to the Bill. If it would enfranchise a number of people it would also add to the rates; and certainly the ratepayers of Scotland were as much entitled to consideration at the hands of Members of the House of Commons as the very few who, according to the argument of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), might possibly come within the purview of the measure. For all these reasons he cordially supported the Amendment of the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire.

Mr. THOMASSON asked the late Lord Advocate for Scotland (Mr. J. B. Balfour) whether, if a man got his leg broken by accident, and was taken while unconscious, or otherwise against his will, to a place where his injury would be attended to by a Poor Law officer, he would lose his vote? If that were so he would vote in favour of Scotland being included in the Bill.

Mr. WEBSTER said, he thought the question had been debated on both sides in a rather broader way than it fairly required. It really lay in a very small compass. He was exceedingly averse to any clause being inserted which would exclude Scotland from the apparent advantages of this Bill. He quite agreed that the Bill would affect a very small class in Scotland; but still the Bill was, on the face of it, a beneficent one. It was intended as a boon to the humbler classes, and it seemed to him there would be great misconception if that boon were denied to these poorer classes. It was quite true, he repeated, that the advantages which would flow from this Bill would, in Scotland, be confined—from the peculiar system of parochial relief—to a very small class. As he understood the matter—although the able-bodied poor were not entitled either to medical or pecuniary relief from the funds raised by rates—there was still a small class at present who might be entitled to medical relief as distinct from pecuniary relief. That was the class of men who had been temporarily disabled, and who were entitled by law to be placed for the time among those who received parochial relief. That class, although small, was entitled to equal consideration with such men in England. It was said that the passing of such a measure as this would be an encouragement and incentive to persons not now receiving medical relief to come on the funds for that purpose; but there was no fear of that in Scotland, because there were two parties who must be consulted in such a transaction—not merely those who applied for relief, but the Parochial Board, who administered relief. The Parochial Boards were not entitled, under the stringent Poor Law of Scotland, to give such relief, except to those who were strictly entitled to it; and for these reasons he conceived that the passing of a clause, which would prevent the Scotch people receiving the benefits of such a measure as this, was a mistake.

MR. J. B. BALFOUR said, he would only repeat, in a few sentences, the statement he made the other night of what he understood to be the law of Scotland in this matter, taking special account of the question put to him by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bolton (Mr. Thomasson). In Scotland no able-bodied person was entitled to parochial relief; consequently, there would be a comparatively limited application of the Bill in Scotland as compared with England, if it became law, as it now stood. But still there were conceivable cases which might arise, as he explained the other night, to which the Bill would apply. For example, it would apply to such a case as this—A person, not able-bodied, might be in such a position that he or she could out of his or her own resources, or the resources of friends, provide adequate food, clothing, and shelter, and yet might stop short of being able to provide medical relief or assistance. Undoubtedly, in a case of that kind, the Bill would apply. Whether the cases were numerous or not seemed to be a matter on which there was a difference of opinion. He should have thought they would be few; but several hon. Friends, with whom he had conversed, thought they would be more numerous than those who were present in the House the other night seemed disposed to think. It was impossible to ascertain the number precisely; but it did appear to him to be an appreciable, and, in the opinion of some, it was a considerable number. In reply to the question of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bolton, he should say that if a man had his leg broken, he would, by that fact, become no longer an able-bodied man, and would, therefore, fall within the category of persons who, if they were poor enough, were entitled to apply for relief. That would be a particular instance of the class—a somewhat limited class—to which he had already referred. What was said by the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster) with regard to some other points of law was quite correct. He (Mr. J. B. Balfour) thought he had stated sufficient of what the law of Scotland was on the point to enable hon. Members to form a judgment. The remaining question was whether there might not possibly be a larger number of persons affected by the Bill than many hon. Members were disposed to think; and if the number was found to be considerable, it would undoubtedly be a serious step to make the law different as between the two countries. The prevailing feeling the other night was that the Bill — and he confessed that was rather his own view—would hardly have any application in Scotland; but that appeared now to be rather doubtful.

MR. ORR - EWING said, he was afraid that, although his right hon. and learned Friend the late Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) was well conversant with the law of Scotland, he was not well acquainted with the practice of Parochial Boards. The medical officer received the names of the paupers from the Inspector of the Poor, and then he was obliged to attend to them, and then only. As to the case which was mentioned by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), and repeated by the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. J. B. Balfour), if a man was obliged to send for the medical officer, he would not then be an able-bodied man, and would come on the Parochial Board, and would be disfranchised. He had some experience in the management of Parochial Boards; he employed a vast number of men; he had been Chairman of two Parochial Boards for many years, and he did not hesitate to say that such a thing as a man, not actually a pauper, losing his right to vote in consequence of receiving medical relief, never happened in Scotland, and could not happen.

Mr. BRYCE said, he understood that when this subject was last under consideration the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) promised to ascertain the opinions of all the Scotch Members upon it. Had the right hon. Gentleman any objection to say what the result of his inquiries was, and what course the Government would have recommended but for the resolution they had just come to not to make themselves further responsible for the progress of the Bill?

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he quite agreed with very much that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing) had said; but he did not think the hon. Gentleman was quite right in his interpretation of the Poor Law of Scotland. It was quite true that the parochial doctor received a list of patients whom he was expected to attend; but it was provided by the Board of Supervision that in a case of necessity the doctor was bound to attend a patient on receiving a notice from any member of the Parochial Board. The individual so attended would be disqualified from exercising the franchise unless he were protected by the this Bill. The Committee would do well to accept the late Lord Advocate's (Mr. J. B. Balfour's) interpretation of the law — namely, that if the parochial doctor attended a patient who happened for the time not to be able-bodied the patient would be disfranchised. If there were very few who would be affected by the Bill, that was a very great reason why the Bill should be allowed to remain as it now stood. What was the use of making the law in Scotland different from that in England and Ireland? It was very desirable to have uniformity in this matter. In this matter there was very considerable difference between the positions of the Scotch towns and counties. In the towns, the Town Councils, as the Local Authority, had to deal with infectious diseases, and a man in a town would not be disqualified if he received relief from the Town Council, because he was suffering from an infectious disease. But he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) had very strong reason to believe that in counties outside towns the case was different. In counties the Local Authority charged with the duty of dealing with infectious diseases was the Parochial Board. If, therefore, a man in a county was striken down by an infectious disease and received temporary assistance from the Parochial Board out of parochial funds he would be disqualified from voting. He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) considered that the attempt to show cause why Scotland should be exempted from the Bill had entirely failed. There was no substantial difference between the laws of the two countries in this respect, because the law of Scotland prohibited relief to any able-bodied man, yet the circumstances of medical relief pre-supposed a temporary disability. He would not enter into the arguments about the general evil effects which would accrue to Scotland if it were included in the Bill. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stirlingshire (Mr. Bolton) that the people of Scotland were extremely anxious to pay their way. It was because of that general disposition on the part of the people that he thought there was less reason for disqualifying the few persons who might be under the necessity of accepting medical relief. He failed to see that any valid reasons had been given why the Bill should not apply to Scotland as well as to England.

Mr. ASHER said, he desired to state the grounds upon which he intended to vote against the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Dumbartonshire. In the first place, the House, by a very large majority, had approved of the principle of the Bill; and, in the second place, he was not satisfied that if the Amendment was carried it would not have the effect of disqualifying a considerable number of electors in Scotland. An impression appeared to prevail on the part of some hon. Members that there was something connected with the Poor Law of Scotland which made it impossible that this Bill could have any effect in Scotland. It did not appear to him that there was anything connected with the Poor Law of Scotland which should prevent the occurrence of a considerable number of cases to which this Bill could apply. It was true that, by the Poor Law of Scotland, no able-bodied person was entitled to parochial relief; but, on the other hand, a person might be temporarily disabled by accident or disease or delicate health, and when in that condition, though able from his own resources to maintain himself and family, he might yet not be able to procure medical attendance or medicine for himself or some of his young children resident with him and dependent upon him. It would be competent for a man in that position to go to the Inspector of Poor and explain his difficulty, and having satisfied the Inspector that he was unable to supply himself or family with medical attendance and medicine, he thought he would be entitled by the law of Scotland to receive assistance. It was quite true that in consequence of receiving that assistance he would become a pauper, and it would be the duty of the Inspector to put his name on the Roll; but he would only be a pauper in respect of receiving that medical relief or assistance either for himself or for a member of his family. As soon as he recovered he might be able to resume his duties, and to dispense with all further medical relief; and yet, in such a case, if this Bill did not apply to Scotland, he would be disqualified from voting. Then it was said that the Bill would only apply to a limited number, and that, therefore, the benefit of extending it to Scotland would be comparatively small; while there would be an attendant evil of a much greater magnitude. It seemed to be supposed that the extension of the Bill to Scotland would have the effect of increasing the class of persons whom he had described as entitled to temporary medical relief of the kind he had mentioned. He had a much higher opinion of that class than to suppose that the mere extension of the Bill to Scotland would produce any general feeling of that kind among the working classes throughout Scotland. But the matter did not stop there. Suppose a tendency to apply were thereby created, that did not mean that the right to receive relief thereby arose. Even if it led to applications being made to the Inspector of the Poor it would be the duty of that officer to investigate the circumstances of each case, and satisfy himself that the person applying for medical relief was entitled to receive it. He (Mr. Asher) was unable to appreciate the attendant or incidental evil which was said to be connected with the extension of the Bill to Scotland. Therefore, on the ground that he approved of the principle of the Bill, and that he was was not satisfied that the exclusion of Scotland would not have a disfranchising effect, his intention was to vote against the Amendment.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, in Scotland, when a working man got into difficulties through illness, he applied to his own doctor, and not the relieving officer, therefore the case cited by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) had no bearing on the case. The man would be disqualified not on account of receiving medical relief, but through coming on the Poor Roll. He (Sir Edward Colebrooke) had some experience of the practical working of the Poor Law in the agricultural districts of Scotland; and, in his opinion, the Bill would be practically inoperative in Scotland, and, under these circumstances, ought not to apply to Scotland. Until the hon. and learned Gentlemen (Mr. J. B. Balfour and Mr. Asher) below him could give something more than mere hypothetical cases, he should hold that the Bill ought not to apply to Scotland. There were, of course, cases of epidemic, but the sufferers were not put on the Roll, and, consequently, would not be disqualified under the existing law. The desire of the agricultural labourer in Scotland was not to pauperize himself or his family, and that desire was a very commendable one. It was because he wished to support the labourer in this desire to maintain his independence that he (Sir Edward Colebrooke) intended to support the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. Orr-Ewing). He had opposed the Bill throughout, not with reference to Scotland only, but from his experience in England as a Guardian of the Poor in the Metropolis; he had been struck by the gross abuses which attended relief of any kind. He wished that in his country there should be no temptation whatever to the people to apply for relief. No matter what threat might be held out to him, he was not afraid to walk though the Lobby and have his name paraded before the country as one of those who wished to exclude Scotland from the operation of this Bill.

Mr. A. R. D. ELLIOT said, the hon. and learned Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench (Mr. J. B. Balfour and Mr. Asher) had spoken as if Scotland would be placed in an invidious position if this Amendment were carried. As a matter of fact, Scotland, instead of being placed in an invidious position, would be placed in a very creditable position, because it would be recorded on the Statute Book that there was in Scotland some respect paid to what was called the free and independent electors. It was because he wished to preserve the good quality and the independent spirit of the electors that he supported the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing). Like his hon. Friend who had just spoken (Sir Edward Colebrooke) he had opposed this Bill throughout, because he greatly regretted to see the want of respect paid in the House to the independent character of the electors. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had said that the other night —he (Mr. A. Elliot) was not able to be present on that occasion—there were few Radical Members from Scotland present. He did not know how the hon. Gentleman classified the Members; but the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. Henderson) was generally supposed to be as thorough-going a Liberal as the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), and he understood that the hon. Member got up and indignantly repudiated the idea of extending these pauperizing provisions to Scotland. He (Mr. A. Elliot) very much regretted that the question had come on for decision now, when the House was empty, and when many Scottish Members had gone away. It was not apprehended that anything of this sort would occur, and the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. Henderson) was not present; no doubt he would have made it convenient to be here had he known that the matter would be again considered. He (Mr. A. Elliot) would repeat the question put by the hon. and learned Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) to the Government as to what the result of the inquiries among Scottish Members had been, which the President of the Local Government Board promised to make. It had been pointed out by the late Lord Advocate that persons here and there might be excluded from the franchise; but the right hon. and learned Gentleman almost went out of his way to avoid declaring that he had known of such cases occurring previously. Were they, for the sake of a few possible cases, to give up that on which the Scottish electors and the Scottish Members prided themselves — the independence of the electors? They wanted the voters to be perfectly free and independent, as they had hitherto been; and he implored the House not to do anything which would detract from the high character of the Scottish electorate.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he hoped they would now decide the issue of this question. The hon. Member for Roxburghshire (Mr. A. Elliot) had spoken vehemently against Scotland being included in the Bill. He could not forget that that hon. Member was as equally vehemently opposed to the general principle of the Bill. There were some Scottish Members who thought that this Bill would have no application to Scotland as it stood. It was quite plain it could have no evil effect, except the suggestion that it might alter the sentiment of Scotland on the subject of pauperism. That he did not think was a solid ground to go upon. On the other hand, there were many Scottish Members who thought that there would be a considerable number of cases coming within the Bill. If there were only 20 persons in Scotland who would be affected by the Bill he did not see why they should be disfranchised. The application of the Bill to Scotland could do no harm. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the late

Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) considered it was quite possible there might be cases which the Bill would reach. As it might be an injustice to a certain number of Scotchmen if Scotland were excluded from the Bill, he should vote against the Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 125; Noes 30: Majority 95.—(Div. List, No. 242.)

Bill *reported,* without Amendment.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS: Considering the extreme urgency of the measure, I beg to move that the third reading of the Bill be now taken.

Mr. WARTON: No.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the House to take the third reading of the Bill now? [*Cries of* "No, no!" *and* "Yes!"] The third reading of the Bill can only be taken with the general consent of the House.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS: Would it be in Order to ask for a division?

Mr. SPEAKER: No; I ruled that. In fact, the third reading can only be taken by the general concurrence of the House, and that has not been obtained.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: In view of the present crisis——

Mr. J. G. TALBOT: I rise to a point of Order. There is no Question before the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is no Question now before the House.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The day, I understand, has not been fixed yet for taking the third reading; and, as I understand it, you have asked for the day to be named. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member will name a day, an opportunity will then be afforded for discussion.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS: I beg to move that the third reading be taken to-morrow.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read the third time To-morrow."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT asked whether, in view of the Government having ceased to take any responsibility for the Bill, they would afford facilities for its being proceeded with? The Government were in possession of the time of the House, and could use great influence in preventing the further progress of the Bill. He should like to know what course Her Majesty's Government were going to pursue, and whether they would place the Bill in such a position on the Paper as would enable the House to pronounce an early opinion upon it?

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. Balfour) said, the right hon. Gentleman seemed to be under a mistake. The Government had no control under the arrangement of the Orders for to-morrow, which was Friday, and was, therefore, in possession of private Members. If the Bill was put down for to-morrow, it would take its ordinary position. There could be no need for further discussion on the third reading. The subject had been fully debated; it was not a Bill for which special facilities were required.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that it would be extremely inconvenient for hon. Members who desired to support this Bill if it were brought up at a very late hour.

Dr. CAMERON said, that the possession of the time of the House by the Government did not apply to Friday; and if they would not accede to the wishes of the majority and give facilities for the third reading of this Bill, he and several of his Friends would put down a number of Motions on going into Committee of Supply on Friday.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I was, unfortunately, out of the House when this question arose, and I do not know the exact position of affairs; but I understand that a request has been made that we should place this Bill before the other Orders of the Day for to-morrow evening. I do not quite see the object of that. The Bill can come on at any hour of the evening; it cannot be blocked; it has been discussed over and over again, and I cannot imagine any necessity for any lengthened debate. We cannot put it before Supply, because that would be contrary to the Orders of the House. The Bill, however, can be moved by any hon. Member of the House, and the House can deal with it.

Mr. CAUSTON asked if the House was to understand that the Government did not intend to oppose the third reading of the Bill, and that it might consequently be taken at any hour of the evening?

Mr. BRODRICK said, that the House had taken a very unusual course in taking up a Bill after it had been abandoned by the Government; and the least hon. Members opposite could do was to give the Government time to consider the matter. He was prepared to move that the third reading be taken on Monday.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked whether Her Majesty's Government recognized this as a Ministerial crisis? Was it their intention to pursue the course adopted a few weeks ago under similar circumstances—namely, to go through the Orders of the Day, and then adjourn?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he thought the question of his hon. Friend (Mr. Causton) was a very reasonable one, and required an answer. What they wished to know was, what the position of the Government was at the present time with regard to this Bill. The Government had said that they ceased to have any responsibility with regard to it. Did that mean that they would not offer any active opposition to the third reading?

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Lord Randolph Churchill): It is very unusual to ask the Government on one day to state a course which they may be inclined to take on another day. I imagine that no one would have resisted an inquiry of such a kind more strenuously than hon. Gentlemen opposite when they occupied these Benches. The matter stands thus. The Government having ceased to take responsibility for this Bill, the hon. Member for Ipswich has very properly taken it up. The Bill will take its place in the other Orders for to-morrow. There are already nine Orders of the Day down, and it is not in the power of the hon. Member to move that it come before them. It will stand as the tenth, and will come on in the ordinary course; and no doubt hon. Members who take such an interest in the Bill will find no inconvenience in attending in order to move the third reading.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, he would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer—he would not ask the noble Lord, for no one expected him to know to-day what course he would take to-morrow—if, when the Bill did come on for third reading, the Government intended to support, oppose, or remain neutral with regard to it?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I must put it to the hon. Member whether this is a fair question. Alterations have been made in the Bill which we conceive to be of great importance, and I have been utterly unable to consult my Colleagues with regard to it. It may be our duty to take one course or another; but all I can say at present is that we cannot assume the responsibility towards the Bill that we have hitherto done.

Sir SYDNEY WATERLOW asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, if the House agreed to the Bill being taken on Monday, the Government would let it be put down as the first Order for that day? It was of great urgency.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that the hon. Gentleman had answered himself. If it was of such urgency, it should be taken to-morrow. He could not accede to the hon. Gentleman's request.

Mr. HENEAGE said, the proper course to take was to move the adjournment of the House in order to give the Government time to make up its mind, which he would therefore do. He took this course in no Party spirit, for he had agitated this question against both the late and the present Governments. It was not only a question as to when the third reading would be taken, but what would become of the measure when it got to "another place." Was the Bill to be rejected there? He would remind the Government that they were allowed the time of the House upon their promise to take up certain Bills, and this was one of them. He desired to know if the Government felt bound to go on with the measure and see it passed into law or not?

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Heneage.*)

The VICE PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Mr. E. Stanhope) said, the hon. Member, who was so very anxious for the passing of this Bill, had moved the adjournment of the House, which, if carried, would result in no day being fixed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was willing for the third reading to be put down for to-morrow; and if hon. Members opposite were so anxious for the Bill, why on earth did they not take that course? The hon. Member for Grimsby had asked the Government to say what the House of Lords would do with the Bill. Well, he would say, let this House deal with the measure in its wisdom to-morrow or any day it fixed, and when it went to the House of Lords that House would, no doubt, in its wisdom also deal with it. But he had no right whatever to say what course the House of Lords would take with regard to the Bill. So far as this House was concerned, let it be put down for to-morrow.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he did not think that either the tone or the language of the right hon. Gentleman was calculated to facilitate the progress of Business. The inquiry made of the Government was a very fair inquiry. It was true they had declined responsibility for the Bill; but it was a Bill the importance and urgency of which they had admitted. True, it had been altered in a particular from which they differed, but a particular which the country would regard as not a very vital particular. The question which was now put to them was this—"What course are you going to take with regard to the Bill?" That question could not be disposed of by the defiant manner of the right hon. Gentleman, and by his saying—"Put it down for what day you will." Why could not the Government make up their minds what they were going to do with reference to this Bill? Why could they not say that, although they did not support it in its present shape, at the same time they could not go the length of endeavouring to destroy the Bill here or "elsewhere?" That would be a reasonable and satisfactory statement. Let the Government say whether, on account of the alterations made, they were going to try to defeat the Bill, either directly or indirectly. The inquiry made was not an unfair one. The Motion to adjourn was made simply for the purpose of eliciting an answer to that question. It was not correct that the Motion for Adjournment, if carried, would defeat the Bill, because in that case it would be put down for Monday. The question was really one of the convenience of Members. They wished to avoid the inconvenience that would attend uncertainty as to the intentions of the Government with regard to the Bill, and they wished to avoid being kept at the House until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning if there were no necessity. The Leader of the House would not desire to put Members to any unnecessary inconvenience. Let him make a statement which would allow Members on both sides to know whether there was to be a Party division. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give some information.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that he gladly recognized that the right hon. Gentleman had supported the Motion to adjourn with the simple object of obtaining information; but it appeared to him that the Motion had been made to prevent any further progress with Business this evening.

MR. HENEAGE said, he could assure the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he had moved the adjournment solely to obtain some information as to the intentions of the Government.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: He was very glad that the hon. Member denied that imputation. The request that was made of the Government appeared to be unreasonable. They were asked to state what were the intentions of the Government with regard to this Bill. The right hon. Gentleman must know that he could not speak on behalf of his Colleagues without having had the opportunity of consulting them. If this were an important matter, the more necessary was it that the Members of the Government should consult before they stated what course they should pursue. He was afraid he could not say more than that. He would consult his Colleagues at the earliest possible moment; and he should be prepared at half-past 4 o'clock on Friday to state what course the Government would take with regard to the third reading of the Bill.

MR. FINCH-HATTON said, he hoped the consideration of the Bill would be resumed at the earliest practicable moment.

MR. CALLAN said, he had been amused by the by-play which had taken place. The Government could not give any facilities on Friday; it was not in the power of the House to do so. The hon. Member for Grimsby had a Party purpose in view. Did he wish to put the Bill down for Monday so as to enable the rank and file of the great Liberal Party to pay their last tribute to the nobleman who brought about the downfall of the Government?

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill to be read the third time *Tomorrow.*

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE (No. 2) BILL.—[Bill 223.]

(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Holland.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

LANDS HELD IN MORTMAIN.

RESOLUTION.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD, in rising to move the following Amendment:—

> "That the proposed exemption of lands held in mortmain from the charge to be imposed on corporate property in lieu of Death Duties is inexpedient and unjust,"

said, this had been a most unfortunate Budget, and the proposal he attacked had now no legitimate parents. Neither Party was under any obligation to support this part of the Bill, and from what had occurred he was inclined to doubt whether the Budget of the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) had at any time the highest sanction of official authority other than his own. He could not suppose that the late Prime Minister, who had lately declared that indirect taxation still bore an unduly large proportion to the taxes on property, had any part in suggesting the proposal of the Budget; and he gathered from what the late Chancellor of the Exchequer said on the second reading of the Bill that his proposals had not the concurrence of the Board of Inland Revenue. That the late Prime Minister desired the exemptions referred to in the Amendment seemed impossible, and he should rejoice if his action were successful in getting rid of the part of the Bill relating to corporate property, which was not worth having at the price of these exemptions. The exemptions granted by the Income Tax Act, so far as land was concerned, were nearly identical with the exemptions proposed in Clause 10 of the Bill now before the House. He had not to deal with the question of Income and Property Tax. But the exemption was as real as it was unreasonable. It co-operated powerfully with the exemption from Death Duties, or charge in lieu of those duties, which was the subject of the Amendment, in holding land in mortmain, and all these exemptions formed a grant or bounty upon retaining land in that condition. He objected to the exemption on fiscal grounds, but especially he objected to it on economic grounds, because it was a premium upon holding and upon placing land in a state the most opposed to freedom. The exemption for property held for religious, educational, charitable, or any public objects was not the question he was now raising. He was not proposing a tax upon the property of religious and educational Corporations. He was dealing with the Land Question, and was objecting to a new encouragement being given by law to the holding of land in mortmain. Indeed, as he should show, these absentee Corporations would be richer, not poorer, if he could have his way, because their incomes would be enlarged by conversion of their estates from real property into personal property. Therefore, let no hon. Gentleman suppose that the matter before the House was the taxation of charities. The question upon which he asked the House to vote was this—Ought the State to encourage, by such legislation as was now proposed in these exemptions, the holding of land by absentee and impersonal ownership? On many occasions he had endeavoured to call the attention of Parliament to that which was the most prominent and peculiar feature of land-holding in this country—the absence of responsible and unlimited proprietorship. In 1882, with much encouragement from the late Prime Minister, who said, "I am averse to this method of holding land," he was permitted to deal in that House with the land-holding operations of the greatest and richest Corporation—namely, the Ecclesiastical Commission, and the suggestion which he tendered was that such Corporations should be restrained from traffic in real property. In 1883 he dealt briefly with the landed interests of that Corporation, which was the most illustrious in dignity, but second in the extent of its possessions—the Crown, whose revenue-producing and saleable lands were placed in the charge of an inferior Corporation not directly represented in that House—a Department which, with advantage to public economy and to the public service, he contended might and should be speedily abolished. He alluded to the Office of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. The Motion which he made that evening followed strictly in the same line of policy; but while the attacks which he had advanced against the comparatively irresponsible holding of land by limited owners and by Corporations had been of necessity more or less abstract and indirect, he had now the satisfaction of asking the House that evening to strike a powerful and direct blow against the baneful system of the impersonal ownership of land. In the case to which he invited the attention of the House, that system was sustained by a partial, a most unjust, and most inexpedient exemption from taxation. He believed the holding of land by Corporations beyond that which was necessary for their operations in works of public utility and sanitary improvement to be an evil. It led in the case of the two Corporations he had mentioned to very considerable waste of national resources; it was opposed to the public interests in the soil, and it established a proprietorship which was generally hostile to agricultural improvement. It was not reasonable to expect that under the most favourable conditions the soil of any country would or could be owned entirely by those who were its beneficial occupiers. But he asserted that the interests of all classes, and therefore of the commonwealth, lay in that direction; and he appealed to Parliament to remove every shred of law and every tissue of exemption which tended to uphold and to maintain ownership apart from occupation. In the larger cases, Corporations were absentee landlords, and he thought without exception they were bad neighbours. There were parts of that House in which the feeling against absentee landlords was very strong. To no Leader of the Tory Party had greater personal attachment been felt than to Lord George Bentinck, who proposed that a special poor rate should be levied in Ireland upon landlords of that class. But the matter, to which he would draw the attention of the House that night, was one of the exemption of absentee landlords from taxation to which resident landlords were subject. He could not suppose that any hon. Member would contend that an absentee landlord should be exempt from taxation which a resident landlord had to pay. A resident landlord had many obligations from which a Corporation or any other absentee was exempt. He had to sustain the duties of constant hospitality, the duties of charity, the duties of liberal and enlightened example; he had often to bear without a murmur the exactions of the village tradesmen. He had to meet the importunity of the clergyman, for, unlike a Corporation, he had a heart to feel for the poor, and he believed he had a soul to be saved. He could hardly imagine a more scandalous fiscal wrong than that such Corporations should be exempt from taxation to which resident landlords were liable. He was by no means content with the incidence of the Succession Duty as it affected landowners generally; but he did not enter upon that wider subject that night, partly because he looked upon the full and effective reform of the Succession Tax as a matter which must follow, and which could not precede, the reform of the general Land Laws of the country. The reason why they could not deal now completely with that greater part of the subject was the same reason which existed 32 years ago, when in his first Budget speech the late Prime Minister put the matter tersely in this way—"As a matter of fact, under the social arrangements of this country, our great estates are settled estates." It seemed to him that as long as the greater part of the United Kingdom remained in settlement, the injustice of the 21st section of the Succession Duty Act, 1853, providing that—

> "The interest of every successor, except as herein provided, in real property shall be considered to be of the value of an annuity equal to the annual value of such property,"

must remain without any effective remedy. Whenever Parliament should decree the liberation of the land, then the tax might be levied upon the capital value of the real property; and such undoubtedly would be the increased value given to the soil by freedom from compilcation of title, and consequent simplicity of transfer, that a large taxation could be borne without any addition to the burdens upon land. The Amendment which he asked the House to accept was strictly confined to the exemption of lands held in mortmain, and he would endeavour to give the House an approximate estimate of the extent and value of those lands. Any hon. Member who had a wide knowledge of the Kingdom would agree that these lands were generally in the best position, and of the most fertile and marketable character. An abstract or skeleton of a Return presented to Parliament in 1882 showed the whole extent of these lands to be 1,995,046 acres, and the annual value chargeable under Schedule A of the Income Tax to be £10,370,828. But that was not a trustworthy statement. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer would agree to tax all lands held in mortmain upon that estimate, he would not fear to guarantee that he should have a surplus, and he would point out one direction in which this Return was very much below the facts of the case. The evils of a corporate ownership of land were, perhaps, peculiarly evident upon glebe lands. It was a fact, established upon the practical testimony of the highest authority, that glebe lands were, as a rule, the worst farmed. The reasons were patent. The rector or vicar, who was a Corporation sole, exempt under this Bill, had rarely either capital or competency for agriculture. He had the faintest possible interest in his successor, and he was, consequently, as a rule, a bad landlord and a bad farmer. He supposed that the glebe lands of England alone were not less in extent than 200,000 acres, and he felt confident that only a fraction of that land was included in this Return. The Return was compiled from the same sources as those which furnished the material for the Return of landowners, commonly known as the New Doomsday Book, which Parliament ordered upon the Motion of Lord Derby. It would probably not be wrong to say that wherever corporate lands were assessed in the name of an individual, that such lands had been excluded from this Return of lands held in mortmain. This error did not, of course, apply only to glebe lands; but he would give an illustration of the enormous extent to which it applied to those lands. There were probably more than 10,000 parcels of glebe land in the 15,000 parishes of England and Wales. He took the counties of Buckingham, Hertford, and Lancaster by way of illustration. In Bucks there were only five parcels of glebe described as corporate land; in Hertford there were only three; and in Lancaster there were but seven. Of course, there was a very large error in this statement, and this was part of the explanation. In the Return of landowners in Bucks there were 235 clergymen of the Church of England; in Hertford there were 159; and in Lancaster there were actually 286 "reverend landowners." It was certain that, with very few exceptions, these clergymen were Corporations whose lands were to be exempt from charge in lieu of Succession Duty. "An exemption," it had been truly said by the late Prime Minister, "is a gift." The leading proposition which he put before the House that night was that the tenure of agricultural estates by absentee Corporations was a bad tenure, injurious to the interests of production, and that it ought not to be aided by the State. They ought to consider whence this grant in aid of the most wasteful ownership of land proceeds. It was levied upon the widow's frugal cup of tea, upon the poor man's breakfast coffee, and upon his tobacco, as well as upon the beer which refreshed the thirsty labourer. It was part of the high rent which was wrung from the poorest of the poor in those most wretched homes which were now attracting the sympathetic attention of illustrious Princes and of Royal Commissions. A body which represented the people ought not to extend the exemptions which were a grant in aid of putting land in mortmain. He did not attempt to impose himself upon the House as being in any way the proprietor or the discoverer of this question. For nearly 30 years it had been before Parliament, and so long ago as 1859 the Government of Lord Palmerston was moved by the late Prime Minister to announce its intention to ask Parliament to extend the Succession Duty to all Corporations. More than 20 years ago the late Prime Minister referred to that attempt in these words—

> "We had not time to compass actual legislation—there was a change of Government in 1859—for the purpose in that Session; but the

principle appeared to receive the decided approval of the House. It appeared to be felt that there was no reason in the world why corporate property should enjoy a benefit not enjoyed by the property of individuals, or, in other words, should receive a premium at the expense of the property of individuals."

For himself he would only make this claim—that he was besieging this unjustifiable and most inexpedient privilege not so much upon fiscal interests as in those of agricultural production. He was acting as one who, if he could, would be a Land Law Reformer in beseeching the House not to encourage a tenure of land which was inimical to those interests, and which certainly ought not to command the sympathy of individual proprietors. If we encouraged control of land by absentee Corporations, then we should support nationalization of the land. If the Ecclesiastical Commission should be aided and supported in adding to the 300,000 acres in its possession, then there was no reason why a Department of State should not manage the 40,000,000 acres of cultivated land. He said that such management of landed estates from Whitehall or from Guildhall was detrimental to the interests of the community. If he was wrong, then we should repeal the Mortmain Act. That Act recited—

> "That, whereas gifts, alienations of lands, tenements, or hereditaments in Mortmain, are prohibited or restrained by Magna Charta, and divers other wholesome laws, as prejudicial to and against the common utility."

He admitted that the views which led to the Mortmain Act were not altogether those which had most force in the present day. But as our knowledge of, and regard for, the sources of national wealth had increased, so had we become confirmed in our belief that such ownership was opposed to the interests of production. The revenue of these Corporations would be increased by ceasing from landowning. The Admiralty was a landlord, and was formerly, until part of the Greenwich estate was sold, a greater landlord. The hon. Baronet the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) gave evidence before the Commission on Agriculture in his capacity of Civil Lord of the Admiralty, and he said—

> "In 1874 we sold land for £319,000, and we realized £8,000 per annum over what we received in property from the ready money."

If there were any Corporations disposed to complain of his desire to cancel the exemption of lands from taxation, he might refer them to this incident. Here was an increase of £8,000 a-year obtained by sale of land, worth only £319,000; that was by abolition of the necessarily extravagant expenses of management. From such sale other benefits would flow. "How do you fulfil the social duties of a landlord?" was asked of the official representative of a great landed Corporation. "The only answer I can give," said the official, "is that we give half-yearly audit dinners to the tenants." That was the nice attention of a Government Department. Let them look a little further. There was St. Bartholomew's Hospital, with 8,000 acres, to which this Bill gave exemption. They had it in evidence that the farms were visited only once in four years by the surveyor, and that the leases were for 12 years. The official manager of that estate was, he believed, the hon. Baronet the Member for Gravesend (Sir Sydney Waterlow), who was also at the same time for many years governor of the estates of the Irish Society. In 1863 the late Prime Minister said that St. Bartholomew's Hospital obtained a "gift" by exemption from Income Tax, amounting to £1,050 a-year. There were the 14,000 acres of Christ's Hospital, which were controlled by the late Member for Worcester (Mr. Allcroft), who was also controller of the estates of the Sons of the Clergy Corporation. There was Guy's Hospital, with nearly 24,000 acres, and, in a somewhat different category, the Woods and Forest Commission held upwards of 70,000 acres of farm lands; the Duchy of Cornwall estates included more than 50,000 acres; the Duchy of Lancaster 35,000 acres. All were to be exempted. These Royal Corporations stood, by law, in a peculiar position; but he was not in favour of according to them any privilege or exemption. He believed that, without exception, these Corporations, each and all, denied to their tenants the benefits of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875. He thought he had shown the House that it was not desirable that this exemption should be given; that it was not desirable that the labouring population should be charged with a grant in support of the holding of land by Corporations, which was directly opposed to their interest in what was called the Wages Fund, and which, by diminishing production, tended to increase the cost of food. He had further quoted evidence to show that it was for the advantage of the Corporations that they should make investments in securities not involving such multiform charges for management. He begged leave to repeat that upon the present occasion he was not opening the general question of the taxation of charities. He was rather confining himself to one of the by-ways of Land Law Reform. He well remembered the speech of the late Prime Minister in 1863 upon the taxation of charities. He recalled how, in 1881, in the possession of still larger power, he said —"I myself have had the honour of once failing in an attempt to deal with it;" and he did not presume to take his stand where the right hon. Gentleman had not succeeded. He confined himself to the economic objections to the exemption from taxation of lands held in mortmain. Instead of exemption he was inclined to think the taxation of lands in mortmain should be heavier than upon land of individual proprietors. Lord George Bentinck said—

> "I think if there were two poor rates introduced into Ireland, the one applying to all occupiers of land and the other to all those who did not spend a certain portion of the year upon some portion of their estates in Ireland, it would prove useful."

These Corporations were absentee landlords in perpetuity. He was proposing to get rid of the exemption from taxation of land which had no personal owner. More than that, he should be glad to facilitate the escape of these Corporations from this particular charge upon land by assisting to build a golden bridge for their retreat from the position of landholders. It was upon this narrow ground that he asked the House to assent to this Amendment. He entreated hon. Members to have regard to the struggles and the penury of the poorest class of taxpayers in their several constituencies, and in doing so they could not fail in their duty to join in refusing to make a grant from the pockets of the poor for the benefit of those wealthy land-owning and absentee Corporations. Nor was it, to his mind, one of the smallest recommendations of this very moderate proposal that it would tend to bring us by one indirect step nearer to that time when the divorce of the British people from the soil of their country should be annulled, when there should be no more decline of British agriculture, when the fertile fields of England should be made to yield a far greater produce, and when the voices of a happier and more healthy people should resound in all parts of our beloved Motherland. The hon. Member concluded by moving the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the proposed exemption of lands held in mortmain from the charge to be imposed on corporate property in lieu of Death Duties is inexpedient and unjust,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. CHILDERS said, his hon. Friend had given some excellent reasons why the amount of land held in mortmain should be reduced as much as possible; and he quite agreed with his contention that it was highly desirable that land should be held by private and responsible persons rather than by Corporations. If they could get rid of the tenure of land by Colleges, hospitals, or other Corporations, and for ecclesiastical purposes, except the mere occupation of palaces, Canons' houses, or parsonages, by the dignitaries of the Church and parochial clergy, a very great advantage would be gained. Therefore, he had no objection to the terms of the hon. Member's Motion, and, indeed, supported its object. But the hon. Gentleman in his speech argued that this Bill would encourage the holding of land in mortmain, and that was an entire misapprehension. The clause of the Bill to which the hon. Member objected merely provided that in respect of all real and personal property Corporations, since they did not pay Succession Duty, should pay an equivalent duty of 5 per cent, but that Corporations founded for charitable, religious, or educational purposes should be exempted. That was in no way encouraging the holding of land in mortmain.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: Does my right hon. Friend mean to contend that it does not exempt the real property held by Corporations?

MR. CHILDERS said, that it did not exempt real property one whit more than personal property. The exemption was not of certain classes of property, but of certain classes of Corporations. The Motion of his hon. Friend was, therefore, not really an Amendment to the Bill, and it might almost be a question whether it could be put. If the hon. Member had raised the question as to whether these classes of Corporations should be exempted then there would have been some case for argument. As the clause now stood exactly as when introduced by him when Chancellor of the Exchequer, he should have risen to justify those exemptions; but the hon. Gentleman did not raise that question. He contented himself with enunciating a principle which was generally accepted on that side of the House, and moving an Amendment which was really not an Amendment to the Bill at all.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, he was of opinion that there should be perfect equality of taxation, whether the property was real or personal; and he thought the proposal to tax corporate property at the rate of 5 per cent upon its net annual value was very fair. The State extracted Legacy and Succession Duty on the principle that it was joint heir to every one of its subjects who died; but Corporations did not die, and thus escaped Succession Duty. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer had very wisely and equitably proposed an Income Tax of 5 per cent, which might be considered as equivalent to a Succession Duty of about 9 per cent upon the capital value. With regard to taxing such Corporations as were mentioned by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), he came to an entirely different conclusion from that hon. Gentleman. Such Corporations as were to be found in the City of London, which enjoyed the profits of the property which they administered, ought to be taxed; but other institutions did not enjoy the profits at all. They were simply trustees of the property. The trustees of Greenwich Hospital or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners did not enjoy the property which they administered. The property was possessed, not for the benefit of the Commissioners, but of the whole country; and it would be acknowledged by those who knew the estates of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that there were very few estates in England so well managed and which possessed more respectable or prosperous tenants. The system must be judged by its fruits, and if it was found that those large estates were the best managed in the country, and did a very great amount of good to the country and to their tenants, there was no reason why a dead set should be made on them. He believed the present system had been found entirely conducive to the general well-being of the country, and he held also that the different Corporations now exempt were properly exempt even under the rules laid down by the hon. Member himself. They were all either charitable, or religious, or patriotic in their object. He must protest against the statement that the present system was injurious to the labourers of the country. The labourers could not become possessors of the soil unless it were purchased from its present owners; and if the labourers were supplied with the necessary funds, they would find a more profitable way of employing it than by becoming pauperized landholders. He accepted entirely the sound maxim of political economy laid down by the hon. Member for Salford; but he could not find within the Bill a single item which affected the principle the hon. Member had laid down. They could not charge charities and national institutions with taxes of this kind without defeating the purposes for which they were devised. If they taxed those institutions they would incapacitate them from carrying out the objects for which they were established. The Prime Minister, in 1863, made a great speech in favour of taxing those institutions; but he found out afterwards that he had made a great mistake, and that mistake would never again be repeated in that House. It was simply suicidal to discourage and destroy by taxation the charitable and patriotic work of the country. He had great pleasure in supporting the measure.

MR. SHIELD said, that the second part of the Bill was certainly very important, and it was much to be regretted that it came to be dealt with by the House in circumstances not the most favourable for careful legislation on a difficult subject. His hon. Friend had said that this Bill had no legitimate parent. It had at its birth; but, considering the position of the Bill now, no one was really responsible for it. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had taken it over from his right hon. Friend below him; but, occupied as he was with so many pressing matters, it was not possible that he could have given it that full amount of thought that might make him responsible for it. His right hon. Friend, on the contrary, seeing that this part of the Bill was separated from the other proposals with which he had connected it, could not be held properly responsible. Everybody thought that the Budget of the late Government had dropped with them, and he verily believed that very few corporate bodies which were affected were really aware that they were affected. The improvements which he would wish to effect in the Bill were of a twofold character—first, an enlargement of its scope by removing some of its exceptions; and, secondly, a reduction of the rate of taxation. He had put down for Committee an Amendment asking the House to reduce the tax from 5 per cent to 3 per cent, believing that the tax as now proposed was inequitable. He held that it would be impossible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to justify this 5 per cent. This tax of 5 per cent for corporate bodies was first presented to the House as part of a large scheme. Exemptions that were allowed to prevent double taxation must be maintained; but he should certainly deal freely with the others. These included landowning Departments of the Government and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and he could not help feeling that the susceptibilities of the officials connected with these Corporations and their objection to taxation counted for a good deal. There was confusion of thought as between Death Duties and Property and Income Tax. This Bill professed to be a Death Duty Bill; but, to all intents and purposes, it was an Income Tax Bill. An important Petition presented to the House said that it was nothing but a new Income Tax of 1*s.* in the pound, and it put three times more Income Tax on the Corporations affected by the Bill.

Mr. TOMLINSON rose to Order, and asked whether the remarks of the hon. Member were relevant to the Amendment before the House?

Mr. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member was out of Order in anticipating an Amendment he had put upon the Paper.

Mr. SHIELD said, it was not his intention to do so. The Amendment sought to get rid of exemptions; he desired to do so too, and, therefore, he supported it. If the Amendment succeeded, it would get rid of the second part of the Bill; and he, for one, should not regret that. We were only going to raise by it £130,000 of Revenue, and a considerable portion of that would be absorbed in the cost of obtaining it.

Sir JOHN R. MOWBRAY said, the Amendment had been entirely disposed of by the speech of the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers). Speaking as a Representative of the Ecclesiastical Commission, he doubted whether the hon. Member for Salford was aware of the facts as regarded that Corporation. Up to October, 1881, the Commissioners had sold 416,117 acres of land. He was surprised to hear that the Commissioners were hostile to agricultural improvement. He would leave that point to be settled by independent testimony; but certainly they had had a smaller proportion of land thrown on their hands than any other landowner in the Kingdom. They knew their interests would be promoted by the sale of land, and they had offered it to tenants on advantageous terms—15 per cent down, and the residue in instalments spead over 30 years. Income Tax was paid by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on all their income, whether derived from lands, tithe-rent charge, ground-rents, royalties, manorial rights, or any other source of income. The Commissioners deducted Income Tax from the payments made by them to the clergy; and the amount of Income Tax shown in the common fund account was only the balance chargeable to that account after deducting the amount of Income Tax retained by the Commissioners out of the annual grants paid by them. During the year ending October, 1884, the Commissioners paid, in respect of Income Tax, £28,717 7*s.* 10*d.*, and they deducted out of payments made by them a sum of £22,395 3*s.* 2*d.*, leaving the balance £6,322 4*s.* 8*d.*, shown in accounts as chargeable to the common fund.

Sir SYDNEY WATERLOW said, that the hon. Member for Salford objected to land being held in mortmain to a great extent, on the ground that Corporations escaped the payment of the Death Rate. A large Corporation with which he was connected, in their Report to the Royal Commission, said they ought to pay something in lieu of the Death Rate. He believed that a tax of 5 per cent on the income would amount to less than 10 per cent on the value of the property, that calculation being based on the assumption which was generally accepted that land in individual ownership paid the Death Duty once every 20 years. With regard to property applied exclusively to the public benefit, it would be ridiculous to impose any tax upon it, for it was only taking out of one pocket to put it in another. Nor did he think that any good would be effected by the taxation of property held for charitable purposes, as the amount paid in taxation would only reduce the sum available for the relief of the sick poor, and thereby render it necessary for the ratepayers to spend more on hospitals and infirmaries. He trusted that the House would not agree with the Resolution.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that, however interesting the subject they had been discussing might be, he failed entirely to see its relevancy to the Bill before the House. He was inclined to agree with a great deal that had been said as to the advantage of resident landlords; but he thought that the argument might be pushed too far. It was the case that residents were to be found who did not do their duty as landlords, while he would venture to say that there were many tenants of Corporations who were infinitely better off than if the property had belonged to individual landlords who did not do their duty. He would not follow the right hon. Member for Pontefract in his very sweeping objections to property being held by Corporations. He certainly could not concur with the right hon. Gentleman to the full extent. No doubt, it would be undesirable that property held by Corporations should increase, or become as great as that held by individuals; but it would be equally undesirable that there should be no property held by Corporations. The particular Corporations which the right hon. Gentleman wished to be excluded from the inability of Corporations to hold property were Corporations sole—namely, clergymen of the Church of England holding glebes. He thought that there could be no question that the position of clergymen rendered them less qualified to perform the duties of landlords than other Corporations. The hon. Member for Salford, in his zeal to get rid of property held in mortmain, proposed to put an extra tax on that kind of property. He was surprised that the hon. Member, holding the views he did, should have moved an Amendment to the Bill, as he should have thought that, from his point of view, he would have supported the Bill and tried to extend its operation by removing some of the exemptions from taxation. In his opinion, it would not be possible with advantage to remove any of those exemptions; but, from the point of view of the hon. Member, he should have thought he would endeavour to remove some of them. He would not deal with the questions raised by the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Shield), as those points would be better dealt with in Committee. He would not attempt to go at any further length into the subject discussed by the hon. Member for Salford, as he thought this was not the proper time to do so; but if the subject was fairly brought before the House as a separate Motion he should be prepared to deal with it.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 94; Noes 38: Majority 56.—(Div. List, No. 243.)

Main Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE, who had the following Motion on the Paper:—

> "That taxation, as now levied, presses too heavily on those who cannot well bear the burden, and this state of things ought to be remedied by increased imposts upon land, particularly upon such as is not in the actual occupation of those entitled to its rents, and upon such land as is capable of being devoted to increasing the wealth of the community, but which is not; by assimilating the Death Duties on real estate with those on personal estate; and by a progressive Income Tax and progressive Succession Duties,"

said, it was admitted by all persons that this Budget was not a proper one. The Conservatives threw the blame upon the Liberals by saying that they had not had time to bring forward a proper Budget. But he maintained they should not have made the attack on the Liberal Budget without having a Budget of their own to bring forward, and it was in consequence of their not having such a Budget that they found themselves in the present unsatisfactory position. The fact was they were paying the price of a Conservative Government, and that price was to borrow money in order that it might be spent, instead of money being raised by taxes for the current year, as had been proposed by the late Government. The first proposition which he ventured to lay down was that the poor were unjustly taxed, and the rich not sufficiently taxed. Mr. Leone Levi said that "the families which have the smallest incomes pay the highest contributions." This contribution was put as high as 15 per cent on the means of the poor man and 5 per cent on those of the rich; and he thought everyone would admit that the poor man with a large family paid at least 10 per cent on his income, and the rich man did not pay more than 5 per cent. What was the reason of this? The reason was that although poor men were the majority of the electors in this country, practically almost all persons in the House were more or less rich men. [*Cries of* "No!"] He said "Yes." This was due to the fact of a candidate being obliged to pay his own election expenses, and in consequence of Members of the House of Commons not being paid for sitting as Representatives. He was afraid that this state of things would continue until the two excellent reforms in our representation which he had indicated were accepted. What was the consequence? The House of Commons, composed as it was of rich men, did not dare directly to tell poor men that they were paying more than their proportion as compared with the rich men. The result had been that the system of indirect taxation was invented, and he considered it to be nothing but an organized form of trickery. It was bad enough that they should make men pay irrespective of their means as they did by indirect taxation; but it was more absurd that of £3 collected by indirect taxation, only £2 went into the Treasury. The object of every Chancellor of the Exchequer in imposing indirect taxation was to levy that taxation on primary articles of consumption, and the consequence was he had to select articles which were considered as food for the people. For instance, they taxed tea, and tea was to a large extent the food of the poor. Again, there was tobacco, which was an article of almost universal use. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Well, every reasonable person who wished to go through the world calmly and quietly and who did not wish to get excited used tobacco; but look at the immense amount of taxation levied on this article of consumption! They made the poor man pay 400 per cent on his tobacco, while the rich man paid 50 per cent on his cigars. He contended, therefore, that indirect taxes, in order to be fair, ought in reality to be *ad valorem* duties; but all Chancellors of the Exchequer knew of the difficulty of raising *ad valorem* duties. They were not prepared to incur the trouble and the expense of imposing them. Take, again, the case of alcohol. By their not having an *ad valorem* system of duties, the poor man paid 200 per cent on his spirits, while the rich man paid 25 per cent on his wine. He asked hon. Members to say whether they considered this to be a fair system of taxation? He acknowledged that expenditure must be met; so far he agreed with all Chancellors of the Exchequer. But he was not one of those who thought the Budget could be materially reduced. Something, no doubt, might be done to avoid useless wars, to reduce pensions or salaries; but all that could be done in this direction would be very little. He thought it was a financial and political heresy to complain of the Budget being so excessively high. What they should complain of was the mode in which the money was raised, and the manner in which it was often spent. He would suggest that they should at once increase the burden on land. The community had been robbed year after year and generation after generation by the landlords. A bargain was made long ago that the landlords should pay 4*s.* in the pound on the annual value of the land; but they had managed to escape from their proper contribution under that arrangement. The result was that the landlords at present paid about £1,000,000 as Land Tax, whereas they ought in reality to pay at least £20,000,000. Thus the country was robbed of £19,000,000 through their having a landlord Parliament composed of one House, consisting entirely of landlords, and another House in which the landlords were still almost the masters. He desired to see adopted a graduated Land Tax, dependent on the number of acres that each individual had. Again, if the landlords did not make a proper use of the land—if they devoted it to shooting purposes, or let it lie waste, they ought to be called upon to pay a considerable amount of taxation upon it. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed to equalize Death Duties upon real estate and personal property; and the House knew what had been the fate of that proposal. It was said that land bore many local burdens; and so, he held, it ought to do. That was always intended. He thought that land should bear not only all local burdens, but also a greater amount than it now bore of Imperial taxation. There was, however, one way in which they might obtain relief as regarded the education rate. The Established Church had a very large amount of property. After providing for all existing rights they might take, he thought, about £50,000,000 from the Established Church and devote it to educational purposes. It was in that way alone that in a Radical Parliament the landlords could get any relief from what they called their heavy burdens. A progressive Income Tax and progressive Succession Duties ought to be imposed so as to make rich people pay, as they ought to do, towards the necessities of the State. There was no reason why they should allow a man to have a large income. It was no benefit to the State. They allowed it as a concession, and it should be paid for by a graduated Income Tax, increasing in proportion as the income increased above a man's fair requirements. Again, it was a concession to permit men to leave large sums to particular individuals, and if £50,000 or £100,000 were left to an individual the State ought to have one-third of the £50,000, and one-half of the £100,000, or some such proportions. They had heard a good deal about "ransoming" property lately, and he himself valued that phrase because it seemed to indicate something in the nature of what he was suggesting. He knew he was in a minority in that House, but there were several millions outside who entirely agreed with him. There should also be a distinction made between incomes derived from realized property and incomes derived from trade and manufactures. The income from the latter was not all spending income, because the possessor had to lay by something against a rainy day for his family. His was, perhaps, the extreme Radical idea of finance, but it was not in the least a Socialist doctrine. He would put the burden on the shoulders best able to bear it. He would have the poor pay some small quota when they could afford it. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen laughed; it was the habit of the House to laugh at the poor ["No!"]; but how could a person who was struggling for the bare necessaries of existence pay taxes? Taxation ought to commence after the mere struggle for existence had ceased, and those who had incomes admittedly in excess of their requirements should pay a ransom to prevent those who were in want from taking those incomes from them. He would not trouble the House further; but he had thought it right to point out the grand lines upon which financial democracy should run in future.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Sugar store to be entered by brewer for sale and accounts of sugar to be kept).

MR. HICKS moved an Amendment to provide that Returns should also be made of raw grain or rice. He said, that after the promise made on behalf of the Government when the Bill was read a second time he did not think it necessary or desirable to enter at length into the question which this clause appeared to him to open out. He would merely explain why he thought the Returns which the Government called for under this clause should be extended to raw grain and rice. No doubt, it would be within the knowledge of many Members of the Committee that, prior to 1847, a brewer of beer for sale was not allowed to use any other material whatever in the manufacture of beer than malt and hops. In that year, for the first time, the brewer was allowed to use sugar, on the condition that the sugar he used had paid duty. But not only was he not allowed to use any other material than sugar that had paid duty, but he rendered himself liable to a heavy penalty if he had any other material on his premises. That regulation went on down to 1880, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone), in his great desire to benefit the agricultural interest, brought in a Bill substituting a Beer Duty for a Malt Duty, and giving the brewer the right to use anything he thought fit in the manufacture of beer. He was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman was not present. It appeared to him that the right hon. Gentleman absented himself from all participation in the Business of the House in order to imitate the conduct of that great Minister, Charles James Fox. The right hon. Gentleman was evidently trying to give a faint imitation of that great Minister.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out to the hon. Member that his remarks were not applicable to the Amendment he was moving.

Mr. HICKS would only say that he was sorry the Committee had not the advantage of the presence of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, in order that he might take part in a discussion of the Act which he had himself passed in 1880. But as the right hon. Gentleman was not there they must do the best they could without him. He (Mr. Hicks) had pointed out what was the state of the law in 1847, 1880, and at the present time. They had now a fresh clause brought in by the Government requiring certain Returns and entries to be made by brewers of beer for sale, but those Returns were confined entirely to the substitution of sugar; but he (Mr. Hicks) maintained that the consumer had a right to know—perhaps not what every particular thing was which was used in the manufacture of beer by every brewer—but to know broadly what materials were employed, and especially whether raw grain and rice were used. He thought it was right that the consumer should know that as well as know whether "cane sugar, saccharum, glucose, or other saccharine substance or extract or syrup" was used. He, therefore, begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name—that, after the word "syrup," the words "or raw grain or rice" be inserted.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 39, after the word "syrup," to insert the words "or raw grain or rice."—(*Mr. Hicks.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, his hon. Friend had entirely mistaken the object and meaning of the clause. It was not in any way to dictate what the brewer should use in the manufacture of the article called beer, but merely to provide security against frauds on the Revenue. Of course, raw grain and rice and other materials might be used to make beer, although a good many people would agree with the hon. Member in preferring malt and hops.

Mr. HICKS said, the right hon. Gentleman had rather misunderstood his meaning. He had no wish in the Amendment he had proposed to dictate to the brewer what materials he should use. He was already at liberty to use what he pleased under the famous Act of 1880. All he desired was that a Return should be made to the Government in the case of raw grain and rice just as much as in sugar, and that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer chose to call for a Return of the sugar and syrup used, he should also call for a Return of raw grain and rice. His Amendment had nothing whatever to do with the making of the beer by the brewer.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 7 to 9, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Grant of duty on property of corporate and unincorporate bodies).

Mr. SHIELD moved to reduce the duty from 5 to 3 per cent. He said, the proposition which he had to make good was that in levying a tax of 5 per cent upon the annual value or income or profits of Corporate property the Government were proposing a tax which was inequitable and higher than that which was received from the death rates from the owners of individual property who succeeded in consequence of death. Perhaps he might be allowed to explain the circumstances under which this 5 per cent had been proposed. It formed part of the scheme of his right hon.

Friend the late Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1883. Under that scheme the Death Duties, to which this 5 per cent was made equivalent, were calculated at 13 per cent; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having abandoned the complementary measure with which this Bill was associated, had to provide an equivalent for Death Duties at 10 per cent. His first proposition was one which he thought was a self-evident one. If the tax sought to be imposed by the Bill were equivalent to Death Duties calculated at 13 per cent, it must be more than an equivalent for the same Death Duties calculated at 10 per cent. He awaited with some curiosity to know how the Chancellor of the Exchequer would deal with that argument. The tax now proposed was to be imposed as an equivalent to Death Duties at 13 per cent, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer now sought to make out that it was no more than equivalent to Death Duties at 10 per cent; and he was curious to discover the actuarial basis of the right hon. Gentleman's calculation. In 1853, when the Succession Duties were first imposed, the Government of that day contemplated a measure to levy a tax upon the property of Corporate bodies equivalent to the Succession Duty. He had before him the volume of *Hansard* in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained the provisions of his scheme. The right hon. Gentleman estimated that the Succession Duties would yield £2,000,000 a-year; but, as they all knew, that amount had proved to be greatly over-estimated, and the actual amount obtained was not much more than one-third of the estimate. But the tax now proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was one of 5 per cent, which he proposed as an equivalent for the Succession Duties which had been so much over-estimated. He (Mr. Shield) thought that a 3 per cent tax would provide a much nearer equivalent to the Death Duties than one of 5 per cent; and he maintained that the Death Duties paid upon succession to real property by individuals were not much more than one-half of the tax sought to be imposed by the present Bill. The Committee must bear in mind that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer who imposed the Succession Duties was approximately right, the proposal of the present Bill must be considerably over the mark. The real property upon which Succession Duty was paid was not subjected to Probate Duty; and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer of 30 years ago was approximately right in imposing a tax of 3*d.* in the pound for seven years, and then of 6*d.*, as equivalent to a Succession Duty, it afforded a very strong argument, indeed, to show that the present proposal was more than equivalent to the Succession Duty. He thought this point was capable of illustration in another way by a pure arithmetical calculation. This Bill said that 5 per cent on the yearly income was no more than equivalent to the Death Duties on the same property if owned by an individual at the time of death. Now, what was 5 per cent? Five per cent upon a yearly income was equivalent to 10 per cent upon the capital value every 40th year. But the Death Duties were calculated every 30 years; so that the question was, what tax calculated every 30 years would this 5 per cent levied every year be equivalent to? He contended that ordinary property, much less Corporate property, would not yield, upon an ordinary actuarial calculation, the tax which the Bill sought to impose. Seeing that 5 per cent was much more than equivalent to the Death Duties which the State could collect from Corporate property, he asked the Committee to reduce the rate to 3 per cent. He was not prepared with any actuarial computation as to what the exact rate ought to be; but he thought that a tax of 3 per cent would much more nearly provide an equivalent for the Death Duties than 5 per cent.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 4, to leave out the word "five," and insert the word "three."—(*Mr. Shield.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'five' stand part of the Clause."

SIR GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, that this was a matter which had been discussed in the House a great many times; and the object now was to endeavour to assimilate Corporate property, as far as they could, with individual property, by imposing a percentage every year of equal amount. He understood that the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Shield) did not object to that proposition, but simply to the amount of the percentage which the Government proposed.

MR. SHIELD said, he did object, as a matter of fact, to the proposal altogether.

SIR GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, he had understood the hon. Gentleman to object to 5 per cent, as being too high a figure. Leaving Probate Duty out of the question, personal property paid in the shape of Death Duties once, at least, in avery 16 years. Take £100 invested in Consols. That gave £3 a-year, upon which a Corporation would pay 5 per cent, or 3*s*. Spreading the payments over 16 years they would amount to 48*s*.; whereas, if the amount were capitalized, and 5 per cent paid every 16 years, the sum paid would be £5. Therefore, upon an actuarial calculation a Corporation, under the scheme of the Government, would not in reality pay more than 3 per cent, but somewhat less, compared with the sum they would pay if the value of the property were capitalized.

MR. GREGORY said, he did not agree with the hon. Baronet the Member for Chippenham (Sir Gabriel Goldney) that the 5 per cent upon the income or profit would practically amount to little more than 3 per cent upon the capitalized value; he thought that 16 years was too short a term on which to base the calculation. It must also be remembered that they were bringing in property which had never been subjected to this taxation before, and in all probability they would bring in a much larger amount of property than originally contemplated. He, for one, was of opinion that exemptions could not be maintained; and, taking the whole of the Corporate property, he thought that the tax imposed by the Bill would really amount practically to a tax of 10 per cent upon it. He looked upon that as a very large percentage; but he would not say that 3 per cent on the annual income would not be too small, and therefore he would suggest something between 3 per cent and 5—say 4 per cent, which he thought would be a reasonable amount. He hoped that his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would see his way to make some concession.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, it was a very difficult calculation to arrive at the precise figure which should represent the fair annual payment which should fall upon Corporate property instead of the Probate Duty. He confessed that when he first looked into the matter he was of opinion that 5 per cent was too high; but after becoming more thoroughly acquainted with it, he came to the conclusion arrived at by his hon. Friend the Member for Chippenham (Sir Gabriel Goldney) that, on the whole, Corporate property would really have nothing to complain of in having to pay a 5 per cent duty. There was one point which had not been alluded to—namely, that this duty was only paid after deducting from the profits all the necessary outgoings. It must be remembered that, in regard to Corporate property, the deductions under the head of necessary outgoings would most likely be much greater than in the case of the property of private individuals. Therefore, under the circumstances, he hoped the Committee would adhere to the 5 per cent.

MR. R. BIDDULPH MARTIN asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he could give the exact definition of the words "annual value," because there were plenty of Clubs, such as the Athenæum and the Carlton Clubs, in which the library and other property were of very great value? He therefore wished the right hon. Gentleman to state exactly what was meant by the term "annual value." If property of the kind to which he referred had existed for more than 30 years, would the whole of it have to pay the tax?

SIR SYDNEY WATERLOW said, that before the Chancellor of the Exchequer answered the question he wished to say that, when they came to that part of the clause, he intended to move that the word "value" be omitted. There could be no doubt as to why the tax should be imposed on income or profits; but the annual value of the property might form no part of the annual income. He would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to consider that point before they came to the word "value."

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND was of opinion that the present proposal would amount to very nearly 4½ per cent upon the capitalized value of Corporate property, instead of 3 per cent only.

MR. W. FOWLER said, he could understand that if they were to impose the whole of the Death Duties that 5 per cent would not be far from the mark; but as Corporate property did not pay Probate Duty, and was very largely composed of real estate, he could not help thinking that this was rather a severe measure. He certainly could have no sympathy with the Bill so long as absurd exemptions were retained in it, and he would feel inclined to vote for a reduction of the charge on Corporate property until the whole of it was included. Instead of attempting to insert the thin edge of the wedge only, they ought to deal with the whole question boldly; and if they were only going to introduce a half-measure such as this they ought to be careful not to make it too severe. He was afraid that in the exemptions they were leaving out some of the largest and most profitable property. For instance, Ecclesiastical property, although it certainly paid Income Tax, was left out of the Bill. That being so, he was inclined to agree to a more moderate measure, and he should prefer 4 per cent instead of 5. He thought a reduction to 3 per cent would be going too far; but he agreed with the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) that the figure ought to be 4.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he hoped that the Government would stand by the 5 per cent. It ought to be regarded as deferred payment, and not anticipated payment, seeing that these Corporations had been largely increasing their property for centuries without paying for it. Instead of being asked, like other inheritors of property, to pay a lump sum on succession at once, all they were called upon to do was to pay an annual percentage upon the interest of their capital.

MR. GREGORY said, he did not know whether the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Shield) was inclined to accept his suggestion. If the hon. Member was, he would move that 4 per cent be substituted for 5.

MR. SHIELD said, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. GREGORY moved to substitute 4 per cent for 5.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 4, to leave out the word "five," and insert the word "four."—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'five' stand part of the Clause."

SIR GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, the matter was one which must be dealt with on principle so as to determine exactly the amount of duty which a Corporation ought to pay. If they went into the question of compound interest, he was prepared to maintain that 5 per cent paid annually was not really more than 3 per cent paid at long intervals on the direct descent of property.

Amendment *negatived.*

SIR SYDNEY WATERLOW moved, in page 5, line 4, to omit the word "value." The effect of the Amendment would be to limit the tax to the annual income or profits of property accruing to any corporate or unincorporate body. He thought it was quite sufficient to tax the income or profit, and that only. If the property was intended to be taxed upon its value, it would have to be valued every year. He was satisfied that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not intend to tax the value of the property, but only the income or profit arising from the value of it.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 4, to leave out the word "value."—(*Sir Sydney Waterlow.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'value' stand part of the Clause."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that this was rather a technical matter, and he certainly preferred the clause as it stood to the Amendment. He should, however, have liked to consult the authorities on the subject. It occurred to him that if the Amendment were carried, the result would be that no Corporate body would pay the tax except where some income or profit was derived from its property. But a Corporation might occupy a freehold of great value, and yet derive no income from it. Surely, such property ought not to be exempt from taxation. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would not press the Amendment.

SIR SYDNEY WATERLOW said, he would instance the case of the Fishmongers' Hall. That was very valuable property; but surely the Fishmongers' Company ought not to be taxed upon the annual value of the premises in order to replace the Property Tax?

MR. CHILDERS asked upon what Death Duties paid by individuals were imposed? They were imposed not on the income, but upon the *corpus* of the estate; and if they, in the present case, abandoned that principle, and only levied a duty upon the income or profit derived by the Corporation, they would exclude a large amount of property upon which Death Duties would undoubtedly be paid if it were held by a private individual. Upon that matter there could be no question. The object of this clause was to place the property of Corporations as nearly as possible on the same footing as the property of individuals, and they would run counter to that principle if they were to accept the Amendment.

SIR SYDNEY WATERLOW intimated that he would not press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. GREGORY moved, in line 7, after the word "outgoings," to insert—

> "Including the receiver's remuneration, and costs, charges, and expenses properly incurred in the management of such property."

The object of the Amendment was to make it perfectly clear what the "necessary outgoings" were to comprise.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 5, line 7, after the word "outgoings," to insert the words "including the receiver's remuneration, and costs, charges, and expenses properly incurred in the management of such property."—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. HORACE DAVEY moved, in line 16, to leave out the words "and applied exclusively." The sub-section proposed to exempt property which, or the income or profits whereof, should be legally appropriated and applied exclusively for the benefit of the public at large in any county, shire, borough, or place, or in any manner expressly prescribed by Act of Parliament. He ventured to submit to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the true test of whether property ought to be exempted or not was not whether it was actually applied, but whether it was legally appropriated, and, if legally appropriated, it ought to be exempted whether the Trustees who had the distribution of the income did their duty or not. If they failed to to their duty they could be called to account and made to do it. The property liable to taxation ought not to depend upon the extent or manner in which the Trustees fulfilled their duty. The test should be whether the property was legally appropriated and devoted to public purposes or not. He therefore proposed to omit from the sub-section the words "and applied exclusively." If the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer thought that those words ought to be retained, he (Mr. Davey) would venture to submit that the words were misleading and that they did not carry out the intentions of the Government. He would give an illustration. Did the words "applied exclusively" mean that the whole of the income was to be applied in a particular manner? If so, what would happen if 19-20ths were so applied, and the other 20th was not? What would be the effect? The clause in such a case might be construed to mean, not that the 1-20th was to lose the benefit of the exemption, but that the whole of the income was to be deprived of the advantage of this clause. He therefore trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment, at any rate, to the extent of leaving out the word "exclusively."

THE CHAIRMAN asked what it was that the hon. and learned Gentleman moved?

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, he proposed to leave out the words "and applied exclusively."

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 16, to leave out the words "and applied exclusively."—(*Mr. Horace Davey.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was afraid that he could not agree to the Amendment proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman. He thought that the words "and applied" ought to be in the clause. When property was legally appropriated to a certain purpose it surely ought to be applied to that purpose, and if the Trustees did not apply it to that purpose they would fail to carry out their legal duty, and would certainly have no right to claim an exemption. Therefore, he hoped the hon. and learned Member would not press the Amendment. He had consulted the Attorney General upon the subject, and his hon. and learned Friend entirely agreed with him that it would be a mistake to omit those words. If the Amendment was to have any effect at all it would have the effect mentioned by the hon. and learned Gentleman, and that was not the effect which he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) desired that it should have.

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, he would withdraw the Amendment and substitute another, to leave out the word "exclusively" only.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. HORACE DAVEY moved to omit the word "exclusively."

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 16, to leave out the word "exclusively." —(*Mr. Horace Davey.*)

Question, "That the word 'exclusively' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

MR. THOMAS RUSSELL moved, in line 19 of the same sub-section, to insert the words "Royal Charter," in order to provide that the exemption should be extended to property applied for the benefit of the public, or the ratepayers or inhabitants of any county, shire, borough, or place expressly prescribed by Royal Charter or Act of Parliament. The hon. Member stated that his object was to make it perfectly clear that such institutions as hospitals, and institutions in which the income or profit was devoted to the promotion of health, would be exempt from the operation of the tax. The position of such institutions was this. They were built by public subscription, and were carried on wholly and solely for the benefit of the public; but there might be a difficulty in bringing them under the word "charitable" which appeared in the 3rd sub-section, arising from the fact that a charge was made for some of the patients. Therefore, the charity was not direct, and it might be called in question if the clause was to be governed by the word "charitable" which followed, in the 3rd sub-section, in the phrase "or for any charitable purpose." He would, therefore, suggest that the words "or incorporated by Royal Charter" might, with advantage, be added in line 19 of the 2nd sub-section, in order to secure that these institutions should be exempted from the tax; and he would move the insertion of those words.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 19, to add at the end of the clause the words "or incorporated by Royal Charter."—(*Mr. Thomas Russell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the effect of the addition of those words would be really to limit the application of the clause, because the words "legally appropriated" governed the whole matter, whether by Act of Parliament or by Royal Charter. He could not, therefore, accept the Amendment.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY asked whether, under those circumstances, the last words of the sub-section were not also surplusage? Was there any necessity for retaining the words "by Act of Parliament?"

Question put, and *negatived.*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, in the 3rd sub-section, to omit the word "exclusively," the effect of which was to limit the exemption to property which, or the income or profits whereof, should be legally appropriated and applied for any purpose connected with any religious persuasion, or for any charitable purpose, or for the promotion of education, literature, science, or the fine arts.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 21, to leave out the word "exclusively." —(*The Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, that at the end of the sub-section some words ought to be added to indicate that the institutions referred to were carried on without profit to the promoters and managers, because it might be the case that some institutions for the promotion of education, literature, science, or the fine arts, were institutions for private profit.

MR. THOMAS RUSSELL moved to add, in line 23, after the words "promotion of," the word "health." His object was to serve the purpose he had explained before, and he hoped the Government would assent to the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 23, after the words "promotion of," to insert the word "health."—(*Mr. Thomas Russell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'health' be there inserted."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that he had consulted the Attorney General in reference to this point, and as to the wording of the 3rd sub-section generally, and his hon. and learned Friend informed him that, in his opinion, hospitals, or other similar institutions in which no profit was divided, were exempted from duty, notwithstanding that the income of the hospital might be partly derived from payments made to it.

MR. THOMAS RUSSELL said, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman was quite sufficient, and he would not press the Amendment.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY wished to point out, before the Amendment was withdrawn, the extreme danger, at a moment's notice, of putting in words of this sort.

THE CHAIRMAN asked if the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. T. Russell) had withdrawn the Amendment?

MR. THOMAS RUSSELL: No.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he had understood that the Amendment was not withdrawn.

MR. THOMAS RUSSELL: No; it is still on the Paper.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he wished to point out the great danger of introducing words of this kind, because a gymnasium or a hydropathic establishment, carried on exclusively for private profit, would come under the words "promotion of health."

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, there were several asylums and institutions in Scotland which had been originally built by subscription, and were partly carried on for charitable purposes. But, although there was no profit to anyone from them, they could hardly be called exclusively charitable, because it so happened that persons in the higher ranks of life paid for some of the patients. The words of the clause left a case of that kind in doubt; and he thought it was desirable to make it perfectly clear that such institutions, asylums, places of retreat for the restoration of health, and places for the treatment of disease, should be included in the exemption. They were certainly in the nature of public institutions, and had been erected at the public expense. The only doubt was whether they could be called exclusively charitable, although, at the same time, no profit was gained by those who had the management of them.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. GREGORY said, there were various institutions in the country that were doing good work in the regulation of professions, and the governance of the members of such professions. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to exempt those from the operation of the clause, inasmuch as their operations were for the public benefit.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 24, after the words "fine arts," to insert the words "or for the advancement or regulation of any profession, or the governance of any members thereof."—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that so much of the property of the institutions referred to by the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) as was devoted to the promotion of education was already exempt under the sub-section, and he could not consent to extend the exemption further.

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, he should have some difficulty in supporting the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Sussex, although he was a member of one of the societies which the hon. Gentleman had in his mind in moving the insertion of those words. He rose for the purpose of pointing out the peculiar way in which the wording of the latter part of the sub-section was drawn. Sub-section (3) provided for the exemption of property which, or the income or profits whereof, should be legally appropriated and applied exclusively for any purpose connected with any religious persuasion—

"Or for any charitable purpose, or for the promotion of education, literature, science, or the fine arts."

From that wording one would suppose that the draughtsman did not understand the expression "charitable purpose," and was not aware that the promotion of education, literature, science, or the fine arts, was a charitable purpose. He suggested that it would be worth while for the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to consider whether this wording should not be amended on Report by striking out everything after the words "charitable purpose," as the effect of the subsequent words might be to cut down the meaning of the former.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was obliged to the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) for his suggestion, and he would certainly consider the point before the Report, and any suggestions that other hon. Gentlemen might make on the subject.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he had an Amendment which he thought would make clear what it was intended to tax and what not. He proposed to add "without profit to the managers or governors." There were institutions which might be connected with the promotion of education and yet be undertaken for profit. The Royal Academy, for instance, was for the promotion of the Fine Arts; but it was really conducted with a view to profit. If the Royal Academy Exhibition was strictly for the promotion of Fine Art, and if the Managers and Governors were proved to be Trustees of the 1*s.* charged for admission, then it might come in under the words "charitable purpose;" but, unless they restricted the clause in the manner he proposed, he thought they would be giving an undue advantage to societies of the kind he had alluded to.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he thought the point of the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) was covered by the clause as it stood; but he would inquire into the matter, and, in the meantime, would ask the hon. Gentleman not to press it at that moment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 11 and 12 *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Duty to be a first charge on property; what parties accountable for the duty).

MR. GREGORY said, he had three Amendments to this clause on the Paper, but he only proposed to press one of them upon the Committee. By the clause as it stood the duty imposed was to be

> "A first charge on all the property in respect whereof the same shall be payable while such property shall remain in the possession or under the control of the body corporate or unincorporate chargeable with such duty."

And it further provided that—

> "Every accountable officer shall, to the full extent thereof, be answerable to Her Majesty for the payment of the duty charged thereon."

The accountable officer would, therefore, incur personal liability. Now, if hon. Members would refer to the Interpretation Clause they would find that the term "accountable officer" included in its scope a large number of personages—that was to say—

> "Every chamberlain, treasurer, bursar, receiver, secretary, or other officer, trustee, or member of a body corporate or unincorporate by whom the annual income or profits of property, in respect whereof duty is chargeable under this Act, shall be received, or in whose possession, or under whose control, the same shall be."

It followed that all those officers would be personally liable for the duty under the Act; and every person exercising control over the funds of charities would be liable. Now, when they remembered that "no time runs against the Crown," and that the duty might be claimed even after the lapse of 50 years, it really became a matter for serious consideration whether they ought to bind all those officers to a responsibility of the kind. If they had the property of the Corporation liable, he thought that was as much as they ought to expect. Let the Corporation have the entire responsibility, and let the claim be against the Corporation generally to whom the property belonged; but he urged on the Committee not to cast this serious personal liability on everybody engaged in the administration of those charities.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 25, to leave out the words "and every accountable officer."—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he thought the Committee would agree that there must be in these matters some person accountable for the payment of the duty. In inserting those words in the Bill they had simply followed the precedent in the case of the Income Tax. The hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) had indicated a number of persons who, he said, would be personally liable for this duty under the clause as it stood; but he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) thought that the case was governed by the phrase—

> "By whom the annual income or profits of property, in respect whereof duty is chargeable under this Act, shall be received, or in whose posession, or under whose control, the same shall be."

Mr. GREGORY wished to draw attention to the force of the words "or under whose control." They knew that Trustees controlled more or less. Under the clause they would be liable, as would also be any one of those persons to whom the money was paid.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that Trustees were accountable, and their families after them, for the money under their control.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 14 to 19, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 20 (Stamp duty on securities to bearer).

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had an Amendment on the Paper, the object of which was that Colonial securities payable to bearer should not be charged with this Stamp Duty; in other words, that they should not be treated as foreign securities. In order to elicit the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer on that point, he would, in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, move the Amendment referred to.

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 37, to leave out from "shall" to "and," in line 39.—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, this applied to a comparatively small matter, but the hon. Gentleman had given no reasons in favour of the Amendment.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 21 (Grant of duties of income tax).

Mr. CLARE READ said, he desired to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman and the Committee to the unsatisfactory and misleading way in which Schedule B was assessed. He did not now wish to find any fault with the principle on which the tax was charged, but with the way, as he had stated, in which Schedule B was assessed. The assessment of that Schedule was not based on income or profits. All the other Schedules were based on income and profits, while Schedule B was based on the full annual value of the land which the tenant occupied. The consequence was that some of the most accomplished statisticians had been led into a fatal error. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had stated the other day at a meeting of a Chamber of Commerce that the profits upon land still amounted to £140,000,000, and even now that statement continued to be made. The mistake was an extraordinary one for a clever man to make; but there had been a mistake still more extraordinary made by Mr. Giffen, who, at a meeting of the Statistical Society on the 24th of June, said that the incomes of farmers as capitalists and workers amounted to £70,000,000. He (Mr. Read) wished it were so. The hon. Member for Cambridge and Major Craigie had written to *The Times*, exposing the error into which those two high authorities had fallen. For England, according to the Returns, the amount of Schedule B was £48,000,000; income charged, £24,000,000. For Scotland, £7,500,000; income, £4,000,000. For Ireland the amount was £10,000,000, and the real income was £3,350,000. Then it would be seen that, whereas it was supposed that the assessment of Schedule B was £65,500,000, it was something under £30,000,000; so that, instead of the £70,000,000 which Mr. Giffen put down as the profits of tenant farmers, the Returns of the Inland Revenue Department showed that the amount was £30,000,000. If such mistakes as those were made by the remarkably clever men he had named, and who ought to know the truth with regard to the statistics of the country, in what position were Members of Parliament placed who, like himself, had to go by those Returns? Again, Schedule A was assessed at nearly the same amount as Schedule B; and if they deducted from the £65,000,000, 15 per cent for repairs, insurance, and the necessary outlay on farm buildings and land, the amount would be reduced to about £56,000,000, which amount would be further reduced to £50,000,000, or to a rental of about £1 per acre, by taking into account the Land Tax and tithes. In the assessment of Schedule B which was based upon the farmer's supposed profits, no such mistake could possibly arise as had been made by these distinguished persons. Although it might be a little troublesome to the Inland Revenue to make the Returns what they ought to be, he trusted that in the future such misleading assessments as these would not be allowed to appear in the statistics.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that if there was anything he could do to make the statistics on the subject more accurate he would be very glad to do it. But, although he had every reason to feel great personal sympathy with much his hon. Friend (Mr. Clare Read) had said, he hoped the Committee would not be disposed to go into this large question now, but would proceed with the consideration of the Bill. He might remind his hon. Friend that the basis of the assessment of the Income Tax was in no way changed by the clause.

MR. M'LAREN called attention to the change in the incidence of the Income Tax in the case of Insurance Companies in which there were participating policy holders, in the case of Co-operative Societies in which there were shareholders, and in the case of workmen who took a share of the profits of the business in which they were engaged as part of their wages. The Inland Revenue Commissioners had now decided to charge the shareholders in Insurance Companies in respect of the profits, so-called, upon participating policies, and Lord Bramwell had characterized the decision as disastrous and unjust. The change, of course, applied equally to Co-operative Societies and workmen receiving a share of profits. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer appeared to be at variance with him. He could not believe that the right hon. Gentleman desired that the law should take that shape; but having regard to Lord Bramwell's opinion, something ought to be said to prevent that consequence accruing. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer would assure the Committee that the Inland Revenue Commissioners would not direct the tax to be assessed on that principle, he (Mr. M'Laren) would have nothing more to say.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he had consulted the Inland Revenue authorities on this matter. Although he did not wish to set himself against a legal authority like Lord Bramwell, he could assure the hon. Member (Mr. M'Laren) that the practice which had hitherto been pursued with respect to the Income Tax on Co-operative Societies and workmen admitted to a share of the profits would not be in any way changed.

MR. GREGORY suggested to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer the propriety of relieving the public from many of the harassing Returns they were called upon to make in regard to the Income Tax.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 22 *agreed to.*

Clause 23 (Provisions as to duty on dividends, &c., paid prior to passing of this Act).

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND moved the omission of all the words after "thirty-five," in page 9, line 37, to the end of the sentence. He did not see the object of the words. If the amount was paid it could not be any object to the Treasury to know on whose account it was paid.

Amendment proposed, in page 9, line 37, to leave out from the words "thirty-five" to end of sentence.—(*Mr. Dixon-Hartland.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER was not quite prepared to explain the reason of the words; but he hoped the hon. Member would not press his Amendment. The words were in the

Act of last year, and he had no doubt there was a good reason for them.

Mr. R. BIDDULPH MARTIN thought the avowed reason why those words appeared in the clause was to meet such a case as happened this year. The practice of the Government was to apply to the agents who collected the Income Tax, and to ask them to pay the extra tax put on for the previons half-year. It would be much more satisfactory and economical of the Treasury to put the Income Tax on at a double rate for the half-year, instead of at a single rate for the whole year.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 24 *agreed to.*

Clause 25 (Provision for further securing income tax on foreign and colonial dividends).

Mr. W. FOWLER called the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the words "bills of exchange" in line 9. It was very true that a coupon expressed on the face of it what it was for, and so did a warrant. Bills of exchange constantly bore no indication what they were for. Supposing a bill of exchange relating to an American undertaking was sent to a banker. The banker had no idea what it was for, and could not possibly charge Income Tax upon it. It would be very hard indeed to make him liable for what he could not possibly discover. It might be perfectly fair, from the point of view of this clause, to make a banker liable when the document showed it was for a dividend. As a rule, a bill of exchange did not show whether it was for a dividend or not; it was merely somebody abroad drawing on a merchant in London payable to order or to somebody else. Even supposing the clause was right, he thought the words he had called attention to were wrong. If necessary, he would move to omit them; but he would prefer the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to promise to consider the point by Report.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he had listened attentively to the hon. Member, and it seemed to him there was much force in what the hon. Gentleman had said. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would be glad to consider the matter before Report.

Sir SYDNEY WATERLOW proposed to add, in page 11, after line 19—

> "Such banker or person receiving as remuneration for the expense of collecting the Tax such poundage as may be agreed upon not being less than the sum payable by the Commissioners of Income Tax to the collectors of the district in which the Tax is deducted."

By this clause the Government were trying, and he thought very justly so, to obtain Income Tax upon sources of income which hitherto had evaded the tax to a large extent; but in order to do it they were obliged to call to their aid not only bankers, but money dealers or changers, who were constantly buying foreign coupons. Now, those people would have to keep an account of transactions they never kept before; and, therefore, he was afraid that unless they were remunerated many of them would still evade the tax. He understood it was now the practice to allow some bankers so much in the pound on the Income Tax they collected. There was, however, no statutory obligation to do that. He thought it would be better to make it a statutory obligation that the person collecting the tax for the Government should be entitled to a certain poundage. Take the case of foreign coupons. In places like Liverpool, where foreign ships were constantly arriving, there were many persons who bought foreign coupons. The buyers kept no record, and therefore they could not be called upon to give any account. If the Bill passed with this clause in it they would be required to keep an account. He believed a much more faithful account would be kept if some remuneration were given. In the interest of the collection of the Revenue, in the interest of the public, and also in fairness to those who had to take some trouble to collect the tax, he hoped those words would be accepted.

Amendment proposed,

In page 11, after line 19, to add—"Such banker or person receiving as remuneration for the expense of collecting the Tax such poundage as may be agreed upon not being less than the sum payable by the Commissioners of Income Tax to the collectors of the district in which the Tax is deducted."—(*Sir Sydney Waterlow.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he did not see the necessity of the words; but if the hon. Gentleman was willing, he would deal with the question on Report.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK proposed to add to the clause—

> "But this clause shall not impose on any banker the obligation of disclosing any particulars relating to the affairs of any person on whose behalf he may be acting."

There was a difference of opinion amongst bankers as to the exact meaning of this clause. They were not quite clear what the obligation imposed upon them was. He understood from his hon. Friend the Member for Tewkesbury (Mr. R. Biddulph Martin) that he had been in communication with the Government, and had been led to believe that they would not require details, but only a statement as to the stock or loan on which the coupons were paid. Of course, if lists of the coupons were required much more labour and expense would be involved without any corresponding advantage. The public were always jealous of any information being given by bankers with reference to the concerns of their customers. Of course, the matter was in the hands of the House; at the same time, he was anxious that if bankers allowed officials of the Government to require information from bankers as to the accounts of their customers, it should be distinctly enacted that bankers had no option in the matter.

Amendment proposed,

> At end of Clause, to add—"But this clause shall not impose on any banker the obligation of disclosing any particulars relating to the affairs of any person on whose behalf he may be acting."—(*Sir John Lubbock.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, there was much in what the hon. Baronet had said. Although he could not accept the words now, he would undertake to consider them before Report.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. R. BIDDULPH MARTIN proposed to leave out the clause, on the ground that it introduced a totally novel feature into legislation. The whole gist of the clause was contained in the first lines—

> "Whereas the enactments herein-after mentioned have been found inadequate to secure the charging and payment of income tax upon dividends payable out of the revenues of foreign and colonial states and dividends of foreign and colonial companies."

That was to say, the Government considered they ought to employ a new set of collectors. He could not help thinking it would be very unwise to pass this clause. He was quite willing to believe, in fact he knew, that most bankers would give every facility to assist the Government as far as they could in the collection of the Income Tax; but any interference between the banker and his customers, in order to ascertain what transactions passed through a man's account, would be very inconvenient, and capable of mischief. Of course, it was well known that a great deal of Income Tax was evaded by people holding coupons which were not paid in this country, and he quite admitted it would save the Government much trouble if the bankers holding such coupons had to collect the tax. There was no indisposition on the part of the bankers to act as far as they could as agents for the collection of the tax; but to make them do so was quite a different thing. It was the thin edge of the wedge of interference between the banker and his customer. He held that Parliament had no right to impose a duty upon a set of men unless it was distinctly within their legitimate province to undertake that duty. To act as collector of Income Tax was not the legitimate duty of a banker, and therefore he moved the omission of the clause.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the Clause.—(*Mr. R. Biddulph Martin.*)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought the Committee generally would sympathize with the Preamble of the clause—namely,

> "Whereas the enactments herein-after mentioned have been found inadequate to secure the charging and payment of income tax upon dividends payable out of the revenues of foreign and colonial states and dividends of foreign and colonial companies."

There was no question, he believed, that large incomes were derived from these sources by persons in England—incomes which escaped Income Tax, and which ought to pay it. The question was whether anything could be done to prevent that evasion. The present proposal had been embodied in the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), and he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had thought it right to introduce it into the present measure in view of the large evasion which existed at the present moment. In reply to an hon. Member opposite, he had promised that he would consider the question as to whether bills of exchange should be included in the clause, and he had also declared that the suggestion made by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) was one that they should endeavour to carry out. These two points appeared to him to remove what were really the principal objections to the clause; for what had the hon. Gentleman opposite argued? He had argued that it was a terrible thing to interefere between the banker and his customers, and make the banker the collector of Income Tax. But it was not proposed to interfere between bankers and their customers one whit more than was necessary to insure the payment of Income Tax. The Government were willing to limit that interference, so that no wrong would be done; but the banker could not complain if he was made technically what he practically was at the present time—namely, the agent for his customers in this matter. As agent of his customers, the banker was asked to do that for which the State proposed to remunerate him—that was to say, to deduct the Income Tax from the coupons he paid. The requirement was no very formidable one—in fact, it was one which at the present moment was carried into effect by several houses of importance in the City. That being so, there could be no earthly reason why the system should not be carried out by all bankers, as proposed. He would be glad to take the decision of the Committee on the matter, and hoped they would agree to the proposal of the Bill.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND regarded the question as one of principle, and objected to making a large portion of the community tax collectors against their will. He protested strongly against the principle, as an entirely new one in the country, and wished to point out to the Committee that a large quantity of coupons were collected by solicitors as well as by bankers. If this clause were passed, a large quantity of coupons would be collected by solicitors, and the tax would be evaded as it had been evaded before. Take only one case that would strikingly show the objectionable character of the principle. During the summer months very many Americans came over to this country and remained here for some time, on the way to and from the Continent. They did not bring money with them, but brought coupons of Stocks they had in America, and paid them to the bankers they were introduced to. Those people should not be made liable to the payment of Income Tax in this country; but under this clause every American who came over and cashed coupons with English bankers would have to have his Income Tax deducted. Such a charge would be by no means fair. If the principle were to be insisted on, the clause should not be limited to bankers, but solicitors and agents of all sorts should be introduced. There was no reason why bankers as a class should be picked out and, because they happened to have a large amount of money, be made collectors of taxes. No doubt, voluntarily, the bankers would help the Government as much as they could. They would have no objection to lending their assistance; but they decidedly objected to being made tax collectors by law, and to having a penalty inflicted upon them for neglecting to act in that capacity.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 135; Noes 20: Majority 115.—(Div. List, No. 244.)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I beg to move the following new clause by way of alteration in the present licences for brewing:—

> "On and after the first day of October, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, the Duty of Excise payable under 'The Inland Revenue Act, 1880,' on a licence to be taken out by a brewer of beer (not being a brewer of beer for sale) shall be four shillings in lieu of six shillings."

The Committee will remember that in introducing the Budget this year the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) proposed to alter the present system of brewing licences. These licences, as they at present stand, are, I think, a duty of 6*s.* on houses over £15 valuation, which are also chargeable with Beer Duty; of 9*s.* on houses of between £15 and £10 valuation; and 6*s.* on houses of below £10 valuation. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to allow private brewers to take out half-yearly licences at the rate of 4*s.* for the six months for houses under £10 valuation, and 6*s.* for houses between £10 and £15, so that there would have been five or six kinds of brewing licences. I am quite aware of the strong desire that exists to facilitate brewing by the labouring classes in cottages and houses of small valuation. I believe it conduces to temperance as well as cheapness to allow these classes to provide themselves with beer. On the other hand, it is evident that nothing could be worse for purposes of administration than having so many different classes of licences varying in amount for so simple a matter as brewing. Therefore, the clause I propose is one which reduces the 6*s.* licences altogether to 4*s.* The Committee will desire to know what loss we anticipate to the Revenue. The loss will, I think, be very little more than was anticipated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract in the proposal he submitted to the House. A large number of these licences now taken out are taken out by persons living in houses of below £10 value. I find that under the existing regulations 73,000 are taken out by persons living in houses of under £10 value, and 8,222 by persons living in houses of above £15 value. There is no particular ground for exempting houses above that value from paying this new tax; but it must be remembered that with them the licence is little more than a registration fee, the payment they really make for brewing being the large duty they pay for the beer they brew. The main loss, therefore, will be the loss of 2*s.* on these 73,000 licences for houses of under £10 valuation; but I think there is good reason to anticipate that the 4*s.* licences will be taken out by a larger number of people than the 6*s.* licences have been; therefore, the Revenue will be recouped, to some extent, in that way; and the labourers who desire to brew will have a yearly licence for 4*s.* in place of a half-yearly licence for the same amount that the right hon. Gentleman opposite proposed. I do not think that, on the whole, any material loss to the Revenue will occur. I see that my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Birkbeck) intends to propose a system of half-yearly licences; but it seems to me that the yearly licence is much more suited to the circumstances of the labourer. If he wants to brew at all, he will want to brew frequently all the year round. If he once gets into the habit of brewing, he will wish to take out a yearly licence. My proposal, I think, is an easier one to work than that of my Predecessor, and I think it will be found, practically, quite as great a boon.

New Clause (Reduction of duty on licences to be taken out by certain brewers not being brewers for sale,)—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

MR. BIRKBECK: I would propose to move an Amendment to the clause relative to the question of half-yearly licences.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before the hon. Member can move an Amendment the clause must be read a second time.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. BIRKBECK said, he proposed to move an Amendment relative to the question of half-yearly licences. The principle of half-yearly licences, at his own and others' request, had been adopted by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it had been very favourably received by the country. What the present Chancellor of the Exchequer had also done was certainly a move in the right direction; but the right hon. Gentleman had not gone far enough, and what he (Mr. Birkbeck) would, therefore, propose would be that he should arrange to grant half-yearly licences at 2*s.* 6*d.* The Amendment he had intended to move was on the Notice Paper, but he only now proposed to move a portion of it. It dealt with half-yearly licences from the 1st of April to the 30th of September and from the 1st of October to the 31st March. He was sure that in adopting this proposal the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would find that the Exchequer would not only sustain no loss, but would experience a considerable increase. He (Mr. Birkbeck) knew from having spoken in many cases to agricultural labourers on the subject, and had been informed, that they had left off brewing at home since 1880, but that, if they could get six months' licences, they would be very glad to avail themselves of them. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so far as the Eastern Counties were concerned, was wrong in saying that the agricultural labourers would desire to brew their own beer all the year round. They would only desire to do so from April to Michaelmas—during hay time and harvest. He would, therefore, move the following new clause :—

> "(1.) There shall be charged and paid on licences taken out for a half year by brewers of beer not being brewers of beer for sale the duties following (that is to say):—
>
> On a licence when taken out on and after the *first day of April* in any year to expire on the *thirtieth day of September* following, and on a licence when taken out on and after the *first day of October* in any year to expire on the *thirty-first day of March* following—
>
> | | Duty. £ *s.* *d.* |
> |---|---|
> | By any such brewer who is the occupier of a house of an annual value not exceeding ten pounds . . . . | 0 2 6 |
>
> (2.) Every such licence shall be in such form as the Commissioners of Inland Revenue shall direct."

To charge 4*s.* for a licence to an agricultural labourer who, perhaps, only earned 11*s.* or 12*s.* a-week wages, and most likely had a large family to keep upon it, would still be an injustice. The granting of these cheap brewing licences was, he thought, one way of preventing agricultural labourers from going to public-houses, because they would know when they brewed that their beer was made of malt and hops; whilst in the public-house they had no idea what their drink was composed of. He earnestly trusted that in time 1*s.* only would be charged for a six months' licence simply as a register.

New Clause (Duties on half yearly licences to brewers other than brewers for sale)—(*Mr. Birkbeck*).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be there added."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I must say I think my hon. Friend has hardly given me sufficient credit for the reduction I propose to make, for it is really a considerable difference that licences which have been 6*s.* should be in future reduced to 4*s.* If the hon. Member insists upon this Amendment and carries his point, the result will be a still further diminution of the Revenue from this source—the diminution which I have already proposed being in excess, I admit to no large extent, but still in excess, of that estimated by my Predecessor. I hope the Committee will sustain me in this matter and will not assent to a further reduction, which would be really going beyond what we can be reasonably expected to do.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. HICKS said, he was fully sensible of, and grateful to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer for, the concession he had made to the agricultural labourer in proposing this change. He and others had, on behalf of the agricultural labourers, objected to the tax when it was put on in 1880, and had protested against it ever since. Therefore, he, for one, begged to return the right hon. Gentleman thanks for the concession he had made. He, however, would venture to ask the right hon. Gentleman still further to consider the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Norfolk (Mr. Birkbeck), and accept it in a modified form. He said a modified form, because he thought the Amendment should be so altered as to limit the licences to a specific half-year—namely, from the 1st of April to the 30th of September. He begged to put this before the right hon. Gentleman in the hope that he would be able to see his way to the adoption of the proposal, and thereby give great relief to the agricultural labourers, whom he knew, from his own experience, only wanted to brew during the summer half of the year.

MR. STORER said, he did not know whether or not the Amendment was seconded; but, for his own part, he did not agree with it. He thought the labouring classes were very much indebted to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his proposal — not only the agricultural labourers, but labourers engaged in manufactures, and mechanics in all parts of the country who were very much disposed to brew at home if they had the opportunity of doing so; but who had hitherto been deprived of the possibility, owing partly to the heavy licence, which, in many cases, nearly equalled the old Malt Tax. If the question were to be viewed from a temperance point of view, no doubt the brewing licence was conducive to the cause of temperance, because both in the rural districts and in the towns it had the effect of keeping many men out of the public-house. If they granted a half-yearly licence, it was as much as to say that a man might go to the public house during one-half of the year, and not during the other half. He thought there was a strong objection to granting the licence for half a year.

MR. BIDDELL thought that a half-yearly licence would be for the benefit of the poorer section of the working classes who lived in cottages. If the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment, he thought that he would be making a concession to that class which they deserved; but, at the same time, if the right hon. Gentleman did not see his way in the matter, he hoped his hon. Friend (Mr. Hicks) would not press the Amendment.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Schedule *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in what position the Criminal Law Amendment Bill stood? There was, he believed, a general understanding that the Bill was to be the first Order of the Day on Tuesday next.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, they had to take Supply tomorrow if they were able to do so, and again on Monday. Much depended on whether they could finish Supply on Monday or not, because, if not, they would have to go on with it on Tuesday, and then the Telegraph Acts Amendment Bill would follow on the same evening. When they reached the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, it would be desirable that they should go on with it as rapidly as possible. His wish was to finish Supply, then to proceed with the Telegraph Acts Amendment Bill, and then to go forward with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill; but he should have to communicate with his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary on the subject.

REVISING BARRISTERS BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir Richard Cross.*)

[BILL 237.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, he hoped his hon. and learned Friend would not proceed with the Bill at that late hour. It was a measure which required some consideration, and it was, in his opinion, too late to discuss it properly. Therefore, in order to give time for further consideration, he would move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Morgan Lloyd.*)

SIR HENRY JAMES said, he would strongly appeal to his hon. and learned Friend to withdraw his objection to the Motion for the second reading of the Bill. The Bill was brought in to meet a purely technical difficulty which it was absolutely necessary to get rid of. His hon. and learned Friend would have an opportunity of discussing this matter; but he could assure him that there was nothing in the Bill which would render it necessary to reject the Motion for the second reading.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, he had no wish to prevent the Bill being read a second time; but he desired a proper opportunity for discussion, and that he should take on the next stage of the Bill. With the permission of the House he would withdraw his Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

POLICE ENFRANCHISEMENT EXTENSION BILL.—[BILL 219.]

(*Mr. Coleridge Kennard, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Mr. Cowen, Lord Claud John Hamilton, Mr. Robert Fowler, Mr. Houldsworth, Mr. George Elliot.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Coleridge Kennard.*)

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he was prepared to say, with regard to the Bill, that he strongly sympathized with its principle. He saw no particular reason why the police should not be enfranchised as well as any other class of the community. But, on the whole, he thought it should be remembered that Bills for the enfranchisement of persons who ought to have been admitted had been resisted in that House. The Woman's Franchise Bill had been dropped; and he confessed that so large a question as the present should not, in his opinion, have been brought forward in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department. This was a question which particularly referred to the functions of domestic legislation, and he thought that a Bill of the kind ought not to be read a second time at that late period of the Session; he objected to it also on the ground that the Home Secretary was not present on the occasion. Further than that, he should like to call attention to the fact that the police had at the time of elections a peculiar and important function to discharge. By law, whatever might happen at the time of elections, the military were disabled from being called out; and, therefore, if it became necessary to keep the peace at the time of election, the police were necessarily employed for the purpose. It seemed to him that a very large principle was involved in the present Bill. Unless some provision were made for the conduct of elections, it seemed to him that it would be extremely unwise to be debarred from the services of the police in districts where the election going on might put them in the position of partizans. He strongly sympathized with those who moved this Motion. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members might laugh at that, but he should not reply to their interruptions. He had spoken a dozen times on this point. Where disturbances might occur he did not pretend to say; but he thought it was possible to imagine that, even in this peaceful country of theirs, it might be necessary at election time to employ other officers than special constables to preserve the peace. There were, no doubt, parts of the country where there might by accident be some machinery that would achieve that result. Although he was perfectly in favour of enfranchising the police, he did not feel disposed to join in any Bill for their enfranchisement without previous consideration of the matter, and on what he conceived to be a very logical objection on the part of his hon. Friend the Member for Salisbury (Mr. Kennard), without any statement on the part of Her Majesty's Government. He begged, therefore, to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Thorold Rogers.*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr. E. STANHOPE) said, he hoped the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) would not press his Motion for the adjournment of the debate. The hon. Member had urged that he had not heard the Government upon the Bill; but he would point out that if he wished to hear them it was impossible that they could say anything about it on his Motion for Adjournment. He hoped, however, that he would not press his point until the general views of the House on the subject had been made known.

SIR HENRY JAMES said, the understanding was that no measure of a contentious character would be taken. All he could say was that this was a very contentious matter. There was no great principle involved in it; but a great deal could be said as to its expediency, and there would be a long debate on the Motion, which he hoped would terminate in the rejection of the Bill. At present they were without the presence of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and hon. Members wanted to have a statement from him as to the opinions of the heads of the Police Force. For his own part, he could not possibly agree to the Motion.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON strongly appealed to the House to agree to the second reading of the Bill. It was all very well for the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Henry James) to say that because this was a contentious Bill, and because there would be a long debate upon it, that, therefore, they ought not to take the second reading stage. There was no opposition to the Bill on the Notice Paper, and under those circumstances they were entitled to suppose that the Bill was not an opposed measure. As to the question whether the police ought or ought not to be enfranchised——

MR. SPEAKER: I would remind the hon. Baronet that the Question before the House is that the debate be now adjourned.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he should, of course, not pursue that subject. He believed he was entitled, on a Motion for the adjournment of the debate, to point out that at that late period of the Session it was only possible to advance measures like this when such opportunities as the present presented themselves. He trusted that the House would not agree to the adjournment of the debate.

MR. BRYCE said, that there had been two Notices of opposition on the Paper, and that was why other Members had not put down their Notices of opposition. These two Notices had been unexpectedly taken off, else the Bill could not have come on to-night. It appeared to him absurd to ask the House at that hour of the evening to go into a discussion upon the principle of the Bill, which was strongly opposed by a great many Members.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he should like to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, who represented the Government, to what had passed that evening—namely, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer distinctly informed an hon. Member that after half-past 12 o'clock no contentious Business should be taken.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL said, that if this was a contentious Bill, he was utterly at a loss to know what a non-contentious Bill was like. There was absolutely no opposition to it.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 59; Noes 48: Majority 11.—(Div. List, No. 245.)

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

PLURALITIES (*re-committed*) BILL.

(*Mr. Acland, Mr. Edward Howard, Sir John Kennaway, Lord Edward Cavendish.*)

[BILL 241.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. ACLAND said, he hoped the Bill would be passed through Committee now. Notice had been given of three Amendments, but they were unimportant, and could be very well moved on Report.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr. E. STANHOPE) trusted that the hon. Gentleman would be satisfied with getting the Speaker out of the Chair. The House was anxious to get to other Business, and the hon. Gentleman would, in all probability, promote the progress of the measure than otherwise by consenting to report Progress now.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

——o——

HERIOT'S HOSPITAL SCHEME.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

MR. BUCHANAN, in rising to move—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her consent to the Scheme of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Commission now lying upon the Table of the House, for the management of the Endowments of Heriot's Hospital,"

said, the circumstances in which he brought forward this important subject illustrated very forcibly the futility of the Parliamentary control over the schemes of the Educational Endowments Commissioners. It was a matter of especial regret that he was driven to call attention, at that hour of the morning (1.45), to a scheme affecting so important an endowment as that of Heriot's Hospital. Under the circumstances, he would best consult the convenience of the House if he stated very shortly the points in the Commissioners' scheme to which he took exception, and the grounds on which he based his objection. Of course, he would be obliged to assume that hon. Members present were acquainted with the main facts of the case—namely, that the endowment was one of the largest and most important in Scotland; that its annual revenue amounted to £25,000, a larger sum than the total capital bequeathed to the Trust by George Heriot a couple of centuries ago; that its available income for educational purposes was £21,000 a-year; that that income was devoted at the present moment to the support of a hospital and a large number of free schools, and to the maintenance of bursaries and evening classes; and that all the education given under the endowment was entirely free. The principal features of the Commissioners' scheme were three in number. The Commissioners proposed to turn the hospital into a day secondary school, with an exclusively modern side; they proposed to take over the Technical College in Edinburgh, called the Watt Institute; and they proposed to discontinue the free schools. Now, with regard to the first two points he had no very substantial objection. The Governors, in the scheme they presented to the Commissioners, themselves also proposed to turn Heriot's Hospital into a day secondary school; but the school they proposed to establish was to have, besides a modern side, a complete classical side. He could not forbear alluding to one point in connection with the hospital, because he well remembered that during the debate on the Endowments Bill the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) said that the only object of those who brought forward that measure was to carry on the reform of Scottish education in accordance with the best Scotch traditions. Now, it was one of the best traditions of Scottish education that a boy, of however humble origin, to whatever school he might go, and however humble in its character, should have an opportunity of proceeding from his school to the University; but by the action of the Commissioners the only school in all Scotland from which that, in the future, would be impossible, would be the school which was to be established in Heriot's Hospital. The exclusion of Greek from the Hospital School was surely an unnecessary provision, and the Commissioners might well have given way on this point to the objections of the Governors. Practically, however, he had no serious objection to take to that part of the scheme, or to that part of it which dealt with the Watt Institute or Technical College. The Governors were in favour of supporting technical education in Edinburgh. He believed they originated the idea of largely aiding the Watt Institute in furtherance of technical education; indeed, technical education had formed an integral feature of every scheme they had brought forward during the last 15 years. But it was in regard to the discontinuance of the free schools that he principally took exception to the scheme of the Commissioners; and he hoped to be able to show that the reasons alleged by the Commissioners for discontinuing those schools were not adequate to justify such a step; and, further, that the proposal was contrary to the tendency of all modern legislation. He hoped also to show that the principle underlying the changes which were proposed in the constitution of the Governing Body were retrograde in their character, in that they made that Body less open and less representative, instead of more open and more representative, and in that they also decreased the weight and responsibility of the municipality in that Governing Body. And now with regard to the discontinuance of the free schools. What were the reasons alleged by the Commissioners for taking that very drastic step, and what was the substitute they proposed? The Heriot free schools were 15 in number. They educated 4,500 children of poor parents; and he might add that the selection of those children was made by a careful system of Schedules, in which every particular with regard to the circumstances of the parents or guardians was set forth in detail. He had an analysis of the Schedules for a couple of years, and from it he gathered that the average wage of the parents of the children who obtained free education was about 17*s.* 4*d.* a-week. He need not detain the House on that point, because it was generally acknowledged that those who obtained the benefit of the free schools were those who, from their condition, most deserved it, and that they appreciated the education given them in the best possible way—namely, by insisting on their children attending regularly. It was generally acknowledged also that the education given in the schools was of the very highest character; he did not think that anyone disputed that. The percentage of passes at the last inspection was 95·7. Six of the schools had an average pass of 98, and one of them of 99—almost equal to the famous Jewish school which his right hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) was so fond of quoting as a model. It was evident, therefore, that it was not on the ground of inefficiency or of bad management that the Commissioners desired to discontinue those schools. Now, the substitute for those free schools which the Commissioners offered was the application of an

> "annual sum not exceeding £3,500 in paying in whole or in part, as the Governors may think fit, the fees of scholars, with books and stationary, at public or State-aided schools in the City of Edinburgh for elementary education."

Undoubtedly, that was a very substantial grant in aid of free education; and those hon. Members who fought the battle on the Endowments Bill three years ago might fairly congratulate themselves that such a substantial aid had been given for that object. But he should like to make one remark by way of a criticism of the proposal, especially as he saw present one of the Commissioners, the hon. Member for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen (Mr. J. A. Campbell). It was as to the mode in which the free places were to be given. The free scholars, as was well known, had to be children of parents who were not in receipt of parochial relief. Of the grant of £3,500 a-year, two-thirds was to be given for children over 10, and these places were to be allocated by competitive examination, and one-third only was to be reserved for children under 10. And the

> "selection shall be made with due regard to merit as ascertained by such examination, suited to the age of the candidates, as the Governors may from time to time prescribe, or in the case of children for whom such examination is unsuitable, by evidence that the children possess such qualifications as to justify their selection."

It would be remembered that there was a great deal of discussion on the 16th clause of the Endowment Act as to the manifest absurdity of introducing competitive examinations for children of this class, especially for those of tender age. Not only would it be manifestly absurd to introduce competitive examinations, but their introduction could not fail to operate in diverting the funds from the class who were most deserving of the assistance. The poorer the parents of the child the less prepared he would be for such a competition. The House would see, from the words he had quoted from the Commissioners' scheme, that this kind of examination was made compulsory for all children above 10, and was suggested as a desirable means of ascertaining the qualification of children under 10. It was fair to state, however, that the proposal which endeavoured to introduce, as far as possible, competitive examination even in the case of children of tender years was not that which the Commissioners themselves desired to carry out. The clause had originally been framed in a different form. Objection was taken to it by the Education Department, and reference made to the Scottish Law Officers of the Crown. In accordance with their opinion the present clause was drafted. Both Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Lord Shand sympathized with the objections raised against this undue extension of the system of competitive examinations, and expressed their opinion on the evidence that the clause went too far in that direction. They, therefore, could not find fault with the Commissioners. It was the Department, which had set itself to work this clause with the utmost possible rigour against the poorer beneficiaries in a way which certainly was not justified by the intention of the Act. They might fairly state that the reservation contained in the clause took away the greater part of the value of the substitute offered for the closing of the schools. What were the reasons alleged by the Commissioners for the closing of the schools? Lord Balfour of Burleigh was asked this question by Mr. Mackay of the Edinburgh Trade Council, and in reply his Lordship stated that, summing up the result of the evidence taken, the two main reasons which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, justified the abolition or closing of the free schools were, firstly, that it was expedient to put all the education of the city as far as possible under one Board; and, secondly, that the existence of the Heriot's free schools side by side with the Board schools was prejudicial to the general interest of education in Edinburgh. It would not be right of him to detain the House at that hour (2 o'clock) by examining the evidence as it was submitted to them in the Report of the Commissioners; but he took it that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) had examined the evidence—the evidence given by the School Board, and the rebutting evidence given by the representatives of the Governing Body. With regard to the way in which the general education of Edinburgh was supposed to be adversely affected by the existence of those schools, he took leave to allude to two of the contentions of the School Board. First of all they said they had a difficulty in recovering fees owing to the existence of the free schools. But the Chairman of the Edinburgh School Board was asked directly whether the difficulty in recovering fees was due to the juxtaposition of the free schools, or to the position of the parents, and his reply was that it was due to the position of the parents. Supposing the difficulty were due to the juxtaposition of the free schools, it appeared clear on the face of it that the difficulty would continue to exist in a great degree when there was a juxtaposition not of free schools amongst paying schools, but of free and other scholars in the same school. The only other allegation of the School Board was with regard to the transference of scholars from the Heriot to the Board Schools, and from the Board to the Heriot Schools. It was alleged that the transference caused irregularity of attendance; and that during a single quarter, more than 200 children had been transferred from the Heriot schools to the Board schools, and more than 600 children from the Board school to the Heriot schools. The figures were examined by the Governing Body, and it was discovered that while it was alleged that the transfers from the Heriot schools to the Board schools consisted solely of children who had been dismissed for irregular attendance, the fact was that only 12 children had been dismissed during the year from the Heriot schools for irregularity of attendance. On the other hand, it was discovered that the average wage of the parents or guardians of the 600 children who were transferred from the Board schools to the Heriot schools was 16*s.* 2¼*d.* a-week, and 23 per cent of the children were orphans or fatherless. It was clear they were exactly the class of children who were most deserving, and who, as a rule, were most appreciative of the advantages of free schools. Lord Balfour of Burleigh's other reason for closing the free schools was that it was expedient to put the whole education of the City under one Board. He (Mr. Buchanan) submitted that, in the first place, the Commissioners had not succeeded under the scheme in doing so; and, in the second place, that they were not empowered under the Act to do so. Now, provision was made, as everyone knew, by Sections 38 and 39 of the Education Act of 1872, for the transfer of Voluntary schools to Board schools; the transfer was not compulsory, but provision was made for it. It was no part of the Endowment Act to supplement the Education Act in this particular. If the Commissioners had wanted to carry out what Lord Balfour of Burleigh considered expedient—namely, the placing of the whole education of the City under one Board, they should have taken the advice of Mr. Wallace, one of the members of the School Board who appeared before them, and transferred to the School Board the Heriot schools bodily, and all the money spent upon them. He did not think they ought to have done so, or could legally have done so; but that would have been the only way in which they could have carried out the intention which, apparently, they had in view. There was another point worthy of consideration, and it was that the £3,500 which was to be granted under the present scheme would not be confined solely to Board schools, but a portion of it would be given to the Voluntary schools of the City. There were almost as many scholars in the Voluntary schools as in the Board schools, and therefore the administration of the grant would tend to foster not unity of administration under the

School Board, but rivalry of administration between School Board and the managers of Voluntary schools. Therefore, by this scheme, no real or substantial advance was made towards what was considered to be expedient, the placing of the whole education of the City under one authority. He submitted that even if they gave greater weight than he had been able to give to the educational arguments of the Commission, those arguments were hardly enough to justify the very drastic step which the Commission proposed to take in closing up and abolishing this large system of free schools which had given such excellent education. It was by no means a necessity, in order to carry out the other good objects the Commissioners had in view, because the scheme framed by the Governing Body proposed to establish a day secondary school with a fully equipped modern side, to take over the Technical College called the Watt Institute, to found bursaries, and yet maintain the free schools. He did not think such a step as the discontinuance of the free schools could be justified except by clear and undoubted substantial educational benefits to be acquired by Edinburgh, and that, of course, was the object they all had in view. He had endeavoured to show that no such clear case had been made out by the Commissioners. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the Commissioners were running counter to the strongly expressed local opinion on the subject; that they were running counter also, as he had already said, to the tendency of modern legislation; and that they were endeavouring to forestall the decision upon an issue which was coming prominently to the front, and would become one of the chief topics of discussion by the new electors and the new Parliament. Of local opinion on the subject it was hardly necessary for him to speak. Only that afternoon he presented a Petition on the subject signed by 42,000 of the inhabitants of Edinburgh. The Petition had been got up by the working classes in the city, and it was many times larger than any Petition he had had the honour during the last four years of presenting from the much petitioning City he represented. The feeling on this subject, as shown by the signatures to the Petition, was not confined to people of one shade of politics—it was not confined to one class in the community. But it was not worth while to enlarge upon the popular interest taken in this subject—anyone who knew anything of the politics of Edinburgh knew enough about this subject. He thought the late Lord Advocate (Mr. Balfour) knew something about popular opinion with regard to the scheme. The right hon. and learned Gentleman was deservedly one of the most popular men in his own constituency; but, if he (Mr. Buchanan) mistook not, on the last occasion when the right hon. and learned Gentleman addressed his constituents the unanimity of the proceedings was somewhat marred by the indignation of some of the inhabitants against the Dollar Scheme of the Endowments Commission. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) knew something about popular interest in a scheme of the Charity Commissioners which related to Cam in Gloucestershire, and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) knew something of the feeling with which some of the Commissioners' schemes were regarded by the people. Last Session a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the operation of the Charitable Trusts Acts, and amongst the recommendations of that Committee was one to the effect that in the appointment of the new Governing Bodies there should be a larger recognition of the principle of representation. The other day a dinner was given in London in honour of the Lord Advocate (Mr. Macdonald), who, he was sorry, had not a seat in the House; and at that dinner the Marquess of Salisbury, the Prime Minister, insisted upon increasing the powers, and throwing more responsibility and weight upon the municipalities with regard to all local matters, including educational matters. He could hardly believe, therefore, that a Government of which the Marquess of Salisbury was Prime Minister would give its adhesion to this scheme, which diminished from four-fifths to just over one-half the representation of the municipality, upon the Governing Body of this important Trust. When a demand for a system of free education was made in all quarters he could not believe it would be prudent or wise in the House to give its assent to a proposal which was to do away with the largest system of free schools at present existing in the Kingdom; when they knew that the larger subject was coming forward it surely was exceedingly unwise to put a stop to the best example and only large example of free education in the United Kingdom. He could understand those who were resolutely and somewhat selfishly opposed to the principle of free education saying—"Here is an excellent system of free schools in existence, let us vote for its discontinuance lest it should be quoted against us;" but he could not understand how those who were in favour of the principle of free education, or who desired, at least, that the question should be fairly discussed, could support the scheme relating to Heriot's Endowments. He apologized for having detained the House so long. He had endeavoured, however, very imperfectly he knew, to show that the educational advantages which were set forth by the Commissioners as likely to accrue by this scheme were not sufficient to justify the very drastic step they had taken in suppressing these free schools. He had also endeavoured to show that both in that matter and in the changes they proposed in the Governing Body the Commissioners were running counter to the development of representative principles, and to the tendency of modern legislation. He begged to move the Motion which stood in his name.

Mr. M'LAREN, in seconding the Motion, said, he did not wish to go into the question at any length, but merely wished to say that if the House should see fit to reject this scheme now they would not thereby endanger any necessary or useful reform of Heriot's Hospital. This question of Heriot's Hospital had now been before the public for a good many years. The Governors had themselves prepared a very excellent scheme, and should this scheme be rejected the only result would be that the Education Commissioners would take the matter into consideration next year, and probably lay on the Table of the House a scheme very much better fitted to meet the interests of the public, and more in accordance with the spirit of the foundation. This would not be the first time that this Institution had been reformed by Parliament. Fifty years ago an Act was passed reciting that it was desirable to carry into effect the intentions of the founder, and in pursuance of that Act 15 primary schools were established in the City of Edinburgh. The Act of 1882, which was passed at the instance of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), also contained a recital to the effect that it was the intention of that Act to carry out more fully than at present the spirit of the founder's intentions. The words of the will were—

> "That this should be a Trust for poor fatherless bairns, sons of decayed burgesses in the City of Edinburgh."

The spirit of the founder's intention had been carried out faithfully by Parliament and the Trust until the present day. Now, for the first time, the Commission, consisting of gentlemen for whom there could only be the deepest respect, had taken upon themselves to examine into the circumstances of the Trust; and with the best intention he was bound to say they had prepared a scheme which differed in most material respects from the intentions of the pious founder. In doing so they had set against them the opinion of Edinburgh, and of those towns in Scotland which possessed similar Trusts. The Town Council had unanimously petitioned against this scheme, and if there was anybody which represented the public opinion of Edinburgh it was the Town Council. They had all the parish ministers against it; and, on the other hand, they had a Petition from the Free Presbytery against it; and the Trades Council, which represented all the working classes in the city, and other public bodies, were equally opposed to the scheme. That afforded *primâ facie* ground for delaying this matter. They did not ask for a final decision to be come to. They only asked that the scheme should be delayed for final consideration. His right hon. Friend the late Vice President (Mr. Mundella), when the Educational Endowments Bill was passed in 1882, said distinctly that it was not the intention of the Education Department to interfere with the free schools in Edinburgh. He would not hold his right hon. Friend responsible for what the Commissioners had done; but what the right hon. Gentleman said was some evidence of what the intention of the House was when the Bill was passed. He (Mr. M'Laren) submitted that in acceding to this Motion the House would be not only doing a great service to the City of Edinburgh, and to the poorer inhabitants of Edinburgh, but they would be doing a simple act of justice.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her consent to the Scheme of the Educational Endowment (Scotland) Commission now lying upon the Table of the House, for the management of the Endowments of Heriot's Hospital."—(*Mr. Buchanan.*)

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL regretted very much that at that late hour he was unable, as one of the Commissioners whose scheme had been assailed, to address the House as fully as he could have wished upon this subject. He would ask the House to remember that the Commissioners were appointed under an Act of Parliament, and their duty was to do their best to carry out that Act in the spirit in which it was conceived. They had certain lines laid down for them, and their duty was to follow those lines. One of the conditions, about which a good deal had already been said, was that they were bound to have regard to the spirit of the founder's intentions. Now, the House must know that the Commissioners were not bound by any arrangement or Act of Parliament that might have been passed since the founder made his bequest; but they were referred to the original deed. They had also to construct such Governing Bodies as appeared to be most suitable to the work which they would be called upon to perform. The changes which the Commissioners had proposed in their scheme were not suggested from any doubt that the present Governing Body had done their best, but from a conviction that a smaller body, composed of persons elected with special reference to the work they had to do, would be a more efficient Governing Body than the whole of the Town Council, with the City ministers, none of whom occupied their positions because of any special fitness for this particular work. Many of them might be considered most highly-qualified men; but this was not the special work for which Town Councillors and City ministers were appointed. The Commissioners proposed to reduce the Governing Body to 21 members. Eleven of those were to be elected by the Town Council, and three by the School Board, so that the public bodies of the City had a majority (two-thirds) on the Board. There were, besides, one member to be elected by the Chamber of Commerce; two to be elected by the City ministers; one minister, not of the Established Church, to be elected by the Town Council; two to be appointed by the Senate of the University of Edinburgh; and one by the Royal Society. Considering the nature of the duties that fell upon the Governing Body, he had no hesitation in saying that this was a carefully-constructed Board. The Board at present was three times as numerous as the Governing Body which George Heriot had in view in his will; and the scheme now proposed introduced such changes as made it more necessary that the Governing Body should be elected with special regard to the duties which it had to undertake. The objection to the existing Governing Body was not new. Exception was taken to it in the Report of the Endowed Schools and Hospitals Commission, which set forth that while Town Councils had exercised their patronage with fairness and impartiality, they were

> "A variable body, and, as a rule, too much inclined to regard merely the wishes of the community, without reference to what was best in the interests of education."

A citizen of Edinburgh, a late Chairman of the School Board, who, he was sure, commanded the respect of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan)—Professor Calderwood—gave this evidence—

> "I think there is an obvious disadvantage to us as a City, in connection with our municipal elections, that this question of the Heriot Trust, and the use of the Heriot money, should come up as influencing the elections to the Town Council. I think that anything that could be done to deliver our City from the possibility of that should be done."

In the same way the Endowed Institutions Commission reported in the following words:—

> "While there can be no doubt of the right and of the interest of any members of the community to express their opinion in a matter which they consider important to themselves and their families, we think that the kind of control and pressure which is now indicated is one to which the Governors of such an institution ought not to be exposed, and is incompatible with due administration."

That statement was called forth by evidence before the Commission, showing that the conduct of the Governors of Heriot's Hospital was made a leading question at the municipal elections, and that Town Councillors were elected with regard to how they pledged themselves to act in the matter of the free schools. The conclusion was not that Town Councillors should have nothing to do with such bequests, but that those bequests should be managed by men who could exercise free judgment as to what was best to be done—Town Councils, in common with other public bodies, being represented on the Governing Body. With regard to the free schools, while the Commissioners proposed to close those schools, they did not propose to put an end to free teaching. Those free schools were not contemplated, and were not provided for by George Heriot. They were the creation of an Act of Parliament in 1836. When they went back to the deed of George Heriot, they found that his object was to erect

> "A hospital and seminary of orphans, for education, nursing, and upbringing of youth, being poor orphans and fatherless children of decayed burgesses, and freemen of the said burgh—destitute, and left without means."

Thus the institution was not founded for the whole of the poor of Edinburgh, but for the orphan children of burgesses who were poor, but had been in better circumstances. The object, then, should be neither to relieve the ordinary poor rate nor the ordinary school rate, but to do all that possibly could be done for such poor as Heriot had in view. They allowed that the free schools had done a good work; but it did not follow that more might not have been done. For instance, had they taken moderate fees from such scholars as could afford to pay them, the Governors might have extended the benefit over a far greater number. Again, by not placing their schools under inspection for Government grants, the Governors had lost money to the Trust. They had in that way lost about £4,000 a-year to the Trust for many years past. They had had so much less money to expend on other educational work. And, besides that, they had done an injury to the scholars. They had not improved their schools as they would have been forced to do under inspection for grants. It was notorious that the Heriot schools were not equal to the Board schools in the matter of accommodation and general equipment —a state of things that would not have been possible had they been under Government inspection for grants. The attendance had been excellent; but no wonder, because if the children did not attend they lost their places in the school, and the School Board officer would send them to the Board school, where they would have to pay. It was no wonder that free schools, alongside of schools with fees, were well attended. He did not deny that the educational results in the Heriot schools had been very good; but he said that better work might have been done at less expense. What was proposed in the scheme now before Parliament was to spend upon free education for poor children at public or State-aided schools £3,500, to spend £250 on maintenance and clothing, and also to give bursaries at these schools to the extent of £2,150, so that upon ordinary elementary education the proposal was that £5,900 should be spent. Then as to the Hospital School. The Hospital system was to be abolished, and that in itself would, in the opinion of the Commissioners and, he thought, of many others, be a good point gained. The school which was to be established in the Hospital building was not to be, as it had been described, a day secondary school; it was to be a school of a peculiar character, embracing technical instruction, and have many appliances not usually found in secondary schools. The nature of the proposed school could be gathered from what was said in the scheme as to the subjects of instruction—

> "The Governors shall take especial care to secure thorough and advanced teaching in mathematics, drawing, and modern languages. The classes in mechanics, physics, and chemistry shall in all cases be associated with sufficient experimental demonstration and practical teaching, and the Governors shall provide proper laboratory accommodation for the purpose. The use of tools shall be taught in workshops to be provided by the Governors, but not the practice of any specific trade."

A school of that kind was not intended to be an avenue to the University; but there was a provision made that any scholar showing a particular talent for classics should be sent to the High School. There were bursaries to help such scholars there. The expenditure proposed for this school altogether would be £4,700. It was not, as had been stated by a Circular which he held in his hand, to be placed in a lower position than any public State-aided school. It was to be a very different kind of school from any ordinary State-aided school, and in some respects would be placed in an altogether higher position. On the subject of the Heriot-Watt College it was not necessary to detain the House. The scheme proposed that £5,300, including bursaries, be applied to that object. Bursaries were proposed to be given to the High School, and bursaries and fellowships in the University, and a sum of £1,000 was to be expended on the higher education of girls. Altogether it was proposed, under this scheme, to expend on the various objects embraced by it £18,570. The Governors had instructions as to the spending of the surplus; but there was this sum definitely prescribed to be expended out of the net income of £21,000. He would pass on to allude to a not very creditable handbill which had come into his possession. That handbill, he thought, accounted for the very large Petition which his hon. Friend (Mr. Buchanan) had presented from Edinburgh. He really did not wonder that the citizens of Edinburgh, after reading that paper, should wish to sign a Petition against the scheme. The citizens were asked to sign the Petition—

> "To prevent the poor of the City from being robbed, and the free schools closed, for the purpose of providing scholarships and bursaries for the children of the middle and upper classes."

But, when they looked at the bursaries and scholarships provided, what did they find? That they were expressly restricted to the children of parents who were in such circumstances as to require assistance. With three exceptions, all those bursaries were restricted to the poor. There was nothing said about poverty with regard to the bursaries, amounting to £300, for Queen's scholars, who were young people preparing to be school teachers. The High School bursaries, again, amounting to £570, had no condition of poverty attached to them; but they were included in the scheme, because the High School was one of those institutions to which George Heriot showed distinct favour. In fact, according to Heriot's will, all the scholars were to be educated and trained there; and, therefore, the Commissioners felt that it was desirable to do something for the High School, in memory of Heriot. His interest in the University the Commissioners had recognized in a similar way; but, with those exceptions, all the bursaries were restricted to the poor. Those exceptions amounted to £1,170 out of a total net income of £21,000. He (Mr. J. A. Campbell) had also to notice a telegram which had been sent to many Members of the House, urging them—

> "To do their very best to oppose the Heriot confiscation scheme."

He wished to ask, where was the confiscation? A statement which was circulated by the Governors told how the funds were left by George Heriot for the City of Edinburgh; but they were left to that City for a certain purpose—for the purpose of doing good of a certain kind to a certain class of youth. Circumstances had so altered that Heriot's design must be extended—the Governors themselves admitted that—but it was not to be done simply by providing, as the statement said, that the funds—

> "Shall be enjoyed by the greatest possible number of the citizens,"

but that they shall do the greatest possible educational good to the community of Edinburgh. No scheme had received more careful consideration from the Commissioners. They heard evidence, they published a scheme, they heard objections to it, they gave effect to many of the objections, and then they sent their scheme as altered and completed to the Education Department, where, after full examination, it was approved of. They had sought by this scheme to propose what they believed to be best for the interests of the people of Edinburgh, and most in accordance with the spirit of the founder's intentions; and he trusted the House would not reject it.

Mr. RAMSAY said, he would not at that late hour (2.40) detain the House more than a few moments. He had listened attentively to the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan), who, he was glad to say, gave the Commissioners credit for having paid great attention to the framing of the scheme. Although he (Mr. Ramsay) was one of those who was responsible for the contents of the scheme, he felt that the people of Edinburgh had reason to be grateful to the

Commissioners for having attended so carefully to the interests of the poor, especially in regard to the allocation of the funds. Talk of robbery and confiscation! Terms of that kind were not less applicable than they were to this scheme. Nothing had been taken from the people of Edinburgh. The three Commissioners had all united in considering that the Governing Body should be altered; and though his hon. Friend had not said anything special against the change in the Governing Body, yet those who would take the trouble to read the examination of counsel who were heard before the Commissioners would find that the alteration of the Governing Body was the chief blot in their scheme in the opinion of the present Governors. The reasons which rendered the change necessary were very simple. His hon. Friend had read the opinion of the Chairman of the School Board with reference to the proposal to modify the free schools, and to alter the constitution of the Governing Body. Professor Calderwood had declared it might be a disadvantage; but he feared it was one of those things that were unavoidable where they had popular representation, the citizens being the constituency to whom the Governors were amenable. He feared, however dangerous it might be, there was no escape from it. But if that was all the defence that could be made of the constitution of the Governing Body and against the doing away of these free schools, he thought it was a necessity that the Commission should consider the expediency of keeping up a system of free education alongside of Board Schools maintained at the public expense of the ratepayers, and he concluded that having approved of the Commissioners' appointment Her Majesty would not set aside their appointment now by rejecting their scheme. An hon. Member had said the scheme should be returned to the Commissioners; that they might modify it in view of the opinion of the community. But could the House suppose that seven gentlemen, who had laboured long and without remuneration, would sit again and return a verdict against themselves on the evidence adduced before them, when all parties interested and concerned in this undertaking had already been heard at the greatest possible length? He hoped the result of this discussion would be that the House would stamp with its approval the labour of the Commission.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr. E. STANHOPE) said, it was his duty, in the first place, to ask the House to consider the circumstances under which this scheme came before them. He believed that it came before them with the unanimous recommendation of the Educational Endowments Commission, which was composed of gentlemen in whom he believed the House still placed the greatest possible confidence, and two of whom they had heard speak that evening. The scheme having been framed by them was put before the Education Department, was adopted by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mundella), and by him submitted to the Scottish Committee of the Council of Education. The Committee, after considering the matter, as he was informed, in all its details, unanimously agreed to recommend it to Parliament for adoption, and the result was that the scheme was laid on the Table of the House. Personally, therefore, he was not in any way responsible for the scheme; it was the scheme of his Predecessor; but it had been his duty to examine that scheme thoroughly for himself, and to see whether there were any real grounds on which, after such examination, it would become his duty to recommend the House to reject it. Well, it did appear to him, after examination, that there were some details in it of which he should not have approved. But they were matters of detail only, and matters which had they come before him he would have desired to see amended; and he found that there was great difference of opinion in Edinburgh as there might be expected to exist with regard to any other scheme. But there was an almost universal agreement on the part of all who had occasion to inquire into this matter for years past that great changes were necessary in the administration of this Trust, and in particular in altering fundamentally the Governing Body. Having examined the scheme, it certainly seemed to him that there was nothing in it at all inconsistent with an honest intention to carry out so far as possible the original intention of the founder. He saw a great deal in the scheme to commend, and he believed it to be thoroughly calculated to improve the administration of the Trust, and to remedy the evils which had been discovered. He should, therefore, support the scheme on the Table of the House, and he hoped the House would reject the Motion of the hon. Member for Edinburgh.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, as Chairman of the former Commission which inquired into the Endowment Scheme, he desired to support the views of his hon. Friend who had commended this scheme, and to say a few words in opposition to one or two remarks that had fallen from the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. M'Laren). The views of the earlier Commission very much agreed with those of the Commissioners who proposed the present scheme. They did not wish to abolish the free schools, but they did what was equivalent to something that was proposed in the scheme; they recommended that payment should be introduced, and that some strict rules should be introduced with reference to the instruction given to the children. In that respect they differed, but in general principles they thoroughly concurred. In no respect did he go more strongly with the opinion of the recent Commission than on the absolute necessity, as a condition of any reform, of some change in the Governing Body; and he must say that the present Governing Body were very unreasonable in their desire to monopolize the administration of this fund. That question had been decided over and over again in Edinburgh, and it was in evidence that it was most undesirable that the Governing Body should consist wholly of municipal authorities. The Commission of 1864 was of the same opinion. The hon. Member for Stafford had said that the free schools were consistent with the principles of the Heriot foundation. He denied that, and in his opinion and in that of all his Colleagues on the Commission it constituted a great deviation from the intentions of the founder. The Trust was left for poor orphans, the children of destitute burgesses; but the words had received a wider application—they had been made applicable to the poor of Edinburgh generally by the institution of free day schools. That took place 50 years ago, and in those times, when there was no public provision for education, there were very good reasons for considering such a proposal as a fair one to which to apply those large funds. He was quite sure that no Parliament of the present day would have come to that conclusion, and now that public funds were provided for education he thought it would be unreasonable to continue the free schools. Then, in regard to the management of the schools, it deviated from the original intention not only in principle, but in effect. It was the conclusion at which the Commission arrived that a very large number of children at the schools were quite able to pay fees—that was the evidence given. Not merely was that the opinion of the Commission, but it was the opinion of the Governing Body themselves, who brought in a scheme proposing to take fees from scholars, which unfortunately, from some technicality, was rejected by the Law Officers of the Crown. He thought the present scheme was well deserving of the support of the House; and after the long controversy that had gone on for 20 years it was high time that they should arrive at a settlement of the question on a fair and liberal interpretation of the terms of the Trust.

MR. MUNDELLA said, at that late hour he did not intend to detain the House for more than a few minutes. This subject was one which had occupied a great deal of attention, and one on which he should have been glad to have a discussion earlier, so that a real and thorough ventilation of the merits of the scheme might have taken place. His hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) had stated his case with great ability, and had done his best in the interest of his clients. His Successor, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope), had also stated his view of the matter. In one respect only did he disagree with the right hon. Gentleman in his statement. But before alluding to that, he would say that the Commission appointed to deal with the question was as fair and impartial a Commission as could have been selected. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who was at one time at the head of the Heriot Governors, was appointed a member of the Commission in order to see that the Heriot Governors were properly dealt with. The Lord Provost of Glasgow was also another member. There was also Lord Shand, who was deservedly esteemed among the most respectable citizens of Edinburgh, and the whole of the Commissioners had been perfectly unanimous on the scheme. Two previous Commissions had agreed upon the absolute necessity of reforming the Governing Body. He did not want to say one word about past management on that occasion, or raise any question about it; but he did say that the necessity of reform was imperative, and had been absolutely affirmed by every Commission that had considered the question—and there had been four Commissions. Well, when the Commissioners sent in their scheme, the Education Department advertised for objections, and they received the present Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir George Harrison, and a deputation from Edinburgh to make their objections to the scheme. What did Sir George Harrison say? He said that nothing could exceed the patience of the Commissioners—that they had heard and reheard them again and again; that they had heard them by counsel, and in every shape, and that they had modified their scheme as much as they possibly could in order to meet their views. Sir George Harrison admitted that; but he also went further, and said—

> "We have presented our scheme to the Commissioners, and they have presented theirs to us. We naturally prefer our own scheme; but," he continued, "I do not hesitate to say that the scheme of the Commissioners is absolutely preferable to the scheme under which we are now working."

Those were the statements of Sir George Harrison and the deputation. What did the Education Department do? They did not, as his right hon. Friend (Mr. E. Stanhope) said, pass the scheme; they simply called the Scottish Committee of Council together and placed it before them. The Department made no recommendations. They had the scheme, and as his right hon. Friend behind him knew, the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Rosebery, the late Lord Advocate (Mr. Balfour), Mr. Baxter, and the whole of the Scottish Committee were present on the occasion. They carefully investigated the scheme, and they came unanimously to their conclusion. They found there were points of detail which might be amended afterwards. It was not difficult to amend one or two small details of the scheme; but it was thought most undesirable, seeing the pains which the Commissioners had taken, that this matter, which had been debated for 20 years, should not be finally settled. The Privy Council came to the unanimous conclusion that it ought to be settled. A new Government had come into Office, and the scheme was on the Table of the House. He was willing to take the responsibility for having assisted the Council to pass the scheme. It seemed to him that in recommending the House to pass the scheme his right hon. Friend had recommended them to do the very best thing that could possibly be done for the people of Edinburgh. A nobler scheme had never been brought before that House; and, although he never suggested a line of it, he said it was of immense value and importance to the City of Edinburgh. The hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) objected to the closing of the free schools; but he had noticed that they were increasing the free schooling. At present those very schools gave free education to 4,500 children in very bad schools—in schools which Her Majesty's Inspectors would condemn at least to the extent of one-half of them. Those schools, if the scheme of the Governors were adhered to, would, in several instances, have to be entirely rebuilt, at an enormous expenditure on the capital account, and the Governors would not be able to carry out their scheme, because it would cost too much; so that, instead of giving education to 4,500 children, the Commissioners recommended that the sum of £3,500 a-year should be applied, which, at the rate of 10*s.* per head, would educate 7,000 children free, instead of 4,500, and that, too, under the best possible conditions. More than that, the children would not be marked as charity children, as was now the case. They would all be in the same schools and would be free from the taunt of being charity children. If free schools, were coming to the front, those who demanded that the vast bulk of this charity should be spent in maintaining free schools were simply robbing the poor. ["Oh!"] Yes; was it the intention of George Heriot to do that which the State and the rates were going to do? It was to do for the children that which they could not do for themselves; and if hon. Members would compare the two schemes and their advantages, there would not be a moment's hesitation on the subject, and he believed that two years hence his hon. Friend would be thankful to that House for passing this scheme, and that the citizens of Edinburgh would be thankful for it. There would be a large increase of free education in good schools, and a large accession of funds for the purpose of educating the young people of Edinburgh. Was George Heriot's money ever intended to take the place of a Government grant, or was it intended to relieve the rich ratepayers of Edinburgh? Why, the thing was an absurdity. There would be a number of bursaries which would enable poor scholars to go up to the University. He should be glad if he could secure the same advantages for another town about the size of Edinburgh. There would also be a technical schools of the most excellent character, and night schools for commercial and other purposes. He trusted the House would not hesitate to pass the scheme.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 15; Noes 49: Majority 34.—(Div. List, No. 246.)

CROWN LANDS BILL.

Order for Committee *To-morrow*, read and *discharged.*

Ordered, That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House and Two by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented two clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard against the Bill, and Counsel heard in support of the Bill,

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

METROPOLITAN POLICE STAFF SUPERANNUATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. STUART-WORTLEY, Bill to amend "The Metropolitan Police Staff Superannuation Act, 1875, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. STUART-WORTLEY and Sir HENRY HOLLAND.

House adjourned at a quarter after Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 24*th July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Earl of Aylesford, after the death of his brother.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading* — Polehampton Estates* (183); National Debt*; Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices)* (199); School Boards* (200); Exchequer and Treasury Bills*; Greenwich Hospital* (201); Post Office Sites* (181); Public Health (Members and Officers)* (194).

Committee—Report—Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment (127); Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) (182); Turnpike Acts Continuance* (174); Public Health (Ships, &c.)* (186); Artillery and Rifle Ranges* (193).

Report—Submarine Telegraph Cables (203).

Third Reading — Housing of the Working Classes (England) (196); Land Purchase (Ireland) (205), and *passed.*

GIANTS' CAUSEWAY, PORTRUSH, AND BUSH VALLEY RAILWAY AND TRAMWAYS BILL.

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^a."

LORD VENTRY, in rising to move—

> "That so much of Standing Order No. 116 be suspended as requires the insertion in the Bill of provisions forfeiting in certain contingencies to the Crown money deposited under the Standing Orders;"

and also to move Amendments restoring Clause 32 of the Bill to the form in which it was sent up from the House of Commons, said, he had to ask their Lordships to take a course which he was afraid was a very unusual one. He had so strong a sympathy with the action usually taken by the Chairman of Committees (the Earl of Redesdale) with reference to the Standing Order of the House that it was with great hesitation he had undertaken to make his proposition. He explained that the promoters of the Bill desired to ask their Lordships to put back in the measure provisions passed by the House of Commons. Those provisions had for their object to enable the promoters to recover from the Treasury without the formality of an Act of Parliament certain money deposited as a guarantee that the works authorized in the Bill would be carried out. He urged that this was a very special case, and reminded their Lordships of the desirability of their doing what they could to encourage undertakings of this kind in Ireland, money as a general rule being raised for them in that country with the greatest difficulty. The noble Lord then proceeded to describe the railway, pointing as a proof of the *bona fides* of its promoters to the fact that they had invested upwards of £30,000 in the undertaking. He explained that part of the work provided for in the Bill was the construction of waterworks for the generation of electricity, which was the motive power of the railway. Larger works than would be immediately required had been provided for, so as to admit of the extension of the railway, if in course of time its success warranted an extension. It was believed that, in addition to the tramway between Bush Valley and Portrush, a line of railway might be constructed over which they might be able, at less expense than at present, to convey minerals and goods down to the harbour at Portrush. He thought he might appeal to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to support his Motion, as knowing something about this railway. The noble and learned Lord had, he thought, given evidence on the subject before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. He thought he might also appeal to the noble Earl the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who had opened a portion of this railway, and which was at present at work. The noble Earl (Earl Cowper) had also interested himself in the undertaking whilst he was in Ireland. He urged their Lordships to do a great right by doing a little wrong, and to support the action of the House of Commons in this matter.

Moved, "That so much of Standing Order No. 116 be suspended as requires the insertion in the Bill of provisions forfeiting in certain contingencies to the Crown money deposited under the Standing Orders." — (*The Lord Ventry.*)

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Earl of REDESDALE) was understood to say that the noble Lord who moved this Motion had not established any ground for its adoption. He maintained that great difficulty might arise if their Lordships were to sanction the present proposal, because next Session other Companies might come forward and plead what had now been done as a precedent to be followed in respect of their undertakings. The argument in favour of the proposal seemed to be this —that the scheme was an experiment in electric railways; but this was not a powerful argument. It would not be wise to interfere with the Standing Orders affecting deposits, the object of the deposits being to insure the objects for which the Acts were obtained being carried out. If those objects were not carried out the deposits were forfeited. If once that rule were allowed to be broken through they might just as well do away with it altogether.

LORD FITZGERALD said, that the House of Commons had treated this as an exceptional case, the railway being constructed to work by electricity, and being, therefore, a most important scientific experiment. The undertaking consisted of two short tramways, worked from a central point by the water power of a particular stream, utilized to generate electricity. This was not a case in which there had been an attempt to get a guarantee or anything of that kind, and it came before their Lordships as a private local scheme of great merit, for which the funds had been provided by private subscription. There was a Standing Order of the House—a very just one —which requird the promoters of these schemes to deposit a sum of money as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the objects of the Bill. The Bill had infringed this Standing Order, and that infringement had been allowed in the House of Commons; but in the House of Lords it had been struck out, and their Lordships were now asked to put it in the same condition in which it was sent up from the House of Commons. What was the objection to that? The amount of the deposit was £1,200, and it was to protect that that the present Motion was made. All that was asked was that, as this was a scientific experiment which might be of great public utility, the forfeiture of the balance should not be enforced against those who were finding the funds for the experiment. The case was a singular exception to the general rule, and he thought that if the noble Earl (the Earl of Redesdale) would go over to Ireland and see the railway and the beautiful country through which it ran, he would not take the course he was now taking.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE) said, he had taken a great deal of interest in the Bill ever since the matter had come before the Irish public and the University of Dublin, and he had had the honour and privilege of being one of the Members for that University when the matter came before a Committee of the House of Commons. He attended it as a Member of the House of Commons in furtherance of an application made to the Committee exactly similar to that made by his noble Friend (Lord Ventry). The Committee being made acquainted with the gravity of the interests involved, and the advantage of these scientific experiments, and considering that there was no risk, acquiesced in the claim then put forward, which was the same as the one now under decision. It would not involve the Treasury in a farthing of loss; but it was important in the present condition of Ireland that the scheme should not be handicapped and hampered by a Standing Order. The whole sum in question was under £1,200. What was asked was this—that if at any time the scheme of the promoters became abortive, that instead of the balance of the deposit being handed over to and vested in the Treasury, it should be dealt with by the Court of Chancery in Ireland. He had great respect for the authority of the noble Earl (the Earl of Redesdale), and agreed that the House was under great obligations to him; but he trusted that after further consideration he would give way. If he mistook not the noble Earl himself was born on the site of this important scientific experiment.

LORD EMLY, in supporting the Motion, said, that it was the duty of their Lordships not only to refrain from discouraging these interesting scientific experiments, but to encourage them on every opportunity. Everyone desired cheap conveyance, and it was possible that by this railway the means of obtaining that would be demonstrated, and, moreover, everyone who took an interest in science desired to promote the line.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (The Earl of IDDESLEIGH) said, he was placed at considerable disadvantage in having to defend the case of the Treasury in this matter against the very powerful arguments which had been addressed to their Lordships from different quarters of the House. There were arrangements which were clearly well calculated to prevent such schemes being undertaken, and not carried through. Everyone felt that the Standing Order in question was one in itself proper, right, and useful; but they were asked to lay it aside on this occasion, partly on the ground that it was very difficult to get capital in Ireland to carry on important and valuable enterprizes, and partly on the ground that this was a case of science, and that their Lordships were to yield to scientific principles. On the first of these arguments, if they admitted the difficulty of getting capital to be a reason why they should lay aside important and valuable safeguards, they were opening the door to very dangerous consequences. The same arguments would be used over and over again, and every case might be nearly as strong though not quite so strong as the last, and in that way they might break down the principle altogether. As to the scientific part of the arrangement, that was an interesting feature. He had had the advantage of seeing and of travelling over the railway, and he admitted that his personal interest was awakened by the sight he had seen there and the great spirit with which the work had been carried through. But he would point out to noble Lords that if they introduced a principle by which the Court of Chancery in Ireland was to be allowed to deal with these deposits and to give back this surplus to the promoters, they would be introducing an entirely new principle, and permitting the breaking down of the Standing Order. What he thought could possibly be done would be to adopt the suggestion made just now by the noble and learned Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and introduce some safeguard that the money might be taken out by order of the Court of Chancery of Ireland, provided it had the assent of the Treasury. There was no desire to impede the valuable work. The Treasury would be quite prepared to make a proper allowance; but he thought that unless they had some safeguard of the sort, noble Lords would see that they would be allowing an opening to a practice which would go on continuing, and would get more and more objectionable.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES said, the method now proposed would remove his objections to the proposal. He was of opinion that the consent of the Treasury ought to be given before application was made to the Court.

LORD VENTRY said, he accepted the proposal of the First Lord of the Treasury, which was that the money might be taken out by order of the Court of Chancery if an order by the Treasury was obtained.

Further debate *adjourned* to *Monday* next.

WATERWORKS CLAUSES ACT (1847) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 127.)

(*The Viscount Enfield.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1 (Explanation of s. 68 of Act 10 & 11 Vict. c. 17).

LORD BRAMWELL moved to amend the clause by appending to it the following Proviso:—

> " Provided also, that where the water rate is chargeable on the annual value of any tenement, the rateable value of which has not been settled by the local authority, or which may be exempt from rating, the annual value of such tenement shall, if any dispute arise as to such value, be determined in the manner provided by the said section. This clause shall come into operation concurrently with the new valuation list on the sixth day of April one thousand eight hundred and eight-six, and not previously."

In this Amendment he observed that there were two substantial matters. The first part of the Amendment provided for cases where new houses were building, which could not be in the assessment, and also for places not in the assessment at all, such as churches and chapels. The other part of the Amendment was framed in view of the quinquennial valuation next April. The Water Companies desired, first of all, to avoid having a rate made on the present assessment and another in the month of April, which would be a perfectly needless thing.

Moved, at end of Clause 1, to add—

> "Provided also, that where the water rate is chargeable on the annual value of any tenement, the rateable value of which has not been settled by the local authority, or which may be exempt from rating, the annual value of such tenement shall, if any dispute arise as to such value, be determined in the manner provided by the said section. This clause shall come into operation concurrently with the new valuation list on the sixth day of April one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, and not previously."—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, he was unable to agree to the Amendment. With regard to churches and chapels, he was informed there was a private understanding between the trustees of these institutions and the Water Companies that a certain sum should be paid for the water supplied, and the charge was made in compliance with the provisions of the Water Companies' Acts. As to new houses, which he would suppose became tenanted at Christmas, they would become liable to parochial assessment at Easter; but he understood the Water Companies would be entitled to charge for a quarter's supply of water nevertheless. Upon the whole, the Amendment was unnecessary.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he must complain that the Committee had given no reason for their action in this matter. It was most inconvenient that a Bill of this importance should have been treated as it had been by the Select Committee.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN remarked, that the Bill had been carefully considered by the Committee, who, after hearing the agent for the Water Companies, had come to the conclusion that no Amendment was necessary.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Earl BROWNLOW) said, that the Local Government Board had no objection to make the Amendments as a whole; but still they thought, as some points appeared to be open to objection, it was desirable that they should not be pressed.

LORD FITZGERALD said, that if this Amendment were carried it would be fatal to the Bill, as it would prevent all chance of its becoming law during the present year.

LORD BRAMWELL remarked, that, of course, if their Lordships had not time to do justice they would not do it. He thought the Amendment had the approval of the Board of Trade.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND) pointed out that the Board of Trade had nothing whatever to do with the matter, LORD BRAMWELL said, he had made a mistake. It was the Local Government Board.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD said, the Amendment had not the approval of the Board, who preferred to deal with each case as it arose.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that this was a case in which an agreement had been entered into between the Water Companies and the water consumers, and now it was sought on the part of the water consumers to set that agreement aside by Act of Parliament, to the injury of the Water Companies and for the benefit of the water drinkers. The House ought to be very chary of lending themselves to such a course, because the same principle which it was now sought to apply to the property of the Water Companies might afterwards be sought to apply to the property in land in the direction of Mr. George's views, for the argument used was that the State had made a bad bargain for the consumer. That was exactly Mr. George's reasoning regarding the land. He was given to understand that if this Bill were passed in its present form those Companies who now paid a dividend of 7 per cent would be able to pay only a dividend of 5½ per cent. If the Companies were to be dealt with in this way they ought to receive compensation. He had no interest in the matter except as a water drinker, and he did not take more water than he could help; but he asked the House not to interfere with contracts entered into under Act of Parliament.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, he thought there was a misunderstanding in the matter. The contract between the Companies and the public was that the Companies were to be paid on the valuation; but Parliament never intended that the Companies themselves should fix the valuation. Now, however, the agreement did not appear to be between the Water Companies and the public, but between the Water Companies and themselves.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH said, he supported the view taken by his noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss). The principle involved in the Bill was not merely confined to the Water Question, but had reference also to the right of Parliament to interfere with regard to private property. If the public desired to get rid of the agreement which they had entered into with the Company, the latter ought to receive compensation. This Bill was just such a one as might be expected to come from the Radical Party, who seemed always to desire to carry out reforms as cheaply as they could to themselves, making, if they could, the party reformed pay all the costs. Until they dealt in some way with the principles on which local rates were charged, it was not fair to cut down the rights of the Water Companies which they had obtained from the Legislature.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, the noble Duke seemed to have forgotten that this Bill had been read a second time. What he suggested should be done had been done as long ago as 1869, and it was the object of this Bill to affirm the principle then laid down. The rateable value was the value according to which the Water Companies should charge.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he should not ask their Lordships to agree to the first part of the Amendment; but he proposed to press the second part. He hoped their Lordships, in mercy to the Water Companies, would listen to a few observations he had to make. Sir Henry Knight, the Chairman of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company, had stated in his Petition that the actual annual value of the property dealt with by them was £2,703,000, and the assessed value £2,524,000. The Company would, therefore, have to make their charge upon £179,000 less than the sum they now charged upon, and their loss would be £9,000. Then, again, they could not charge for baths and other things under a certain rental, and this represented a further loss of £2,600, so that there was an annual loss to this Company of £11,600. What followed? The gross income of the Company was £135,000, and their expenses £90,000. The net income amounted to £45,000, but the loss to which he had referred would reduce it to £33,400. That was to say, the Bill would take away one-fourth of the Company's income. The Company did not fix the charge, as they had no power to do so. There never was a more unreasonable Bill than this. The Companies had 700,000 customers, and out of that number only 50 within the year had appealed to magistrates as to the proper sum to be charged, because the Company had always been very careful to keep within the proper limits. Only two out of the 50 cases had been settled against the Company. Now it was proposed to fine them one-fourth of their income. He submitted that nothing could justify the adoption of such a course. Were their Lordships prepared to adopt it? He hoped that the second part of the Amendment would be agreed to.

LORD FITZGERALD said, that it was not contended that the Companies fixed the charge, but that they fixed their own valuation on which the charge was made. That valuation, he submitted, was fixed too high.

LORD TRURO said, that one of the Water Companies had admitted that they had for 40 years overcharged him considerably, and a second Company had done the same thing for 20 years. This Bill was a public measure to secure them against the unreasonable and, he might say, the monstrous charges made by the Companies.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he was willing to admit that the Companies would lose a large part of their rate under the Bill; but the question was how had they arrived at the annual value up to the present time? They would merely lose what they ought never to have had.

LORD HENNIKER said, as a Member of the Select Committee, he might be allowed to say a few words. He did not wish to enter into the general question. Their Lordships had been informed that the Committee had gone into the question referred to them very carefully. They had heard both sides at great length. He had endeavoured more than once, by questions—he might say by cross-examination—put to the very able gentlemen who appeared for the Water Companies, to discover the system on which they made their valuations; whether it was a uniform and a fair system with an unsatisfactory result?—their Lordships were aware that it mattered very little the amount at which an assessment or valuation was made, so long as it was relatively fair and just—and he had questioned the gentleman who appeared on the other side as to the system adopted in assessing the various parishes in the Metropolis to the poor rate, and so on. He had come to the conclusion that the system the Water Companies employed was not uniform, or a good one; whereas the system in force for other purposes was fair and just. This question was a very important one, and greatly guided him in joining in the unanimous decision of the Committee not to amend the Bill. They had given the Bill most careful consideration, and he hoped their Lordships would support their Committee in the Report they had made to the House.

Amendment *negatived.*

LORD BRAMWELL said, he begged to move another Amendment the object of which was to give power to the Local Government Board to permit Companies to increase their charges where they could prove that they had sustained loss. He believed that they would sustain considerable loss; but if they sustained none the clause was useless. If, on the other hand, they did sustain loss, the Local Government Board ought to have power to indemnify them. If the Bill was passed in its present condition, so surely would the Water Companies struggle against the wrong which they felt to be inflicted on them, and there would be a great amount of litigation. If this clause were passed they would be content to claim compensation under it.

Moved, after Clause 1, to insert the following clause:—

"It shall be lawful for the Board of Trade on the application of any of the companies affected by this Bill, on proof to the satisfaction of the Board that any such company has been injuriously affected by such Bill, to authorise and empower such company to raise the rate at which it may charge the consumer so as to prevent such loss."—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD said, he was unable to accept the proposal of the noble and learned Lord.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, the incomes of the Companies were not to be diminished without reference to the soundness or unsoundness of the basis of the valuation on which their charges had been made; and now it was proposed that the Local Government Board should have the power of increasing the charges that had been fixed by Act of Parliament. The right of appeal would have the salutary effect of keeping the assessments correct. If there were wholesale appeals, and they were justified, the Court would decide them in a wholesale way. He had never seen anything more objectionable than the proposal of the noble and learned Lord.

The Earl of MILLTOWN said, the effect of the Amendment would be to give to a Government Department the power of taxing the citizens of London. He could not conceive anything more dangerous than this.

Amendment *negatived.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES (ENGLAND) BILL.—(No. 196.)

(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

THIRD READING.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Motion *agreed to:* Bill read 3ª.

Amendments made.

On Motion, "That the Bill do pass?"

The Earl of WEMYSS said, he still entertained the objection he had expressed to the principle of the Bill; but, seeing the general feeling in favour of the Bill, he would be putting the House to a needless trouble if he pressed the Motion for its rejection, of which he had given Notice. Since the last stage of the Bill he had looked into existing Sanitary Acts, and it appeared to him neither as regarded the sanitary or constructive provisions of this Bill was it necessary or desirable that any further powers should be given, if those now existing were enforced. The noble Marquess, indeed, admitted that they were sufficient; but he said they were surrounded by checks on the Local Authorities, and these the noble Marquess swept away. For instance, he substituted a simple majority instead of a majority of two-thirds, which majority Parliament had thought to be a necessary safeguard. He would also point out that considerable taxation must follow from putting such a Bill as this into operation in any locality, and that the working class would suffer most. In Scotland the working class themselves had repudiated any necessity for legislation of this kind, and a very satisfactory state of things now existed there. The powers of the Bill were very large to be exercised by a bare majority in a district, and this he considered was a dangerous principle to carry too far. He believed that the effect of this Bill would be greatly to disappoint its promoters and to diminish private enterprize.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, he did not think that his noble Friend was justified in saying that the Bill swept away all checks. That was a very exaggerated statement. Generally, in giving new powers by Act of Parliament, they applied a certain number of checks with the hope that the machine which they were constructing would move with deliberation, and not too fast for public opinion. The checks supplied in Lord Shaftesbury's Act, in 1851, were so effective that the Act never moved at all, and, as he believed, had never been applied. The Bill by no means swept away all checks. It left what appeared to him to be very efficient checks. In the first place, the application of the Act must be desired by the parish; in the second place, the Local Government Board must send down an Inspector to make local inquiry and satisfy himself that houses could not be procured, that they would not be built unless the Act was applied, and that it could be applied without financial imprudence. Even then the Local Government Board had a discretion as to whether they would or would not give the requisite leave; and then, again, the parish had to come to a resolution to adopt the Act. He did not believe that these checks would prove insufficient; he should rather say that, on the whole, perhaps, they were multiplied too much, and that there might be a difficulty in applying the Bill in those cases where it was desirable it should be applied. He did not at all contemplate that that part of the Bill which embodied the Shaftesbury Act was one for general application; it was for exceptional cases. He hoped the checks would insure that it would be only in exceptional cases it should be used; and in the cases in which it was wanted he hoped it would be used. His noble Friend had but one argument against this proposal—namely, that it was not wanted in Scotland. Now, the difficulty of overcrowding was peculiar in London, because the natural remedy could not be applied. On the outskirts of towns of smaller dimensions there was plenty of land on which dwellings could be erected for working men, who might easily walk into the towns to their work. This remedy could not be applied to the same extent in this enormous and unprecedented town; and in other large cities, such as Edinburgh and Glasgow, the pressure was not likely to be so great as in London.

LORD BRAMWELL said, that he had addressed their Lordships at some length about water, and now he wished to say a word about land. He did not see why the State should provide houses any more than it provided food and clothing for the working classes. The title of the Bill should be not only to improve the housing of the working classes, but also to empower people to give away property which did not belong to them. As the Bill stood it gave the Crown power to give away the sites of Clerkenwell and Millbank Prisons, which nominally belonged to the Crown, but in reality to the taxpayers, and gave the Justices of the Peace of Middlesex power to give away the site at Coldbath Field Prison, which belonged to the county ratepayers. It also authorized all the Corporations throughout the country to give away what belonged to those for whose benefit they were the legal owners, and it enabled the tenants for life to sell to the detriment of remainder-men, instead of obtaining the best price that could be got. He considered that the demolition of houses in crowded places had done more good to the working classes than to any other persons.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (the Duke of RICHMOND) said, that he did not think that the tenant for life would be likely to sell the land for a fraction less than its value.

LORD BRAMWELL remarked, that the tenant for life might be a very old man.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE said, that very old men had frequently as much common sense as younger ones. The noble and learned Lord seemed to have overlooked the fact that under the existing law a tenant for life could sell land for the purpose of churches, chapels, or burying grounds; and he did not see that in extending the power to selling land for the purpose of the erection of dwellings for the working classes they were introducing any new and extraordinary principle into the law.

Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

CHOLERA HOSPITALS (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The Marquess of Waterford.*)

(NO. 182.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD, in moving that the House do resolve itself into Committee on the Bill, said, that this was an annual measure, and only came into operation in the event of a virulent attack of Asiatic cholera. Under its provisions, no hospital was to be erected within 300 yards of a dwelling-house, and when the hospital was removed the land was to be restored to its original state.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Marquess of Waterford.*)

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he would suggest that the Act should be made a perpetual instead of an annual one.

Motion *agreed to*.

House in Committee accordingly; Bill *reported* without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Tuesday* next.

THE LUNACY LAWS.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that it might be in the recollection of their Lordships that early last Session he had submitted a Resolution to the House to the effect that the present state of the Lunacy Laws was most unsatisfactory, and constituted a standing danger to the liberty of the subject. In using that expression he did not think that he had one whit overstated the case as far as the general opinion of the public upon this question was concerned. He had on that occasion read several extracts from the evidence which had been given before the two Select Committees of the House of Commons which had sat to consider the subject. A most interesting debate had ensued, in the course of which the noble Lord the Lord Chief Justice of England had expressed a very strong opinion adverse to the existing state of the Lunacy Laws, and that opinion was concurred in by the noble Marquess the Prime Minister. The noble and learned Earl opposite, who was then upon the Woolsack, in a speech of considerable importance, promised to bring in a Bill in the ensuing Session to amend the existing law, the evils of which he fully admitted. The noble and learned Earl had most loyally and amply fulfilled his promise, and brought in in the early part of the present Session a most valuable and exhaustive measure which was received with admiration by all, which if it had become law would have done much towards settling this important question, and which would have removed in a great degree the fears with regard to this question which, no doubt, existed in the public mind. The noble and learned Earl had been extremely anxious to carry that Bill; but it had, unfortunately, become a dropped Order. He, therefore, now wished to ask Her Majesty's Government whether they proposed in the next Session of Parliament to introduce a Bill for the amendment of the Lunacy Laws? Should the reply of the Government be in the affirmative, he had no doubt, knowing, as he did, the views which the noble Marquess the Prime Minister entertained upon the question, that they might see their way to going a little further than the noble and learned Earl opposite had done, and to turn all these private lunatic asylums into public institutions, so as to get rid of the odious system of private lunatic asylums altogether. As long as any body of men made large incomes by keeping their fellow-creatures incarcerated, the public could not, and ought not, to be content. He earnestly trusted that such a measure would be introduced as would sweep this evil system away altogether.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, he wished to express his concurrence in many of the views which the noble Earl had expressed, because in a long experience in the Courts of Law he had seen many evil results from the present state of the Lunacy Laws. All he could say in reply to the Question of the noble Earl was that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a Bill on the subject in the next Session of Parliament.

SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH CABLES BILL.—(No. 203.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Order of the Day for the Consideration of the Report of Amendments read.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND) proposed to add a clause after Sub-section 3 to Clause 4 to the effect that where a person should, in a *bonâ fide* attempt to repair a cable, break or cause an injury to another cable, he should not be punished with imprisonment as for unlawfully or wilfully breaking it, but should be liable to make good the damage done.

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN wished to ask a Question with regard to a matter of some importance. This Bill was brought in for the purpose of making regulations to enable the English Government to carry out the terms of the Convention; but it appeared only to carry out the terms of that Convention to a limited extent, and to make, in fact, a new Convention. Was it within the power of the Government to bring in a Bill of that character?

THE PRESIDENT, in reply, said, that all the Government had undertaken to do was to submit a Bill on the subject to Parliament. That Bill would be dealt with according to the wisdom of Parliament. The Government could not undertake to require Parliament to carry out the Convention in its entirety.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, the amendment of the clause was the suggestion of the noble Duke.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE was understood to say that the Government undertook to carry out the Convention.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that it was open for the Convention to be modified by future negotiations, or a Bill might be brought in covering those parts of the Convention not now covered.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN observed, that in consequence of our not carrying out our obligations under the Convention other Governments might refuse to carry out theirs.

Amendments *reported;* Bill to be read 3^a on *Monday* next.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

(NOS. 204-205.) THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*)

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that some Conservative Members of the House of Commons were very anxious to know who were to be the Commissioners under this Bill. Perhaps the noble and learned Lord in charge of the Bill was in a position to state who the Members of the Commission were to be? With regard to the Bill itself, he believed that it followed naturally from the evil precedent already set by the Irish Land Act, and would affect not only Ireland, but all parts of the United Kingdom, and both lands in the country and property in towns.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE) said, that the names of the new Commissioners would be given when the House of Commons had settled the term of office and the salaries which it was proposed they should have; and the Government would have greater knowledge when the Bill was in a more forward state. At present he was quite unable to answer the Question of the noble Earl. He had no doubt that there were hundreds — he might say thousands—of persons wandering about Ireland each and all of the opinion that they were the men best suited for the post.

THE EARL OF POWIS said, that the powers given to a public body to purchase properties with a view to their sub-division would prejudice the position of the holders of head rents, who would have to recover those head rents in small driblets, instead, as at present, from one person. The mortgagee could call up his money when threatened by sub-division; not so the owner of a head rent.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND said, that the Bill did not change the existing law as to security, and it left the question of rent-charge where it now was. No man was bound to do anything under the Bill unless he pleased, and it was to his interest so to do. He could not insert a clause giving compulsory power for the redemption of rent-charges, because it would introduce a new principle, and other classes besides their Lordships would have thought that their interests had been sacrificed.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he thought that the Bill made a very considerable change in the law, and that great difficulty would be experienced in the future in collecting head rents. The Judges and the general public in Ireland had set their faces against the exercise of the power of Distress, which for all practical purposes had ceased to exist; and the only remedy an unfortunate head-rent landlord now had was to proceed against each of his under tenants by the slow process of the law, instead of being paid, as at present, by the lessee of the property, the one responsible person, and by whom the rent was regularly paid.

LORD FITZGERALD said, he wished, before the Bill left the House, to warn his noble and learned Friend that, in his opinion, the proposed appropriation of the Irish Church Surplus Fund to the purposes of the Bill was objectionable in principle and dangerous in its probable consequences — in fact, it might endanger the whole Bill in "another place." The Bill departed from the principle which had hitherto been adopted of applying the Surplus, which now amounted to £750,000, to the purposes of distress and education in Ireland. He questioned whether the departure was a wise one. He made these observations in no spirit of hostility to the Bill, and simply with a desire to direct his noble and learned Friend's attention to the points he had raised.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND said, he had to thank his noble and learned Friend who had taken such an interest in the Bill for his friendly attitude towards it in all its stages. The observations which his noble and learned Friend had now made in reference to the Church Surplus would, of course, receive his close and anxious attention. He was glad he was relieved from dealing with the financial aspect of the subject, and that he was able to hand over to his noble Friend who represented the Treasury the pleasure of considering that question in detail. The Irish Church Surplus was utilized, of course, in the Bill, but not extravagantly. He thought there were sufficient safeguards. In his judgment, there would be no substantial loss to the fund under the operations of the Bill; but further consideration would be given to this question by the eminent authorities who were concerned with the finances of the country.

The Queen's Consent signified; Bill read 3^a; Amendments made; Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
to Monday next, a quarter
before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 24*th July*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — *Report* — Forestry [No. 287]; Industries (Ireland) [No. 288].

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE; Votes 28, 30, and 32; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES; Votes 5, 6, and 9; CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Resolutions [July 22] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered* — *First Reading*—Expiring Laws Continuance * [247].

First Reading — Housing of the Working Classes (England) * [248]; Land Purchase (Ireland) * [249]; Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment * [250].

Second Reading—Secretary for Scotland [242]; Patent Law Amendment [240]; Prevention of Crimes Amendment * [93]; Oaths [62], *debate further adjourned;* Police Enfranchisement Extension [269].

Select Committee—Crown Lands * [51], *nominated.*

Committee—*Report*—Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) [214]; Pluralities (*re-comm.*) [241].

Third Reading—Medical Relief Disqualification Removal [232]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [224], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

———o———

DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE—COALING STATIONS.

MR. SALT asked the Secretary of State for War, If steps are being actively taken to provide a sufficient armament, in accordance with the necessities of modern warfare, at the distant coaling stations and other positions of strategical importance in the possession of Great Britain?

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL OF ORDNANCE (Mr. GUY DAWNAY), who replied, said: Steps are being actively taken to provide the necessary armaments for our coaling stations, such provision, as the hon. Member is aware, being limited by the amount of the annual sum granted by Parliament during a certain term of years for this specific purpose. The Secretary of State for War proposes, when the Army Estimates are taken on Monday next, to give fuller details as to what has been done in this direction than it would be convenient to give in answer to a Question.

MERCANTILE MARINE FUND.

MR. ATKINSON asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, When the annual account of the Mercantile Marine Fund up to the 31st of March last will be printed; and, if he will try to arrange to get it out in less than five months in future?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD (Baron HENRY DE WORMS): The final account cannot be presented until the completion of the audit, which cannot be for some months, as some of the accounts from Consuls and Colonial Officers are only now being received. An approximately estimated account, sufficient for all purposes, will in future be laid on the Table. Perhaps the House will permit me to add a few additional words, by way of explanation, for the past two years — that is, for 1882-3 and 1883-4—with a view to giving the House the earliest information with regard to the Mercantile Marine Fund. The late President of the Board of Trade presented an unaudited account to Parliament in the month of August. The Committee on Public Accounts—No. 267 (1885), p. 5—recommend that the account should be submitted to the Comptroller and Auditor General before being laid before Parliament. This recommendation will have the effect of delaying still further the presentation of the account, if agreed to, until the date when the Appropriation Accounts generally are presented—say, February following. As a means of meeting the reasonable desires of the shipowners, I think it will be well to revert to the exceptional course adopted by Lord Sandon, and lay an approximate Return on the Table of the House annually. This Return cannot, I fear, be made up with any degree of accuracy until the latter end of July or the beginning of August, because (*a*) the Board of Trade are dependent on three Lighthouse

Boards for the accounts as to lighthouses. The accounts take nearly three months to collect and compile; (*b*) the accounts of Consuls for the relief of distressed seamen, now included in the Mercantile Marine Fund Account, have also to be collected and analyzed. Those for the month of March last have only just been all received. I have to-day laid the Return for 1884-5 on the Table of the House.

CUSTOM HOUSE RECORDS.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK asked the President of the Board of Trade, Under what conditions and on payment of what fees the public are permitted to have access to the Custom House Records at the various seaports, in order to obtain information as to movements of vessels in which shipowners, merchants, and underwriters may be interested?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Sir Henry Holland), who replied, said: As a general rule, access to the Custom House Records of the arrivals and sailings of vessels is unreservedly permitted during the official hours of business, under circumstances which do not inconveniently affect the work of the Department. Applicants, however, often pay for accounts containing this information instead of inspecting the books for themselves; and in such cases the fees charged are based upon the calculated cost of preparing the accounts. A small fee is occasionally charged in cases where the work of the Department would be hindered by personal access to the records.

FISHERIES (IRELAND) ACT, 1842—OBSTRUCTION OF FISHERIES.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a few days since, while certain fishermen were engaged in lawfully fishing for mackerel off Teelin Point, county Donegal, a water bailiff employed by a Mr. Musgrave pulled his boat into the middle of the net and cast anchor, thereby preventing the fishermen from drawing the net; whether the coastguards made any report of this proceeding to the Inspectors of Fisheries, and what action they have taken; and, whether, as the fishermen were not in a condition to provide the cost of legal proceedings, the Government will cause the Inspectors of Fisheries to take such proceedings as may be necessary to recover in this case the penalty prescribed by 5 and 6 Vic. c. 106, sec. 28, as being incurred by any one who is guilty of obstructing persons lawfully engaged in fishing?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke): This case has been reported by the Coastguards to the Inspectors of Fisheries, who have pointed out that under the 28th section of the Act 5 & 6 *Vict.* c. 106, any person obstructing others lawfully engaged in fishing is liable on conviction to a penalty of £5. I am advised that the case is not one in which the Government should institute proceedings, the cost of which would be trivial.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—DUKE OF ABERCORN'S ESTATE—BRYAN MOLLOY.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Irish Government are aware that a notice to quit having been served some time ago on Bryan Molloy, a tenant of the Duke of Abercorn, Molloy served an originating notice under the Land Act to have a fair rent fixed, whereupon Mr. Dixon, one of the Duke's employés, read to the farm labourers on the estate on the 27th of May last, being pay-day, a paper, which he described as an order from the Duke's agent, Mr. M'Farland, J.P. directing them not to deal in Molloy's shop, on pain of discharge from their employment and eviction from their homes in case of disobedience; whether, on the following morning, a sheet of paper, bearing a drawing of a coffin, was found outside Molloy's door, and the fact was immediately reported to District Inspector Dower, of Newtownstewart; whether the facts were reported to the Government, and, if so, why no action has been taken; whether Molloy has since been obliged to close his shop; and, what course the Lord Chancellor and the Irish Executive will adopt in view of the facts recited?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir William Hart Dyke): I understand that Bryan Molloy, although residing in a house on the Duke of Abercorn's property, has never been accepted as tenant of it, and steps are being taken to evict him. It is not a fact that the statement referred to as read by Mr. Dixon contained any threat of eviction. Mr. M'Farland, on reconsideration, withdrew the paper altogether. Molloy's shop is not closed, and the Duke's workmen continue to deal with him. Molloy brought to the District Inspector a paper with a coffin drawn on it, which, he stated, he had found outside his door; but this officer satisfied himself on inquiry that it was not necessary to report the matter as an outrage. The case does not appear to me to call for any interference on the part of the Government.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—PIERS AT BALDERRIG, KILLERDUFF, AND PUL-NA-MUCK, 'CO. MAYO.

MR. SEXTON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether petitions from the fishermen of Balderrig, Killerduff, and Pul-na-Muck (county Mayo), having been presented to the Board of Works, about December 1883, praying for the construction of piers at these places, inquiries were held, in the October following, by the Piers and Harbours Commissioners, and upon their recommendation that plans and estimates be prepared, an engineer of the Board of Works visited the districts in February last and prepared the plans and estimates; why nothing has since been done; and, whether, in view of the great difficulties and dangers under which the fishermen pursue their avocation, the Government will take steps to secure that there is no further delay in proceeding with those necessary works, on a part of the coast where no public funds have hitherto been expended?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): This Question should more properly have been addressed to the hon. and gallant Member for the county of Galway (Colonel Nolan), as Chairman of the Fishery, Piers, and Harbour Commission. He has, however, been good enough to inform me that his Commission wished to make a harbour at Balderrig, but found that the expense and risk would be too great. They recommended yesterday grants for Killerduff and Pul-na-Muck; and in these cases the Board of Works will put the contract plans at once in hand, and will call for tenders as soon as they are ready. There has been, therefore, no delay on the part of the Board of Works.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—MR. SANDFORD WILLS.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the attempt of Mr. Sandford Wills to deprive his tenant, Mr. Patrick Walder, of a reclaimed bog which had been in his possession for twenty years; and, whether he will be prepared to introduce an Amendment to the Land Act to secure to tenants the possession of lands which they have reclaimed and made valuable?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): The matter referred to in this Question has not come under the notice of Government. The Government can give no promise of legislation in the direction suggested.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—KILLING OF THOMAS M'GRATH'S GEESE AT CAHIR, CO. ROSCOMMON.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the attention of Captain Gage, R.M., has been called to the killing of a number of geese belonging to a poor farmer named Thomas M'Grath, on the lands of a local landlord named Bernard Sweeny, of Cahir, near Thomastown, county Roscommon; and, whether the police have made any investigation under the Crimes Act into the killing of M'Grath's geese; and, if not, why have they failed to carry out the Law?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): Captain Gage's attention has been called to this case. No investigation has been held under the Prevention of Crime Act; but the police have made, and will continue to make, all necessary inquiry respecting it. I am informed that Bernard Sweeny is not a landlord, but a tenant farmer.

DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE—WORKS AT SINGAPORE.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Surveyor General of Ordnance, If he can state whether the guns for arming the works at Singapore are nearly complete, and whether the guns and other ordnance stores for that Island will be sent out this year?

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL OF ORDNANCE (Mr. GUY DAWNAY): A portion of the new rifled armament is already on the spot, and a further portion is on its way at the present moment to Singapore. The chief part of the remainder of the armaments is under orders for manufacture, but cannot be delivered till early next year.

NORTH SEA FISHERIES— "COOPERING."

MR. BIRKBECK asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, now that the case of the German vessel *Diedrich* has been disposed of by the conviction of the English fishermen, the invitations for the International Conference at the Hague, relative to the floating drink shops in the North Sea, have been issued by the Netherlands Government; and, if not, what is the cause of the further delay in the matter?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BOURKE): After the result of the trials in the cases of the *Diedrich* and *Anna* were known, Her Majesty's Minister at the Hague inquired of the Netherlands Minister whether the Netherlands Government would take steps to bring about an early meeting of the Conference relative to the liquor traffic in the North Sea. His Excellency replied that he had already taken action in the matter, and that he hoped that he would be enabled to convoke the Conference at an early date. Mr. Stuart will be instructed to bring the matter to the notice of the Netherlands Government, and as soon as a definite reply is received I shall have much pleasure in communicating again with my hon. Friend.

MEDICAL RELIEF DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

MR. HENEAGE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he still adheres to his statement that it is of the utmost importance that the Medical Relief Bill should be proceeded with without delay; and, whether the Government still intend to use every effort in order that it may become Law during the present month?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Of course, the statement which the hon. Member quotes referred to the Bill as it was. But I am quite aware of the importance of time in this matter, and it is not at all the intention or the wish of Her Majesty's Government to do anything that would defeat this Bill by delay. What I said last night was that we could not assume the responsibility in regard to this Bill which we had hitherto assumed; and I adhere to that position. But if the third reading is moved to-night, as I apprehend it will be, I do not think that our disapproval of the change which has been made in the measure would justify us in opposing the third reading.

MR. HENEAGE: What I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman is, whether he will still consider it a Government measure after it has left this House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I have already answered that Question.

ALLOTMENTS EXTENSION ACT, 1882— CHARITY LANDS IN THE ISLE OF ELY.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, If he is aware that the trustees of the Charity Lands in Elm, March, and Wimblington, Isle of Ely, have advertised to let the lands by auction on Wednesday 29th July for a term of seven years instead of offering them to the labourers of the parish, as directed by "The Allotments Extension Act, 1882;" whether he is aware that a distinct assurance was given by the clerk of the trustees that the lands should be offered to the labourers on the expiration of the present leases; and, whether the Charity Commissioners will take immediate steps to prevent the letting of the lands by auction, and will compel the trustees to carry out the provisions of the Act of 1882?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. STANHOPE): The Governors of the March Consolidated Charities have offered for letting by auction on the 29th instant, for a term of seven years, about 96 acres of the charity lands situated in the parishes of March, Wimblington, and Elm, which comprise in all about 286 acres. Whether or not the assurance mentioned was given by the clerk of the Governors, the Charity Commissioners have as yet had no opportunity of ascertaining. It appears that part only of the lands of the Charities, amounting to less than one-fourth of the whole, is subject to the Allotments Extension Act, 1882. The case was brought to the notice of the Charity Commissioners for the first time on the 21st instant, and they have advised the Governors that, before proceeding to let any of the Charity lands on lease, they should, in the first instance, take steps for ascertaining, under Section 8 of the Allotments Extension Act, 1882, what part of the Charity lands is subject to its provisions.

NAVY—RANGE FOR TORPEDO PRACTICE.

MR. WARTON asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, What provision, if any, has been made by the Admiralty for a torpedo range and for torpedo practice?

THE LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT): A torpedo range 500 yards long was provided last year at Malta. One at Portsmouth, 800 yards long, is about to be provided on Horsea Island, which has just been purchased for the purpose at a cost of £15,500. As regards money for the Portsmouth range, £25,000 has been provided in the Annual Estimates for 1885-6 and £45,000 from the Vote of Credit. Torpedo practice of all kinds is carried out by the torpedo schools—namely, *Vernon*, in Portsmouth, and *Defiance*, at Devonport, and also in all ships and fleets.

NAVY—HAULBOWLINE WORKS, QUEENSTOWN.

MR. DEASY asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is a fact that an order has been posted at the Haulbowline Works, Queenstown, to the effect that the service of any man who has reached the age of sixty years will be no longer required; and, whether, if such an order does exist, it is intended for the employés of dockyards proper; and, if so, whether, having regard to the fact that the Haulbowline Works will not be complete for three years, and cannot therefore in the meantime be termed dockyard, the men coming within the prescribed age will be permitted to remain in their employment until the completion of the works?

THE LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT), who replied, said: The order referred to by the hon. Member was issued by the late Board. With regard to the first Question of the hon. Member, I would answer "Yes," unless special reasons exist, which should be reported. The regulation for discharge of workmen on attaining 60 years of age forms part of the Dockyard instructions, and is in force at other works for the construction of dockyards.

MR. DEASY asked, whether, having regard to the fact that the works would be completed in three years, the order would not be cancelled, so as to allow the men to continue at the works until their completion?

THE LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY: The order referred to was issued by the late Board; but I will take the matter into consideration, and see if anything can be done in the direction of the Question of the hon. Member.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR WILLAM HARCOURT: I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, What is to be the course of Business next week? And I should like, in conjunction with that Question, to press upon the attention of the Government the desirability of placing the Criminal Law Amendment Bill on the Paper on a very early day. The House is very much advanced now in Supply for this time of the year, and, therefore, I should hope it will be possible to fix an early day for a Bill in which the House takes so great an interest.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): We should certainly desire to fix as early a day as possible for the consideration of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill; but it is extremely difficult for us, looking at the exigencies of Supply, to fix any particular day with the certainty of being able to keep the promise. We have not been so fortunate in making progress in Supply during the last few days as we had expected; and looking to the state of the Notice Paper I am afraid it is somewhat doubtful whether we shall make any progress in that direction this evening. There are still many Votes of a contentious character to be taken, and we do think it essential to the convenience of the House that Supply should be pushed forward as rapidly as possible before we attempt to deal with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. What I ventured to state to the House the other day was that we should endeavour to conclude Supply by Tuesday or Wednesday next at the latest; that then a debate of a few hours might be taken on the Telegraph Laws Amendment Bill; and that then we should commence to deal with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and proceed with it until it was completed. With respect to the Business for next week, Monday has been promised for the Army Estimates, and we shall hope to be able to take the Queen's Colleges Vote as the first Vote on Tuesday; but if I might venture to ask for some concession in return from hon. Members opposite, who I notice have several Motions on the Paper, I would hope that they would be merciful to us to-night.

DEPRESSION OF TRADE AND AGRICULTURE—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

Mr. STORER asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Commission about to be appointed to inquire into the depression of trade would embrace the question of how far it might be connected with the lamentable depression in agriculture; and, whether the inquiry would be directed with a view of providing a remedy for both should that appear possible?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I must not lead my hon. Friend to suppose that this inquiry on the depression of trade and industry can be an inquiry into the depression of agriculture; but in so far as the depression of trade and industry is affected by or re-acts upon agriculture—and it is a fact that it does so to a great extent—no doubt that must be a matter which would come within the scope of the inquiry. In the Motion of which the hon. Gentleman has given notice for this evening he refers to the "inability of those depending on the land to purchase as formerly," and "the increasing volume of manufactured imports from foreign countries, which refuse to reciprocate our practice of Free Trade," both of which matters must necessarily come within the scope of the inquiry.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

DEPRESSION OF TRADE AND AGRICULTURE—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.—OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. STORER said, that in consequence of the satisfactory answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would not persevere in the Motion which stood upon the Paper in his name, and the terms of which were as follows:—

> "That, in view of the continued, yearly-increasing, and ruinous depression of Agriculture, mainly owing to cheap imports of Foreign produce, considering also the stagnation of numerous other importan industries, caused partly by the inability of those depending on the land to purchase as formerly, and partly by the increasing volume of manufactured imports from Foreign Countries which refuse to reciprocate our practice of Free Trade, this House is of opinion that the time has arrived when Her Most Gracious Majesty should be prayed to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole subject, in order to provide a speedy remedy for this disastrous state of things."

He only now desired to express a hope that the Commission would not consist of men of one way of thinking only, but of men of business as well as doctrinaires, who were pledged to particular views, and that its composition would be such as to command the confidence of the people of the country at large.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, that what was generally desired was that due care should be taken that all sections of opinion were represented on the Commission. They had seen, from time to time, perhaps without any degree of authority, various names put forward as likely to compose the Commission, and, among others, a name which certainly he thought on both sides of the House carried very great weight upon any question—he meant the name of the late esteemed Leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons—Lord Iddesleigh. Of course, in that name they had a guarantee for thorough impartiality in the discharge of the duties of President of a Royal Commission; and while it was well known that Lord Iddesleigh entertained strong opinions on these subjects, he (Mr. J. Lowther) had every confidence that Lord Iddesleigh would perform the duties of President of the Commission with that strict impartiality which was indispensable. But, at the same time, it was of extreme importance that gentlemen should be placed on the Commission who were versed in commercial pursuits, though not necessarily deeply involved in politics. They should have men who would carry with them not only the confidence of the commercial but of the agricultural world. It was undoubtedly true that this inquiry would not embrace a distinct inquiry into the cause of the depression in agriculture itself; but, at the same time, the depression existing in the greatest and the oldest industry in the land must of necessity become an essential feature in any question as to the depression of trade generally. He should regret the presence of too many persons with preconceived opinions hostile to the holding of any inquiry whatever, or who had prematurely committed themselves to the idea that nothing substantial could be done for the agricultural interest. He was sorry to have seen that such utterances had been made by some of whom he had expected better things; and he could only hope that the inquiry would be full and comprehensive, and that a satisfactory result would be obtained by the country at large.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. SUB-COMMISSIONER WALPOLE.

RESOLUTION.

MR. O'BRIEN, in whose name the following Motion stood on the Paper:—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the oppressive character of Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole's relations with his own tenantry, and the general public distrust justly inspired by his decisions, render it undesirable that he should continue to be intrusted with the administration of the Land Law (Ireland) Act,"

said, that though under the circumstances he was disposed to be merciful to the Government in the length of his observations, still he was afraid that it would not be merciful to the tenantry of Ireland if he were to forego calling the attention of the House to the matter, and, after all, these were the first persons in his consideration. No doubt, it seemed scarcely worth while for him to call attention to the work of any particular Sub-Commissioner in Ireland, for just at present it was pretty generally admitted that the whole system of fixing judicial rents in Ireland by Mr. Justice O'Hagan and his Colleagues was a disastrous and ridiculous failure and it was confessed that the whole thing should be immediately overhauled, and the settlement of the Land Question set about in a totally different direction. However, this gentleman, Mr. Walpole, was specially distinguished by his endeavour to frustrate the operations of the Land Act, and, perhaps, he had done more than any other man to bring the Land Act into disrepute. The Commission, of whom Mr. Walpole was the most influential member, was spread over the greater portions of the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, and in these districts Mr. Walpole had been applying to the unfortunate farmers whose cases came before him the same sharp practice that he exercised with his own unfortunate tenantry. Specific charges were made against him, and the Chief Commissioners were besought to investigate them; but they refused to do anything of the kind, adopting the usual Dublin Castle method of backing up an official whether he was right or wrong. Mr. Walpole was himself a landlord of the very worst type which had made landlordism so detested in Ireland. He was a retired grocer, who had purchased a small estate in the Landed Estates Court, for the purpose of making a commercial profit out of it by trafficking in and confiscating the improvements of his own unfortunate tenants. He would give a specimen of Mr. Walpole's dealings with his own tenants, so that the House might judge of the sort of man who was administering the Land Act. When he purchased his property Mr. Walpole increased the rents on it until they amounted to twice Griffith's valuation; and this model Sub-Commissioner, who was set up to teach other landlords to be just to their tenantry, actually tried, according to a case that came before Mr. Justice O'Hagan, to impose on one of his tenants, named Higgins, a lease containing two covenants, the grossest, most penal, and confiscatory that could possibly be framed. By one of the clauses of that lease he attempted to bind the tenants to renounce all claims for compensation under the Land Act of 1870, and by another this provident Sub-Commissioner sought to make him renounce all benefits in the future under any subsequent Land Act that might ever be passed. In other words, this gentleman sought to deprive his own tenant of all benefit from an Act to administer which he was himself now receiving £700 a year. How could it be expected that such a man could administer the Land Act fairly or honestly. The tenant had refused to sign the lease, but having continued the negotiations his claim for a fair rent had been refused by Judge O'Hagan. Unfortunately Mr. Walpole had shown consistency in so far that he had acted in a precisely similar manner in his Land Court, as in the case of his own tenants. Mr. James Byrne, J.P., of Wallstown Castle, gave in *The Farmers' Gazette* a list of cases in which the landlords themselves had actually given substantial reductions on Mr. Walpole's judicial rack rents. On one estate, that of Mr. Purcell, with which he was acquainted himself, the agent accepted a rent of £130 for a farm the rent of which was fixed by Mr. Walpole at £150. In another case at Dungarvan the landlord's valuator valued the land at £27, and Mr. Walpole fixed the rent at £42. Looking over the Return of the judicial rents of this Commissioner for the month of April, he found that no abatement was made, and that upon the whole the rents were left at 33 per cent above the Government valuation, and that in the one case in which the rent was fixed by consent a reduction was made from £270 a-year to £160. The consequence was that tenants would not face the Land Court, but were driven to other means of getting their rents reduced. As to the case of the Earl of Egmont, the agent on this estate was Mr. French. He was a brother landlord and near neighbour of Mr. Walpole in Queen's County. They were frequently together, and he should not be surprised if the tenants drew their own conclusions from seeing the grinding landlord and the Land Commissioner driving together. In addition there was Mr. Bolster, who was a valuer under the Act, and he was cousin to Mr. Walpole. He thought, at any rate, seeing that £80,000 was paid to carry out this Act every year, the law should be so carried out as to be above reproach. Thirty tenants on the Egmont estate had presented a Memorial to the Chief Commissioners making specific charges against Mr. Walpole, and yet they had refused to investigate them. As long as things were as they were—as long as these reports were flying about against Mr. Walpole without any attempt being made to investigate them, so long should he express his indignation and so long should he declare that the appointment was a positive cause of disturbance. The hon. Member concluded by moving his Resolution.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND seconded the Motion. As long as they continued to maintain a rack-renter as Sub-Commissioner so long would they find that the administration of the Act was a farce. There never was a set of thieves who clung together more closely than the landlords of Ireland; and, as to Mr. Walpole, he had fixed rents so totally wrong that even the landlords had voluntarily reduced them. He hoped the new Government would deal fairly with this matter. A great many bad characters in Ireland, from Lord Spencer downwards, had lost their positions by the fall of the late Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must inform the hon. Member that that is not a respectful way to speak of any Member of the other House. I must ask him to withdraw the expression?

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: Which expression?

Mr. SPEAKER: The expression just used with regard to Lord Spencer.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: Which expression?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member knows perfectly well what expression.

Mr. O'KELLY: How can the hon. Member withdraw if he does not know what expression you object to? What is it?

Mr. SPEAKER: I ask the hon. Member to withdraw the expression he used?

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he would, of course, withdraw immediately anything Mr. Speaker liked. If he had spoken in a disrespectful way of a Member of the Upper House, it was not at all his intention to transgress the Rules of the House or anything of that kind. Of course, he knew that there were a great many things which a Member was allowed to say outside the House which he could not say inside; and so he should withdraw and reserve what he had to say as to Lord Spencer and others until he went back to Ireland. A great many persons had been removed from their offices in consequence of the change of Government, and if Mr. Walpole should be removed a great deal would be done to allay the suspicion with which the administration of the Land Act was regarded in Ireland. Mr. Walpole was a man who, above all others connected with the administration of the Act, had made himself obnoxious.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the oppressive character of Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole's relations with his own tenantry, and the general public distrust justly inspired by his decisions, render it undesirable that he should continue to be intrusted with the administration of the Land Law (Ireland) Act,"—(*Mr. O'Brien,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. LEWIS said, that the hon. Member who had just spoken had made an observation which very much surprised him and which ought to receive some notice. The hon. Member said it was fortunate that observations could be made outside the House which would not be allowed in it. But perhaps some hon. Members found it more fortunate that observations could be made within the House which would not be made outside it. They had been told by hon. Gentlemen opposite that Mr. Walpole defrauded his tenants, and was a landlord of the very worst character, and that it was a notorious fact that a set of thieves never stick together more than the landlords of Ireland. His (Mr. Lewis's) belief was, from all the testimony they had heard from the other side of the House, that this gentleman was a highly respectable man. He was sure that Mr. Walpole would not have been so vindictively attacked from the other side of the House if he had not been deserving of the respect of all honourable men. It was somewhat surprising they should be told that a landlord was not fit to be a Sub-Commissioner, because he was an interested party. Well, if that was so, a tenant, for the same reason, ought not to be appointed. Everyone who knew anything of Courts was aware that the discontent of litigants knew no bounds, and that each man believed his own case to be better than his opponent's. He was not, however, aware of any attacks similar to this having been made in that House, either on a Land Commissioner or Sub-Commissioner with reference to the administration of the law in Ireland. But, if that House was to be made a Court of Appeal, not against any particular decision, but against the men who gave those decisions, all he could say was that it would be impossible to suppose there could be any respect for the administration of justice in Ireland. It was said by the hon. Member who introduced this Motion that nine-tenths of the people of Ireland believed that Mr. Walpole was a perfectly abandoned character. He (Mr. Lewis) trusted they would hear from the Government during the night something of the position and character of this gentleman. On the Ministerial side of the House it was believed that the majority of the Land Commissioners were more in sympathy with the tenants than with the landlord. Their decisions, although always favourable to the tenants, were, nevertheless, always submitted to. He trusted the Treasury Bench would not countenance these charges against the Irish officials. If this was the way in which all persons connected with the administration of justice in Ireland were to be attacked from time to time in the various departments and stages of their duty, there would be very little prospect of any law being obeyed in Ireland.

Mr. MARUM said, with a full sense of the responsibility imposed on him in speaking of an absent man, he believed this gentleman—and he knew the locality—was very severe in the exaction of his rents—a quality which ought not to have recommended him to a Chief Secretary for appointment; that great dissatisfaction was caused by his decisions; and that he was not competent for the office either from his knowledge of the value of the land or the working of the Land Commission.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Sir William Hart Dyke): said, that the Mover and Seconder of the Motion had made a violent attack on the Sub-Commissioners in general and on Mr. Walpole in particular, as well as on the mode in which the Land Act was carried out. But he was not responsible in any sense for the passing of that Act or the appointment of the Commissioners or Sub-Commissioners. He did not think that the House was called upon to pronounce any judgment on the character of Mr. Walpole as a landlord; but, so far as he could gather, there was no foundation whatever for the vague charges—[Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: Not vague charges at all.]—levelled against Mr. Walpole for his conduct as a Sub-Commissioner. A Memorial containing various charges against Mr. Walpole had been presented to the Commissioners; they took the greatest possible pains to investigate the matter; and not only from the evidence in their own office, but from every kind of evidence that could be brought before them, they came to the conclusion that the charges were absolutely groundless. It had been said that there was some complicity between him and Lord Egmont's agent, Captain French. It was said that he had driven about with him upon an outside car. It was said that upon one occasion he had stopped for one night at the same hotel as that gentleman, and also that he had given Mr. Walpole a "lift" upon his car. [Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: He gave him several "lifts."] But he was informed that this gentleman was an absolute stranger to Mr. Walpole. Mr. Walpole was not solely responsible for these decisions; he was one of three Commissioners, and these three Commissioners were responsible in all cases for these decisions. The hon. Member for Mallow had stated that Mr. Walpole's conduct had been of such a character as to drive tenants out of the Court; but he had made inquiry into the matter, and it appeared that at the time Mr. Walpole assumed office there had been only five applications by tenants. He did not think that he should detain the House further. He had done all that he could to find out about these allegations. But he was convinced, both from his researches and the inquiries of the Land Commissioners, that there were no grounds whatever for them; and he thought that if there was any ground for objection to Mr. Walpole's decisions, the Court of Appeal would be a more fitting tribunal in which to try them than the House of Commons.

MR. BARRY said that, accustomed as the Irish were in that House to hear lame defences by the Chief Secretary, he did not believe that in all his experience he had ever heard a more helpless attempt at a defence than that which had just been presented by the Chief Secretary as to the serious charges made against this official by the hon. Member for Mallow. He had insinuated that the charges made were vague; but he believed that he had never heard anything more clear or specific than the case which had been presented by his hon. Friend. He remembered the great shock which the appointment to the Land Commission of Mr. Walpole had given the country. He was a man whose evil reputation was widely known. He was a rack-renting landlord of the very worst type—a man who, having been successful in some pettifogging trade, bought land, and at once became an odious tyrant and rack-renter. He had a character which had received full confirmation since his appointment as a Land Commissioner. He asked what kind of proof the right hon. Gentleman wanted? Every public board—Boards of Guardians and Town Commissioners—and public body whose representative character enabled it to express a reliable opinion on behalf of the people had passed resolutions denouncing his one-sided and partizan conduct. Surely no better proof than that was required in support of his hon. Friend's statement. In many cases even the landlords themselves, instead of accepting Mr. Walpole's decisions, had actually given reductions, and cases could be shown in which the judicial rent fixed by Mr. Walpole amounted to 40 per cent in excess of the landlord's own valuings. In the counties of Cork, Waterford, and Limerick there existed such a strong and widespread feeling of discontent that it was positively dangerous to the administration of the Act. It was most unfair to the tenants to have such a man to decide their cases, and many of them refused to go near the Court at all where he acted as Sub-Commissioner, feeling convinced that they thereby would only incur useless expenditure in costs, in addition to their loss of time.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he could assure the House that it was with very considerable pain that hon. Members sitting in that quarter of the House had heard the right hon. Gentleman attempting such a forlorn and hopeless task as the defence of this official. He was sorry to see the present Government falling into the errors of its Predecessors in attempting to defend everybody. There had been no stronger case ever brought before the House. The block in the Appeal Court was something both disgraceful and hopeless. He had a letter in his hand from a tenant who had served an originating notice so far back as four years ago to have a fair rent fixed by the Sub-Commission. He went into the Appeal Court; but up to the present there was not the least sign of the case being heard. The whole country was waiting for relief against the appeals which blocked the Land Court. He believed that an official of the stamp of Mr. Walpole, who fixed rents in some cases so much above the valuation even of the landlord's valuers that the landlords themselves refused to abide by his decisions, and reduced the rents fixed by him themselves, was a man who really did even the landlords more injury than good.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, speaking as a landlord himself in Ireland, he believed that conduct of the kind which had been described was really injurious to the interests of the landlords. He believed, however, that the question whether Mr. Walpole's conduct was of the nature described should be investigated by some independent tribunal.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, he believed that this was really a case which the Government should consider seriously. There was, no doubt, very widespread dissatisfaction at the decisions of Mr. Walpole. The fact was that that gentleman had only had experience of very good land, and was really not competent to decide in cases where the value of poor land was called in question. Without wishing to make any invidious or hard attack upon Mr. Walpole, he would suggest that he might be transferred to some other part of Ireland. Some effort should also be made to expedite the hearing of appeals.

MR. P. J. POWER said, he knew nothing personally about Mr. Walpole; but he was able to state that his action as a Land Commissioner had given rise to the utmost discontent. Resolutions had been passed by numerous Boards of Guardians expressing want of confidence in him.

MR. BIGGAR said, it seemed to him that the Government would do well to be influenced by the advice given them by the hon. and gallant Member for Cork (Colonel Colthurst), who, not being a Gentleman who usually acted with the Irish Party, had spoken from a different point of view. He (Mr. Biggar) believed that it was the interest of the landlords to prevent such grievances as gave rise to agitation. The time had come when the number of Sub-Commissioners should be reduced. At any rate, the Government could not expect to get rid of agitation in respect to the administration of the Land Act while they retained the services of Sub-Commissioners like Mr. Walpole, who failed in inspire general confidence in his decisions.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON thought it was clear from that discussion that the administration of the Land Act by that gentleman was not likely to give satisfaction to the Irish people; and he would suggest that the Government should consider whether they could not see their way to having some inquiry made into that matter. The evidence in favour of inquiry was certainly as strong as it was in the Maamtrasna case.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, he thought that the observation of the Chief Secretary had been misunderstood. The only charges, as far as he was aware, which were brought forward against Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole were contained in a Memorial that was presented in October, 1884, to the Irish Land Commission. That document contained some general observations in reference to the way in which Mr. Walpole had acted as a Sub-Commissioner; and then it set forth certain specific charges. It then became the duty of the Land Commissioners, as the Body nominated by the Legislature for the purpose, to inquire into that matter; and, after having obtained all such information as would enable them to form a judgment upon it, they came to the conclusion that both the general and the specific charges against Mr. Walpole were without foundation.

MR. O'BRIEN: Did they take the evidence of a single memorialist? ["Order!"]

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND said, that the charges were dealt with by the Body which the Legislature had appointed, and which made the investigation in the ordinary way. That investigation having been so made, the result was the acquittal of Mr. Walpole not only of the general, but also of the specific charges preferred against him; and if the Government were now to say that the matter would be re-opened, it would not be a censure upon Mr. Walpole, but a censure upon the Land Commission, because it would be conveying to the Commission that they had not done their duty on a matter that had been brought before them. On the result of the investigation which had taken place the Government were prepared to stand.

MR. PICTON said, he considered there were grounds for inquiry, and he should support the appeal made to the Government by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson).

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he happened to know the county in which the property of Mr. Walpole was situated. He had a number of tenants bound down by papers, which he called leases, prepared in a dexterous manner, which deprived the tenants of the benefit of the Land Act. The whole population of Queen's County had been aghast when they had heard of the appointment of Mr. Walpole, knowing, as they did, his relations towards his own tenants; and their forebodings had been fully justified. The people in Mr. Walpole's sub-division would not regard the proceedings in his Court as judicial in any sense. They looked upon him as having been placed in his present position by landlord influence, in order to maintain the level of judicial rents as high as possible. It should also be borne in mind that the inquiry that had taken place was confined to those who were interested in whitewashing Mr. Walpole.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought the answer of the Attorney General for Ireland was one which would hardly be seriously regarded. The inquiry which had been made into the matter to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred had been utterly insufficient, and no real evidence had been taken. He could assure the Government that this was a very grave matter. The judicial character of Mr. Walpole was seriously attacked, and a large amount of collateral evidence was brought forward in support of the charge brought against him. He hoped that the Government would look into this matter in the interests of everyone who desired a settlement of the Irish question on a permanent basis. There could be no doubt that the retention of Mr. Walpole on the Bench would prove a great impediment to the agrarian policy which the present Government had entered upon with regard to Ireland.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the general public distrust inspired by the decisions of Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole renders it desirable that further inquiry should be made into his administration of the Land Law (Ireland) Act,"—(*Mr. O'Brien,*)

—instead thereof.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided:* — Ayes 123; Noes 32: Majority 91.—(Div. List, No. 247.)

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—PROCURATORS FISCAL.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he wished to call the attention of the House to the maladministration of justice in Scotland. His Motion, as it stood upon the Paper, was—

"That it is prejudicial to the interests of justice in Scotland that Procurators Fiscal should be allowed to engage in private business and to act as land agents."

Perhaps he might state, for the information of the House, and especially of the Irish Members, that the system of administering justice and conducting criminal inquiries was, in the first place, intrusted to the Procurator Fiscal. He was the Public Prosecutor. Down to 1877 these Procurators Fiscal were appointed by the Sheriffs, and removable by them; but in that year a Bill was brought in by the Tory Government confirming the appointment in the

Sheriff, but making the Procurator Fiscal irremovable when he was appointed. An Amendment was attempted at the time to restrict Procurators Fiscal to the discharge of their official duties; but it was negatived. It was evident that there was great risk of abuse of justice in consequence of his being engaged in private business, particularly the business of a land agent. He had in his possession complaints that in a recent case a Procurator Fiscal appeared to prosecute, and was also engaged in the case in three other capacities. It was easy to conceive how hard it would be for a Procurator Fiscal, in such circumstances, to confine himself strictly to his proper business, and not to allow himself to be influenced by other motives. He wished to allude particularly to cases in the Western Highlands. There was the case of the Procurator Fiscal in Stornoway, which belonged to a single proprietor, and the Procurator Fiscal was the representative of the Crown, and was also the agent of the landlord. He had occasion, previously, to call attention to an instance where it was alleged that the Procurator Fiscal had called in the law to support certain estate regulations; and, under these circumstances, the tenants believed that they had not any prospect of impartial administration of justice. He was not prepared to say definitely as to the accuracy of the charges made against the Procurators Fiscal; but there were very numerous complaints as to their action, and one could understand how difficult it would be for the Procurator Fiscal to administer even-handed justice when he was acting in a private capacity for one of the parties. The position occupied by these men was altogether indefensible; and he called attention to it, now that a new Government was in power, in order that the Government might have an opportunity of stating their views and the course they proposed to take in the matter. He made no charge against the late Lord Advocate. The only defence of the present system was that it would be impossible to get the whole of the service of the Procurators Fiscal in those distant places. He advocated to meet this difficulty that they should have some system of promotion under which the Procurators Fiscal could be removed from district to district. If some system of that kind were adopted, he was sure it would have a very beneficial effect on the administration of justice. He was informed that measures had been in progress under the late Government for remedying the evil so far as the Western Highlands were concerned; but the complaint he had to make against the late Lord Advocate was, that when he found he was not able, in a particular case, to do what was required, he did not ask the House of Commons to remedy the law, and so have been able to take upon himself the responsibility for the due and impartial administration of justice. Peace in the Western Highlands depended very much more upon the removal of those abuses than many supposed; but the people despaired receiving impartial justice when everyone engaged in the administration of the law, except the Sheriff, was an official of the proprietor. That being the feeling, it was not at all surprising that the Highlanders attempted to take the law into their own hands, and thus endeavour to redress their grievances.

DR. FARQUHARSON said, that his hon. Friend had done well to bring this subject before the House. It was surely wrong, as a matter of principle, that anyone holding judicial office should be allowed to engage in private practice. Persons holding these appointments should, like Cæsar's wife, be above suspicion. The difficulty of getting men to take the office on small salaries might be met by a system of promotion such as had been suggested by his hon. Friend—namely, to hold out the prospect of rising, through good work and merit, to higher appointments. He, therefore, thought that as appointments fell in the Government should insist that persons accepting such appointments should be debarred from private practice. That could easily be done in the large towns, where from £600 to £800 and up to £1,200 a-year was paid. For such appointments there could be no difficulty in getting the best legal men, and already a good beginning had been made in Aberdeen, where the Sheriff Clerk, who formerly had private practice, had been entirely restricted to his public duties.

MR. J. B. BALFOUR said, he was not disposed to enter upon the general question, which had been a good deal discussed within the past year. The view taken by the late Government was that wherever they could get the sole services of a gentleman to discharge the duties of Procurator Fiscal on reasonable terms it was desirable to do so; but that necessarily involved conditions—conditions regarding the amount of work, the available salary, or the salary that could reasonably be asked, and other conditions which he had more fully explained on a former occasion. He adhered to the view that wherever they could obtain the services of a gentleman to fill those duties exclusively it was desirable to do so; and accordingly, although the appointment did not rest with the Crown, but with the Sheriff, subject only to confirmation by the Secretary of State, it was quite possible for persons holding the position which he had the honour to do under the late Government, by communicating with the Sheriff, to try and establish the rule of restricting persons holding the office to the duties of that office. His hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) complained that they did not propose legislation on the subject. He agreed that all appointments of Procurators Fiscal should emanate from the Crown; but in the press of other duties he did not know whether the subject had been embodied in a separate Bill, though he had no doubt that the matter would be kept in view. As to the alleged conflict between public and private duty, having had an experience of some years, he could only now repeat the tribute which he had before paid to the probity, integrity, and ability with which the Procurators Fiscal had discharged their duties; but, at the same time, he admitted that it was better that they should be restricted to the duties of their office. Reference had been made to appointments in the West Highlands; and he quite agreed that where, from whatever causes, an unhappy state of feeling had arisen, which he trusted and believed would be temporary, it was specially desirable that there should be no ground for the suggestion of a suspicion of any conflict of duty and private matters on the part of a public official. Accordingly, before the late Government went out of Office, they were negotiating with a view to get the Procurators Fiscal of Stornoway, Portree, and Lochmaddy placed on salary and confined purely to their official duties. Of course, their appointment being under the previous law, that arrangement could only be carried out by negotiation, and with their consent; and, although the arrangement was not concluded, he dared say this was a matter which those who had succeeded the late Government would look into, and if they found that reasonable terms could be arranged with those Fiscals they would make arrangements by which these officials would be confined to their public duties. If it were found impossible to make such an arrangement it might then become necessary to consider whether legislative powers to effect such an arrangement could not be obtained, although that would be a somewhat extreme measure.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS) said, he would like to bear his testimony, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. J. B. Balfour) had done, to the way in which the Procurators Fiscal in Scotland had hitherto performed their duties. He had had an opportunity some years ago of seeing how they performed their duties, and he thought they deserved the credit which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had given them. As to whether the Procurators Fiscal should be confined, to their public duties alone he had very little to add to what had been said by the right hon. and learned Gentleman. It would be better, as a general rule, that those gentlemen should not have anything to do except the actual duties of their office; but there were cases in which that general rule would hardly apply, because it might be that they might have to give a much larger salary for a person in an out-of-the-way part of the world who would practically have little to do, and whose only inducement to go to such a place would be to receive the large salary for doing very little. Nor should they forget that where there was little to do, and a man devoted his whole time to doing it, it had not a very good effect on the man himself, for it was not likely to improve his mind or increase his store of legal learning or his habits of industry. His right hon. and learned Friend stated that in certain cases arrangements were attempted for confining certain Fiscals to their official duties; but, unfortunately, up to the time the right hon. and learned Gentleman left Office the attempt had not been successful. It was a matter, however, which would certainly not be lost sight of. More than that he could not say.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—DEPRESSION OF TRADE—THE APPRECIATION OF GOLD.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH: I would ask leave to call attention to a subject of which I gave Notice some time ago in connection with the Royal Commission to inquire into the depression of trade. The Notice is as follows:—

> "That, in view of the great depression in trade, caused in large measure by the extraordinary decline in prices, this House is of opinion that the time has arrived when Her Most Gracious Majesty be prayed to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the relative position of gold and silver in their use as moneys throughout the world—[Mr. WARTON: Oh, oh!]—whether the depression of trade and low prices are in any way connected with, or caused by, the appreciation of our gold standard; how far such appreciation—should it be shown to exist—results from the displacement of silver money over large areas, and whether, or how far, these evils admit of remedy."

Notwithstanding the deprecatory remarks of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), this is a subject which is attracting a great deal of attention; and there will be a great feeling of disappointment throughout commercial circles unless the Committee which the Government intend to appoint is authorized specially to inquire into it. A special reason exists for this in a Parliamentary Paper recently issued under the auspices of the Board of Trade, which has brought out very clearly that the main feature of the commercial depression is the prodigious fall of prices as compared with 1873. According to a calculation which I have made myself the average fall of prices to 1885 is about 37 per cent. The exports of our country this year will attain to about £220,000,000; but had they been measured by the standard of prices that prevailed in 1873 they would have reached about £350,000,000. We have had a collapse in prices and a change in the standard of value, such as has been altogether unknown since the resumption of specie payments in 1819, and this has unsettled all the relations of trade. I would point out how very seriously this change in the scale of prices and standard of value affects the various classes in the country. The commercial classes, who borrow capital very largely for reproductive use, find themselves compelled to pay interest in a standard which is very much appreciated. When the debts have to be repaid they are obliged to pay a very much larger value than they contracted for. The total amount of capital borrowed in this country represents thousands of millions sterling, and the interest probably amounts to more than £100,000,000 sterling annually. It is a very serious thing that this vast amount of borrowed capital should be made so very much heavier in consequence of the extraordinary fall of prices. We have had a discussion this evening as to the Irish Land Act. We know there are great complaints in Ireland that the rents fixed by the Judicial Commission have already become too high owing to the continuous fall of the value of produce; and it is thought by our best authorities that this fall will continue for several years to come. It is hardly necessary to point out how this will neutralize all the good effects that they expect from judicial rents in Ireland. Then our difficulties in Egypt have very largely arisen from the fact that the heavy fall of prices makes the interest of the debt much heavier than it was some 10 or 15 years ago. The Debt of Egypt has virtually increased one-fourth owing to the prodigious fall of prices. I may be asked what proof I have for the assertion that the standard of value has risen very seriously. I would refer to those Papers drawn up by the Board of Trade, which prove that since 1873 general prices have fallen 37 per cent, and I assert that no such fall could be adequately explained on any other ground except that gold has considerably risen. I have no doubt there is something in the nature of over-production; and no doubt foreign competition—especially in food—has forced down prices considerably. But there is a distinct ground for believing that gold itself has considerably risen in purchasing power. My assertion is that at least one-half of the wonderful change in the last 10 or 15 years is owing to the appreciation of our gold standard. The supply of gold has fallen off immensely in the last 10 or 20 years. During the Australian and Californian discoveries, and for some years afterwards, the annual production of gold was upwards of £30,000,000; but it is now less than £19,000,000, and it is tending to become still smaller. On the other hand, gold is being called upon to do very much more than it did 20 years ago. Twenty years ago gold did only one-half of the monetary work of the world. The trade of the world went on smoothly under the bi-metallic system. Gold and silver countries could exchange with each other at a ratio which was reliable; but now the two metals have been divorced. In place of silver being at the ratio of 15½ to 1 of gold, it is now at the rate of 19 to 1 of gold. This is a very serious thing to a country like England. The time is coming when, if this state of things is not resisted, we shall see a fall in wages corresponding to the fall in general prices. What I hope the House will accept when we have discussed the question, and what I trust the Royal Commission will turn its attention to, is this—that they should aim at restoring that old bi-metallic arrangement which existed more or less for two centuries prior to 1872. If they could return to that system they would confer great advantage upon the country; they would escape great social troubles, and would give a great development to trade. When our trade is languishing, as it is now, there must be something wrong; and the only remedy which I think we have in our power is to join with the United States, France, and Germany to re-establish that old system of currency which answered so remarkably well in the past. I trust that in appointing the Royal Commission which is in contemplation the Government will see their way to place upon it some experts upon monetary questions who have studied the question of bi-metallism, and who will have power to make it a vital branch of the investigation. I believe that such a course would give satisfaction to the commercial classes of the country.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—CORK LUNATIC ASYLUM.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. DEASY said, he rose to call attention to the repeated refusals of the late Viceroy of Ireland to appoint Mr. John O'Brien, of Cork, a Governor of the Cork Lunatic Asylum. He did not propose to dwell long on this subject, as it was discussed at considerable length in the House on several occasions, and the late Chief Secretary left them under the impression that, in the long run, Mr. O'Brien would be appointed. Well, the Government had a very short run themselves after that, and he was not sorry for it, even if Mr. O'Brien were never appointed. The Cork Corporation had requested the present Viceroy to appoint Mr. O'Brien. He trusted his views on the subject would be immediately made known. It was most important that a man like Mr. O'Brien should be placed on the Board, as he was not only energetic and capable, but he was expert in one department, the woollen contracts, in which a great many irregularities had occurred of late. The Governors of the Institution, also, had been extremely lax in the discharge of their duties. He maintained that the representation of the Cork Municipal Council on the Managing Board of the District Asylum should be better proportioned to its contribution towards the cost of the maintenance of the asylum. He hoped that the Government would promise to consider this matter, otherwise he would be obliged to bring the matter before the House at considerable length during the present Session.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CUSTODY OF PRISONERS IN IRELAND.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. SEXTON said, he wished to call attention to the death of Peter O'Gara, in Sligo Police Barracks. This man had been arrested a few weeks ago on a charge of drunkenness in Sligo, although he was walking with two friends, whom the police admitted to have been sober. He was put into the cell at the police barracks with another drunken man. At 10 P.M. his wife and son had called and asked for his release, when, on entering the cell, O'Gara was found dead with marks of violence on his face and head, while the other man was found sitting on the floor with his coat and waistcoat off. It was evident that the orderly constable could not have been anywhere close at hand, or he would have heard the struggle which must have taken place. Such an occurrence ought not to have been possible, and he hoped that the Government would take care to prevent anything of the kind happening again. He wished also to call attention to the necessity for better arrangements being made for the custody of prisoners in Constabulary stations in Ireland. More cells should be provided, and the lighting of the cells improved. In Galway, for instance, there was only one cell, and if there were a female and male prisoner arrested at the same time, the female was obliged to stay in the kitchen with the orderly. Such a system was disgraceful. When the Government could spend large sums on palatial police barracks and bath-rooms for policemen, they ought, at least, to make decent and safe provisions for prisoners.

MR. MOLLOY said, he rose to call attention to the condition of the Magisterial Bench in King's County. There were 92 Justices of Peace in the county, and, although only 15 per cent of the people were other than Catholics, there were only 10 or 11 Catholic magistrates, whereas the number ought to be 73. He had already complained of this disproportion, but the new appointments were on the old lines. There was a vast number of Catholics in the county qualified to hold the position which was denied them. The appointment of magistrates in King's County was confined to certain family rings. It was said that there was a strong alliance between the present Government and the Home Rule Irish Members; but they were not aware of it. Although nothing of the sort existed, still the Government might, from a sense of justice, look into this question; and if they would do so impartially, they would do something to give the Government a claim on the consideration of the Irish people.

MR. MARUM said, that the questions of local taxation and of the treatment of prisoners under remand were bound up with the appointment of magistrates. In the Queen's County there were not more than 14 Catholic magistrates, and several of these were absentees, or did not attend to business. The administration of local rates was vested in bodies composed largely of magistrates, and it was not to be tolerated that the composition of these bodies should be unduly coloured by a political nominee of the Government of the day. One effect of the carrying on of county government by magistrates, nominated as at present, was that female prisoners under remand had to be sent distances of 30 or 40 miles; and it was highly improper that a female prisoner should be sent that distance in charge of a policeman. It was enough to destroy the character of any woman, and the knowledge of the fact that this had to be done interfered with the administration of justice, for a considerate magistrate naturally hesitated to expose any woman to such an ordeal and the hardships of the journey if he could possibly avoid it.

MR. CALLAN said, he desired to enter his protest against the stigma which was cast upon the Catholic gentlemen in Ireland owing to the persistent refusal of the late Government to place them upon the Bench of Magistrates. He hoped that the present Government would follow the example of the last Conservative Government, and would treat the Catholics in Ireland fairly. The late Lord O'Hagan, from whom great things had been expected as the first Catholic Lord Chancellor, had actually increased the disproportion between the number of Catholic and Protestant magistrates. A principle had been laid down upon which he thought the Government should act, and that was to have at least one Catholic magistrate upon each Bench, if a suitable one could be found in the district. In the County Louth there were 10 Benches, and on four of these there was not a single Catholic magistrate. He had great respect for the present holder of the Office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who was distinguished for his impartial, honourable, and kindly treatment of the Irish Catholics. He trusted that the noble Lord would continue in Office after the next General Election, and would retain his post for many years. He looked to him for the removal of the inequality at present existing.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, that the different matters which hon. Members opposite had brought under the notice of the House did not demand any lengthened remarks from him. With regard to the case of Mr. John O'Brien, he might say that the grounds upon which Lord Spencer had declined to appoint Mr. John O'Brien as Governor of Cork Lunatic Asylum were not at all personal ones. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) had no doubt that Mr. O'Brien was very well qualified to discharge the duties, and he was quite sure that his claims would be considered by the present Lord Lieutenant. When the last Governor of the Cork Lunatic Asylum was appointed, there was on the Board a preponderance of city representatives. It appeared that the county, which contributed some £8,000 per annum towards the maintenance of the asylum, had only 15 Governors on the Board; while the city, which contributed only some £2,700, had 22, and it being felt that the county was entitled to have its representation on the Board strengthened, the new Governor was selected from the county instead of from the city which Mr. O'Brien represented.

Mr. DEASY remarked that of the 22 Governors only three were representatives of the ratepayers.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND said, that there was no personal objection whatever to Mr. O'Brien, and doubtless he would be selected as the next city Governor—assuming, of course, the statements of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Deasy) regarding him to be correct. No one could help feeling pain at the sad circumstances of the death of the man referred to by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). He at once admitted that if drunken persons were to be confined in police barracks, adequate cell accommodation was not merely desirable, but necessary. In many police barracks there was great want of accommodation, and that was owing to the fact that houses not built for the purpose had been adapted to the use of police barracks. It was much more desirable that buildings should be expressly erected for police barracks, and that had now been extensively done. With regard to the observations which had been made as to prisoners being placed in the same cells, he thought he might promise that for the future this would be done as little as possible. There was a rule in the Constabulary Force at the present time which made it obligatory on constables not to place more than one person in the same cell when it could be avoided, and the only thing that led to its being done was the want of proper cell accommodation. If it became necessary to place two persons in one cell, they should be so placed as to be within sight, or at all events within hearing, of the warder. His right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary would take steps that this should always be done where the want of proper cell accommodation made it necessary to put two prisoners into one cell. The other points to which the hon. Member had referred in connection with cell accommodation should have his attention. The hon. Members for Cork and Sligo had spoken of the appointments to the magistracy. Reference had also been made by the hon. Member for King's County to the Lord Lieutenant of that county. The Lord Lieutenant of King's County did not share the political views of hon. Members sitting on this side of the House, but he was a personal friend of his own, and he was probably the last person in the world to recommend or refuse to recommend gentlemen for appointments on the ground of their religion. He believed the rule to be laid down with reference to the appointment of gentlemen to the commission of the peace was that they should be appointed upon considerations entirely distinct from their political and religious views, and having regard only to their fitness to discharge the magisterial duties they would be called upon to perform. No doubt in some parts of the country, where there was a predominance of people professing a certain religion, it was desirable that a certain number of magistrates of that religion should be appointed in order that the people might have confidence in the administration of justice; but, nevertheless, regard must be had to their fitness for the discharge of their duties. He hoped that the time might not be far distant in Ireland, when religion, which was now almost identical with politics, might be placed in the background in all questions connected with the government of the country. The selection of the magistrates of Ireland was now in the hands of his noble Friend Lord Ashbourne, who, although a politician, was not a bigoted politician, and, although a religious man, was not a bigot, and he felt sure that such a man as Lord Ashbourne might be trusted to appoint the magistracy of the country with impartiality and without favour to political or religious views, but solely in regard to the fitness for the discharge of the duties of the office.

MR. BIGGAR contended that it was a great scandal to appoint persons as magistrates in Ireland who were not resident in the counties in which they acted, and sometimes had hardly any connection with them. He hoped that the new Lord Chancellor would use his influence for the purpose of remedying this state of things. He should go through the lists of magistrates, both Protestant and Catholic, and strike out without mercy all who did not discharge their duties and who were not resident in the counties. He thought the Lord Chancellor should ignore almost entirely the Lord Lieutenants of counties in this matter, and should depend upon his own judgment. It was most desirable that the people of the country should have confidence in the administration of justice. That they could not have, if they saw the appointments to the Magisterial Bench entirely taken from one class of the community. Until some reform was made in that respect, it was utterly impossible that the people could believe in the impartiality of justice. He was also of opinion that the policeman who had been so neglectful of duty in the case referred to by the hon. Member for Sligo should be punished.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR complained that the late Government had not adequately fulfilled their promise to appoint a fair proportion of Catholic magistrates. He was aware that the present Chief Secretary for Ireland was not responsible for what his Predecessor did. He regretted to say that the promises of the late Government had been kept to the ear, but broken in reality. In the first place, the Irish Members never desired to have a lot of Whig "shoneens and Cawtholics" appointed as magistrates throughout the country.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he merely wished to say that he hoped that Lord Ashbourne, in whose sense of justice the Irish Members had considerable confidence, would take this matter in hand, and deal with it in a candid and proper spirit.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) £69,316 (including a Supplementary sum of £3,000), to complete the sum for County Court Officers, Ireland.

MR. SEXTON said, the House had repeatedly heard, of late, that there was a great improvement in the condition of Ireland. It had formed a matter of congratulation at the commencement of the present Session. The late Government took credit to themselves for abandoning the main part of the Prevention of Crime Act, and limiting themselves to the retention only of certain portions which they considered valuable. Fortunately, circumstances had put an end to the late Government and their intentions. The present Government had gone further, and had wisely and intelligently dispensed with all the provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act. He had been curious to ascertain, therefore, whether the combined opinions of the late Government and the present found a reflection in this Estimate. He should have been glad to find that that was the case, and he had hoped, for instance, that the staff of magistrates, which had been inflated for the purpose of meeting an exceptional state of things in the last few years, would have been brought back to its normal level. They all knew that even before the Prevention of Crime Act came into operation in 1882 Earl Spencer, and his Predecessor, Earl Cowper, had added to the magistracy generally, and had increased the number of stipendiary magistrates. The day the present Parliament ended, which he supposed was about a fortnight distant, the Prevention of Crime Act would cease. It was enacted in 1882 for three years succeeding, and it would pass out of existence on the day that Parliament was prorogued. Therefore, the period of its cessation was quite close enough to justify an inquiry as to what steps the Government intended to take to reduce the establishment of paid magistrates in Ireland to its normal level. In 1884-5, according to the present Estimates, there were 79 paid magistrates, and for the present year he observed that the number was precisely the same.

He knew that the present Government was not responsible for this Estimate, which was drawn and presented before the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Hart Dyke) could have imagined that the luxury of being Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was reserved for him. But when it was drawn up, in the present year, it ought to have been quite apparent, from the state of the calendars and the reports in the newspapers, that there was nothing exceptional in the state of crime in Ireland. Nevertheless, not only in the number of magistrates that were proposed to be maintained, but in every other item, the Estimates, on the face of them, denoted an exceptional state of things. The seven temporary appointments of magistrates were to be continued at a cost to the country of something like £3,000. If seven temporary magistrates were necessary in a time of great emergency, when Boycotting prevailed and conspiracy meetings were rife, why should they be necessary now? What was the meaning of this? Had those seven gentlemen really any functions to discharge? He could understand that at a time when the Lord Lieutenant was required to gallop through the streets of Dublin surrounded by a small army, the circumstances were very different from those which now existed, when the Lord Lieutenant could drive about in an open phæton like any other gentleman. He saw in the Estimate that there were travelling allowances for those seven temporary magistrates in addition to other expenses. He failed to see, on the face of the Estimate, any sign whatever that the Government conceded the necessity of reducing the expenditure, although they acknowledged, by their policy of allowing the Prevention of Crime Act to cease, that the country had passed from an exceptional into an ordinary condition. Nevertheless, when it came to a question of the expenditure of money they made no reduction in the establishment, and no diminution in its cost. He trusted that his hon. Friends would support him in obtaining some explanation from the Government. He maintained that it was of evil effect to continue an inflated magisterial establishment which the necessities of the case did not justify. When there was an exceptional state of crime in Ireland there might have been reason for creating an exceptional establishment of officials to deal with it. But he did not see why they should make a divisional magistrate a present of £1,000 a-year, instead of going back to the original payment of £500 a-year for persons who held the rank of ordinary magistrate. He would not go so far as to say that those exceptional magistrates would feel inclined to provoke an exceptional state of crime; but undoubtedly they would not be sorry for the continuance of such a state of things as would enable them to claim this exceptional remuneration. So long as the Government paid heavy salaries for the performance of so-called exceptional duties, those men would continue to represent up to the latest moment the necessity for high salaries and an exceptional staff. He thought he was entitled to say that there was no longer any need for special magistrates, or a temporary staff. The ordinary officers of the law in ordinary numbers were amply sufficient to meet the requirements of normal times, so far as the preservation of the peace of Ireland was concerned. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was not responsible for these Estimates; but he was responsible for the change of policy which had been announced since the Estimates were drawn, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman ought to be able to assure the Committee that no officials would be much longer continued in public employment in Ireland for the repression of crime, or the administration of the law, except those who were employed before the cry was raised that Ireland was in an exceptional condition. He thought he was entitled to claim in a country like Ireland that the unpaid magistrates, drawn as they were exclusively from one class of persons—namely, the landlord class, and persons of one creed—Protestants—saturated as they were with social prejudices—that it was, therefore, all the more essential that the paid and Resident Magistrates who were appointed should be men of high mind and independent judgment, who would go upon the Magisterial Bench among the unpaid magistrates in order to keep the inferior members of the Bench in a right path, and use their influence with them in favour of impartiality and even-handedness in the administration of justice. The Resident Magistrates ought to show their activity in deprecating all prejudices; they should endeavour to urge upon the unpaid magistracy the necessity of equally administering the law among different classes of men, and should provide this limited security, at all events—that whenever an unpaid magistrate was inclined to obey the bigotry of creed, or unduly to favour prejudice, a paid official should be there to point out how he ought to administer the law, and, at any rate, to dissent from their action when they refused to take his counsel. The country had a right to expect that men who were so highly paid by the State would use their influence on the side of impartiality and justice. Unfortunately it was not often that the paid magistracy of Ireland answered that description; its members were too frequently old soldiers or old sailors who had lived all their lives among persons of this particular class, and who made their appearance on the Bench of Ireland saturated with old prejudices. A paid magistrate was probably the younger son of a landlord who could get nothing else to do, and the paid magistracy had come to be regarded very much as the Church of England was once—namely, as a place where a comfortable living could be found for those who were fitted for nothing else. If the Government really desired to impress the people of Ireland with a sincere desire to inaugurate a new era and to make the law respected, one of their first steps ought to be to consider seriously the class of men whom they selected as Resident Magistrates. He was not speaking of one class more than another. There were good men of all classes, just as there were bad men, and it would be very easy for the Government to obtain the services of men who, if they were not trained in the law, would at least have some knowledge of the law, and be actuated by good intentions without being identified with either one side or the other in Ireland. He was afraid that the era foretold by the right hon. and learned Attorney General a short time ago was not yet quite at hand. It was all very well to talk of getting rid of religious prejudices in connection with Irish affairs; but the best way to hasten that time would be to take care to have, on every Magisterial Bench in Ireland, a man who, by his character and training, would not be inclined to lean to one side or the other, but who, in the name of the Government, would stand out firmly for a fair and equal administration of justice. The unpaid magistracy were very much like a flock of sheep—if they were led by one of themselves they would mostly go the wrong way; but if a paid magistrate were in every district among them he would take a firm and independent stand, and it would be found that very few Benches of local Justices would feel inclined to go against him. He might illustrate that by a fact which had occurred in the county of Sligo. Some time ago a well known gamekeeper—George Garton—went into a public-house to drink, and in the course of a squabble which ensued he knocked down a man, made an assault on the police, resisted arrest, defied any Papist to interfere in the matter, fired off his revolver, and when taken to the station took out a jack-knife to defend himself. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that that particular gamekeeper had for a long time kept this part of the country in a state of terror and commotion. He (Mr. Sexton) had had occasion, more than once, to call attention to his conduct. Garton went about firing off his gun in the yards of peaceable inhabitants, and he had excited so much hostility and resentment by his unprovoked acts of aggression that he had to go about escorted by the Emergency Police. A temporary barrack had been planted for his accommodation, and he (Mr. Sexton) was now told that it would become a permanent charge upon the locality. All that expense had been incurred solely for the sake of one ill-conditioned person who was a pest to the whole district. Attempts had been made to get his licence to carry arms taken away, but they had failed. It was then requested that some other Resident Magistrate should adjudicate upon the case; but the authorities replied that the Resident Magistrates were engaged elsewhere, and it was impossible to send one there. In the particular instance to which he had referred the case was proved up to the hilt; several witnesses spoke of seeing the man quarrelling in the road; they saw him strike a man without provocation, and then fire his revolver. The plea put forward in his behalf was that the revolver went off of itself. But it was an old Colt revolver which could not go off of itself, and very deliberate action was required to fire it off. Three charges were brought against him. The first was that he was drunk, and had unlawfully fired off firearms; the second was that he had unlawfully made use of firearms on the Queen's highway; and the third that he had assaulted the police in the execution of their duty. Could any man suppose that if a member of the popular Party in Ireland had been brought before a Resident Magistrate upon such a charge he would not have been sent to prison with all the hard labour that could be imposed upon him? In this case the punishment for the first offence was a fine, for the second also a fine, but for the third charge a man, on conviction, was liable to suffer six months' hard labour. But what happened to this man, George Garton, this riotous gamekeeper, who had been the principal cause of the proclamation of the district, and of the employment of an extra police force? Simply because he happened to be in the employment of Mr. Evelyn Ashley, the Member for the Isle of Wight, although the evidence was quite clear upon all the three charges, when a paid magistrate came to hear the case he found himself surrounded by friends of the man's employer. Having heard the evidence they retired and deliberated for an hour. He would do the Resident Magistrate the justice to suppose that he was engaged during the whole of that time in remonstrating with the other members of the Bench. He did not know how he could have been otherwise engaged for an entire hour. It could only be supposed that Mr. Henry Turner, the paid magistrate, was trying to bring his unpaid colleagues to reason. But when they returned into Court they held that of the three charges the drunkenness was not proved, although the man was staggering and falling about the road. They held further that the revolver went off accidentally; but they found him guilty of an assault upon the police, and for that offence they fined him £2. That was the way in which justice was administered in Ireland. He could only regard it as an exasperating farce, and the whole case terminated with a simple fine upon a blackguard for whose protection a police force had been saddled upon the district and made permanent. The inhabitants had repeatedly expressed their indignation. Why was an ill-conditioned man of this sort allowed to carry firearms? If he had not had this revolver in his pocket it was possible that he would have been much less aggressive and impudent, and he would have made himself far less offensive if he had known that in all probability he would have had to defend himself with his fists. So long as cases of this kind were tolerated in Ireland the administration of justice in that country would be looked upon with contempt. The people saw that a chartered bully, because he happened to be in the employment of a popular Member of Parliament, could do what he pleased; that he could get drunk, fire off his revolver in the high road, and have a police barrack erected for his protection. He (Mr. Sexton) had no doubt that the Attorney General, in appointing magistrates, always endeavoured to get the best men; but the best men were those who administered the law, and if this state of things were to be continued no respect whatever could be felt in Ireland for the administration of the law. Before he sat down he would like to know how it was that the Earl of Belfast had been so long retained in an important office in connection with the Commission of the Peace in the county of Antrim? At one time the noble Earl was in the 6th Regiment of Foot, and was regularly employed with his regiment, nevertheless he had been for 35 years Clerk of the Peace for the county of Antrim. He had drawn from that office in salary and fees about £1,600 a-year, and, therefore, he had pocketed from the public purse not far short of £60,000. But in the course of the 35 years during which he had been Clerk of the Peace he had never once been seen in the county of Antrim. He had never lived in that county at all, nor had he lived in Ireland; and if all the records were searched for the name of the Earl of Belfast it would be found that he had no address to which a letter could be sent except London. He employed a deputy at £200 a-year out of the £1,600 he received to do all the work. Yet the law declared that the Clerk of the Peace should sign certain documents—for instance, the Clerks of Unions sent in the list of voters and a list of claimants in order that they might be placed before the Revising Barrister. But the Earl of Belfast had signed none of those lists. The duty had been discharged by his deputy, and strong doubts had been expressed whether the law had not been violated, and whether the last election for the county of Antrim, which took place not very long ago, was not invalid because the Clerk of the Peace had not done any of those acts which the law declared he ought to do. The Earl of Belfast was the son of the Marquess of Donegal, and in the course of nature he would become a Peer. Was it legal that he should be Clerk of the Peace and a Peer of the Realm at the same time? He thought the case was unprecedented. The noble Earl's father was more than 80 years of age, and not likely to live very long. How did the Earl of Belfast acquire those fees? What was the tenure of it? Was there any possibility of his getting rid of it? It was a gross scandal that a man who had never done a stroke of work, and who lived regularly in London, should draw £1,600 a-year for 35 years as Clerk of the Peace for the county of Antrim; a man who had not even an address in Ireland. In these days, and in the present position of public affairs, he thought they had arrived at a time when persons of this kind would not be tolerated in preying as sinecurists upon the public purse. He asked the Government to inform him whether there were no means of relegating the Earl of Belfast to that private life he was so fitted to adorn, and to replace him in the office of the Clerk of the Peace in the county of Antrim by some person legally competent to perform the duties of the office?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought the case which had been mentioned by his hon. Friend of Mr. Evelyn Ashley's gamekeeper was one which ought to be looked into. It was simply scandalous that, because a man happened to be in the employment of the hon. Mr. Evelyn Ashley, and that Gentleman happening to be an official of the House of Commons, and a local landlord of high station, that this fellow should be able to disturb the peace of an entire locality, and bring upon it the stigma of having an additional police force quartered upon it, the inhabitants being compelled to pay the extra taxation that was rendered necessary. He, therefore, trusted that the Chief Secretary would be able to say that a case of this kind would be carefully looked into. Of course, the Chief Secretary could in no way interfere with the action of the magistrates in regard to it—that was all done and gone; but he could consider whether the licence to carry arms ought not to be taken away. Certainly, a man who went about the country drunk, and threatening the lives of Her Majesty's subjects, was really not a fit person to be entrusted with a licence to carry arms, especially when he had been convicted of firing off a revolver upon the highway. The case was a notorious one, and had been brought before the House several times by his hon. Friend; but hitherto his hon. Friend had found it impossible to obtain any satisfaction. He (Mr. O'Connor) had no hesitation in saying that the real reason was that this man had very powerful protectors; but he thought that even the high position of Mr. Evelyn Ashley ought not to be sufficient to protect the man from the ordinary process of the law. As to the second case which his hon. Friend had brought before the Committee—namely, the extraordinary anomaly of allowing the Earl of Belfast to hold the position of Clerk of the Peace in the county of Antrim—he trusted that that also would receive attention at the hands of the Government.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he thought it was necessary that he should stop the hon. Gentleman at once; and he regretted that he had not stopped the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) from entering into a discussion of this case. There was no item in the present Vote which affected either the gamekeeper, who had already occupied so much of the time of the Committee, nor did he find any reference in the Estimate to the Earl of Belfast. Indeed, he saw no mention of the Clerk of the Peace for the county of Antrim; and, therefore, the two matters which had been referred to at such great length ought not to occupy the further attention of the Committee. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was only now repeating the remarks which had already been made by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton).

MR. SEXTON wished to point out that the Vote included an item for the payment of Resident Magistrates in Ireland, and one of those Resident Magistrates was Mr. Turner, who, as he thought, had adjudicated wrongly and scandalously in the case of this gamekeeper. He was questioning the acts of the Resident Magistrate in the particular case to which he had called attention. So far as the Earl of Belfast was concerned, he had referred to that case in connection with the Vote for the office of Clerks of the Peace, and his object was to call attention to a circumstance which was regarded in the county of Antrim as a serious grievance.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must adhere to his ruling that it would be irregular to enter into those cases. So far as the Clerk of the Peace for the county of Antrim was concerned, although there was no mention of that officer in the Vote, he was far from saying that such matters should not be alluded to incidentally; but it would not be in Order to discuss at length the position of the Earl of Belfast in this particular county or in Ireland.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he should not have risen to address the Committee at all if the Chief Secretary had given any sign that he intended to reply to his hon. Friend. He would only add that it was a scandalous thing that any man should receive a salary for so many years without performing any service for it whatever. The case put forward by his hon. Friend in regard to this nobleman might have an important effect in regard to future legislation for Ireland. His hon. Friend the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) had already expressed an opinion that the recent election for the county of Antrim was rendered illegal by the non-performance of his duties by the Earl of Belfast.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, he should like to say one word as to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) in the earlier part of his remarks. In regard to the question of Resident Magistrates, there was a reduction in the Vote, although not a large one, amounting to £521. In regard to the question of extra magistrates, it seemed to him that the point raised by the hon. Member was entirely a question for the administration of the law in Ireland. The hon. Member rejoiced that it was not proposed to re-enact the Prevention of Crime Act; but he must remind hon. Members that if the Government allowed that Act to lapse, they were, at the same time, responsible for the preservation of life and property, and for the proper administration of the law in Ireland. If any further reduction could be made in the Vote, it would be a good omen for the future of the country; but the present Government had been but a very short period in Office, and there were questions which should only be dealt with on mature consideration. The hon. Member had alluded to the case of a gamekeeper in Sligo. It was the first he (Sir William Hart Dyke) had heard of the case, and he could only reply in regard to it as he would reply in any other case; that if full information were placed before him he would consider it his bounden duty to deal with it according to its merits. The hon. Member had also alluded to the case of the Earl of Belfast. He thought his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General had more information upon that case than he had, and he would ask his right hon. and learned Friend to explain the state of the matter with regard to the position held by the Earl of Belfast. He did not think he had any further remarks to make, and he trusted that after the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) heard the observations of the Attorney General he would be satisfied, and would allow the Government to take the Vote.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) said, he was not aware that any reference was about to be made to the case of the Earl of Belfast as occupying the position of Clerk of the Peace for the county of Antrim. He was unable to do more than give an explanation of the circumstances under which the Earl of Belfast occupied that position. He was quite willing to admit that the appointment of Clerks of the Peace had once been in a very unsatisfactory position. The position in which the Earl of Belfast stood was practically this—he occupied the position of Clerk of the Peace for life, and had virtually a freehold property in the office. He could not be dispossessed of his rights, and he had the right to appoint a deputy, and as long as that deputy discharged his duties faithfully there were no means by which the Earl of Belfast could be forced to attend personally to the business of the office, or could be held responsible for any neglect of his duties. In 1877, when his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was Chief Secretary for Ireland, a Bill was passed, the object of which was to bring into a position more in accordance with modern ideas the status of the Clerks of the Crown and Clerks of the Peace. The effect of the Act was to amalgamate the two offices, and to render it obligatory on the gentlemen who were appointed to perform the duties in person, for it was expected that when a new appointment was made the officer appointed would discharge the duties not only nominally but personally. That Act contained certain provisions which were intended to induce Clerks of the Crown and Clerks of the Peace, who were not performing the duties personally, to retire on equitable terms, and the scale offered to them was a pension amounting to two-thirds of their salary. He was happy to say that in a great many instances the object of that Statute had been carried out; and in many counties, where in the year 1877 there was a Clerk of the Crown or a Clerk of the Peace who for many years had had no connection with the county at all, those gentlemen were induced to retire on the terms offered to them, and the gentlemen who had been appointed since were bound to give personal attention to their duties. But the Statute to which he referred did not provide, nor could it do so, that a person who was entitled to a freehold office, and who was permitted to discharge the duties by deputy, should be deprived of his office. It was left to the gentlemen who held those appointments to avail themselves of the provisions of the Statute, and in some instances they had done so, while in others they refused to do so.

Mr. SEXTON asked how many of those freehold offices were still existing?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND said, he did not believe that there were more than two or three, and the Earl of Belfast held one of them. The position of the Earl of Belfast was this—he was appointed at a time when he had a right to nominate a deputy. As one of the terms of his appointment he had that right of appointing a deputy, and so long as the deputy discharged his duty so long would the Earl of Belfast have a right to be continued in the office. That arrangement could only be of a temporary character, because the Statute removed the anomaly in regard to fresh appointments. No doubt, in the course of a few years, all the officers appointed as Clerks of the Peace under the old system would cease; and he, for one, would not be sorry for it. It was the Government of the Earl of Beaconsfield which first directed the attention of the Irish Executive to the matter; and although it was impossible to go further at present, unless those officers retired of their own free will, in the course of a few years the legislation of 1877 would be carried out to the full extent, and there would be in Ireland, and in every county, a real Clerk of the Peace and Clerk of the Crown actively engaged in performing the duties of the office personally, and not by deputy. As a matter of fact, it was an arrangement which was already almost completely carried out in every county in Ireland.

Mr. MOLLOY said, his hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had referred to an opinion he had expressed in regard to the recent election for the county of Antrim. He was under the impression that the duties of the Clerk of the Peace in reference to Parliamentary elections were bound to be carried out by that officer in person. He might be mistaken, but he had a strong impression to that effect, and that the personal attendance of the Clerk of the Peace was made compulsory. In this particular case the Earl of Belfast had never put his hand to an hour's work; he had never done anything for the county whatever, and yet he had drawn from it an annual salary which amounted, during the years he had held the office, to nearly £60,000. He certainly thought that that was purely an imposition upon the taxpayers.

Mr. SEXTON asked from whom, and in what form, this gentleman acquired the office, and were they to understand that Parliament had no power to pass an Act obliging him to retire?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND said, that Parliament, of course, had power to pass any Act it pleased; but the rule, in matters of this kind, was that a person should not be interfered with as long as he conducted the business of the office properly. In this case the Earl of Belfast had the right to appoint a deputy, and so long as the deputy faithfully performed the duties the rule was that he should not be interfered with. The only thing the Statute of 1877 did was to hold out inducements to those gentlemen to retire, and to make a different arrangement when the office became vacant. He was quite sure that the hon. Member would not, for the sake of the two or three gentlemen who were holding appointments vested in them before the Act was passed, and who were acting, unquestionably, under powers given them by Statute, interfere with a principle which was founded on what was generally considered to be just in such matters.

Mr. SEXTON asked whether the Lord Lieutenant had the power of making the appointment, or, if not, who had?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND thought that at the time the appointment of the Earl of Belfast was made it was in the gift of the Lieutenant of the county, and the person appointed had the right to hold the office during his life, and could not be deprived of it or the emoluments attached to it, except some malfeisance was shown in connection with the performance of the duties. The Clerk of the Peace himself had the right to appoint a deputy, and as long as he performed his duties properly no change could be made.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the Chief Secretary for Ireland had stated that it was the great desire of the Government to carry out the law. But this Vote was itself a violation of the law. There was a violation of the law last year, and a violation of the law the year before. The Resident Magistrates were allowed certain salaries by Act of Parliament, which were fixed and limited to a certain sum; but some of those Resident Magistrates were receiving a salary in excess of the sum allowed by Act of Parliament. That fact had been pointed out by the Comptroller and Auditor General, and it was not the first time that attention had been called to a similar circumstance. No doubt the late Government were responsible for these Estimates, and on those occasions when a flaw was pointed out they brought in a Bill to cover the illegality; but that Bill did not pass into law, and he was not aware that any satisfactory explanation had yet been given. Therefore, those payments in excess were still illegal, and were altogether contrary to the law, which the Chief Secretary was so anxious to see administered. The observation which was made by the financial officer of the Government in regard to the matter was that the Vote for the Resident Magistrates included payments to them in excess of those which were authorized. That expenditure was provided for in a Supplementary Estimate, and the payment was not made until the Supplementary Estimate was passed. In order, however, to put the matter right, the late Government introduced a Bill; but it did not become law. The payments in question were illegal, and had remained illegal; and yet it was proposed now to continue the illegality. If hon. Members would look at the Estimates, they would find that a sum of £43,000 was voted last year, and that there was also a Supplementary Vote amounting to £1,000, making a total of £44,000. The Estimate this year was still £44,000 odd, so that those payments, which were admittedly illegal, were to be continued in the present year. If the late Government had continued in Office, they would certainly have had this matter brought before them. The last three Chief Secretaries were perfectly well aware that the Vote had been challenged. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was also aware of it, and yet not a single one of those officials was present to defend their own Estimates. It really seemed as if the Liberal Party cared for Office, and nothing but Office. When the occasion arrived when they certainly would be expected to defend the Vote they had themselves drawn up, and which they knew would be challenged, not a single Member of the late Government put in an appearance. Of course, the present Government could not be expected to account for these Estimates. The present Government could do no more than take the Estimates of their Predecessors; but he did not see how they could defend and recognize a clear infringement of the law. No attempt had been made to account for the omission to secure the passing of the Bill brought in by the late Government, which was intended to rectify the error they had committed, or to account for the non-revision of the Vote in the Estimates now placed upon the Paper. Under those circumstances, he did not see how the Government could resist the proposal to reduce the Vote by the sum of £1,000, which it would be illegal to disburse. He was interested to know what answer to that challenge the ingenuity of the present Cabinet could devise. He had drawn their attention to the fact, and he knew, of his own personal knowledge, that the circumstances he had stated were correct.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, that he had intended to refer to that point, and he was obliged to the hon. Member for having called his attention to the omission. It was perfectly true that four divisional magistrates had been paid a sum in excess of what they were entitled to, and it was true that it had been provided for in a Supplementary Vote. The hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), who at the time filled the Office of Secretary to the Treasury, did bring in a Bill last year to try and remedy the difficulty; but the hon. Member did not succeed, and, of course, during the short time the present Government had been in Office, they had not been able to prepare a Bill to deal with the matter in the remainder of the present Session. At the same time, it was quite true that he had had his attention called to the point, and he had no doubt that a warning would be taken in order to prevent a similar irregularity in the future. But the hon. Member must be aware that it had been impossible to devote to the matter the attention which it deserved; and it would not be expected that, on behalf of the Government, he could be prepared to say exactly how the irregularity ought to be dealt with. He would only say that the matter ought to be dealt with as soon as practicable.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £880,091, to complete the sum for the Constabulary, Ireland.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said, that a Notice stood upon the Paper in his name in reference to this Vote, and it had been placed there by him as an alternative to raising the question again of District Inspector Murphy. As the Committee would remember, he had already had an opportunity of going into the merits of that case, and he did not propose to go again into the question. He had only risen now for the purpose of asking the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary if he had yet had time to fulfil the pledge which he had given on that occasion to the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy)? It would be recollected that the right hon. Gentleman, on the occasion to which he referred, said that he had only had time to inform himself cursorily of the facts of the case, and that he did not see his way to granting the inquiry which was asked for; but he expressed his willingness to consider any new facts or new evidence which might be brought to his knowledge in reference to the matter. The right hon. Gentleman also gave a distinct pledge to the hon. Member for King's County on one particular point. That point was this. The acts of insubordination alleged against District Inspector Murphy were dealt with at the time they took place. District Inspector Murphy was punished for them; and the contention, therefore, was that the offence had not only been purged by the punishment then inflicted, but also condoned by subsequent commendations from District Inspector Murphy's superior officer. That point did not seem to be within the knowledge of the right hon. Gentleman on the previous occasion, and he promised to inquire into the matter. He (Mr. Redmond) had, therefore, risen now to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he had yet had time to fulfil that pledge, and if he would be prepared to consider any statement of new facts and new evidence which might be placed before him on behalf of District Inspector Murphy? Upon the answer he received would depend whether he pressed the Motion of which he had given Notice.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY said, the hon. Member had correctly stated the nature of the pledge he had given, and he was sorry that he had not been able to carry it out as fully as he desired. He had, however, made an inquiry to a certain extent, and, as far as he could gather, the acts of insubordination on the part of District Inspector Murphy went on up to February, 1884. He had not, however, got all the information he would like to have, and it was probable that when he went over to Ireland he would be able to obtain more. As far as he had been able to ascertain, the acts of insubordination did go on until February, 1884.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND said, the right hon. Gentleman had not quite met the point he had raised. The question he had asked was whether the acts of insubordination had not been punished at the time they were committed, and whether the offence was not purged in consequence; further, whether, in any case, the insubordination of District Inspector Murphy was not condoned by the subsequent commendations which he received from his superior officer? The information he had obtained went to show that, up to a very recent period antecedent to his dismissal, District Inspector Murphy received favourable records from his superior officer, so that any acts of insubordination must have been condoned. He (Mr. Redmond) fully appreciated the difficulties of the right hon. Gentleman, coming, as he did, new to the Office; and he was not disposed to censure the right hon. Gentleman after his statement that he had not yet had time to go as fully into the details of a somewhat complicated case as he would like. He would, therefore, be content if the right hon. Gentleman would promise to inquire further into the matter, and to consider any new facts connected with the case which might be brought before him. He was only anxious to discharge his duty to District Inspector Murphy, and to submit all the facts of the case to the right hon. Gentleman.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Holmes) said, he had had an opportunity of looking at the Papers which his right hon. Friend had asked for, and he found that the first occasion on which District Inspector Murphy was reprimanded was in 1881. It was undoubtedly the fact that in 1882 he was favourably commended; but it would appear that there had been other acts of insubordination in the interim. The information he had received was to this effect. Colonel Bruce said that although it was quite true a favourable record was given in 1882, the insubordination was subsequently repeated so late as the month of February, 1884, and even down to the months of June and July in the same year. The Government had received that information; but neither his right hon. Friend nor himself had had an opportunity of inquiring into the nature or character of the alleged acts of insubordination which were committed in 1884. They would be fully investigated, both by himself and his right hon. Friend; and if the hon. Member had any further information to lay before the Government it would be received and duly considered.

Mr. MARUM asked for some information in regard to the manner in which the redistribution of the Constabulary had been carried out in Ireland, and what the intentions of the Government were in regard to it, especially as the redistribution affected his own county of Kilkenny. He found, in reference to the redistribution of the Constabulary which the Government had made in obedience to an Act of Parliament, that the total force for the county of Kilkenny was put down at 350. He now found, from the official documents received from the County Inspector, that the entire number for the county of Kilkenny was placed at 365; and he wanted to know what the explanation was of this increase of 15 additional constables? There had been a meeting of the magistrates to consider what force was required in the month of November at Kilkenny, and a resolution was passed asking for a reduction of 10 men. A Petition had been presented on behalf of the Grand Jury, and unanimously adopted at the last Lent Assizes, objecting to the excessive number and the extra charge for the force. No objection would be made to the extra force if it were not charged upon the rates of the county. The officials were called into the Grand Jury room, and gave information that 40 or 50 additional constables were necessary for the ordinary protection of the county without regard to the Prevention of Crime Act, and, therefore, they ought to be placed there as a regular and not as a special force. At the present moment a sum of £1,700 a-year was charged upon the rates of the county for the extra force, and the popular idea was that the extra force was not required, and that the regular force was amply sufficient to do the ordinary work of the county. The imposition of this charge was regarded by the taxpayers as a grievous evil, and the notion was that the county were called upon to pay permanently for an extra force, although in regard to the protection of life and the preservation of peace and order the county had returned to its normal position.

COLONEL NOLAN wished to revert back again to the case of District Inspector Murphy. He thought it was somewhat extraordinary that the Inspector General of Constabulary should have power to dismiss an officer summarily for insubordination. He was of opinion that if any gentleman in the Army had such a power conferred upon him it would be certain to be abused. His temper would often get the better of him, and in such a case as not looking after the care of the pickles, or something of that kind, he would probably do some extraordinary act arising simply from ill-temper or haste. Under such circumstances, to give to any officer the power of arbitrary dismissal would be to run the risk of having the power grossly abused. He certainly failed to see why the Inspector General of Constabulary should be in a different position from a General of Brigade. This power did not, at the present moment, rest even with the Commander-in-Chief so far as the Regular Army was concerned; and whenever a charge was made against even the lowest soldier in the ranks he could not be summarily dealt with until after he had undergone the ordeal of a court martial. He did not see why a similar course should not be pursued with regard to the Constabulary. There ought to be the protection which a court martial afforded in the Army, and the court should be open to the public, so that the whole country should be made acquainted with the grounds of complaint, and should be able to see whether the person who was accused was properly treated or not. Every officer dismissed arbitrarily without inquiry would naturally smart under a sense of wrong. District Inspector Murphy was dismissed for acts of insubordination in writing letters to his superior officer. He (Colonel Nloan) had been told by an officer in the Army that he had only written two clever letters in his life, and that he had got into so much trouble about one of them that he never intended to write another. It must be borne in mind that the letters written by District Inspector Murphy only came before his superior officer; but, as they had not been produced, the House did not know whether they were subordinate or insubordinate. But, no matter what their character was, at any rate they had had the effect of taking away the value of 20 years' previous service. That was a very extraordinary and severe punishment, and he did not think that the power of inflicting it should be left in the hands of any one man. No matter how good a General they might have in the Army, if they conferred upon him such a power it would be resented by every officer in the Service; and he did not see why they should put the Constabulary officers in Ireland on a different footing from the soldiers in the Regular Army. He was glad that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had intimated that he would inquire further into the matter. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would go fully into all the Papers, and see if the acts of insubordination alleged to have been committed by District Inspector Murphy were of such a character that so severe a punishment was rendered necessary. He had no doubt that District Inspector Murphy had written improper letters which ought not to have been written; but the Inspector General ought to have given him an opportunity of withdrawing them. The punishment which had been inflicted seemed to him to have been an unnecessarily severe punishment, and one that was contrary to all military discipline, and would not be tolerated in any Military Service in the world, not even in that of Russia. The Emperor of Russia dared not give such a power to any of his officers, and certainly the exercise of such a power would not for one moment be tolerated in the Civil Service of this country. It was a power utterly uncalled for and altogether unnecessary, and he thought that the Chief Secretary for Ireland ought to inquire into the matter most carefully, and be prepared to take full responsibility for confirming the action of the Inspector General. He now proposed to enter into a different matter, which was a pure matter of business raised by the speech of the hon. Member for Kilkenny (Mr. Marum). He objected to the manner in which the Estimates had been drawn up, and he thought it was important to know how much was credited to each county. That fact did not appear on the face of the Estimates. He had often found fault with the manner in which the Estimates were drawn up in that respect, not only in regard to Ireland, but in reference to the Army. The Government brought forward prominently something apparently small and insignificant, and included it as a permanent item. General attention was accordingly drawn to it, while more important points were hidden away, and no attention directed to them in the Estimates. He complained that the Estimates had been so drawn up that the really important information they ought to contain did not appear on the face of them. For instance, the Estimates should show the number of Constabulary credited to each county, and the amount charged to each county for their cost. As regarded his own county (Galway), by a system of jugglery, and by not publishing the full details in the Estimates, it would appear that the county was paying for 510 men, whereas they were in reality paying for 570. He found, among other things, that, although the actual force employed in any county might be only 500, yet it appeared in the Estimates as in reality 20 per cent more, owing to deductions that were made for sickness and other causes. He thought that so large a percentage was altogether extravagant, and he had always attributed it to the natural inclination of the heads of the depôt at Dublin to have everything smart there at the expense of other localities. The authorities at the depôt, therefore, drew a large number of men from the counties and kept them at the depôt; but they were charged upon the counties, although they were never employed there. For instance, there was a band maintained at Dublin which was contributed to by the force at large. He did not object to that band; it was a very good band indeed, and he had heard it at the Exhibition the other day; but he did object to the cost of that band being charged upon the counties. It ought to be charged upon the National Exchequer, and there ought to be someone to see that the counties were not cheated by being required to pay for the services of men who were never employed by them, but were simply maintained in order to keep things smart in a different locality. In the Army there was a regular committee of officers to deal with the band question, and to see that no undue charge fell upon the National Exchequer. But that was not the case in regard to the Royal Irish Constabulary; and until they had some regular official appointed in Dublin, or had a Chief Secretary who was an Irish Member, they would never be able to deal with those matters. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would look into the question, he would find that a very large expenditure was unnecessarily incurred for work that in the Army was simply done by the Adjutant of a regiment, or by a Brigade Major in camp, or the Adjutant General in the case of a large Army. These were matters of very great importance, especially when it was borne in mind that they were dragging the county rates out of men with very small means, forming very attenuated holdings, and that they never succeeded in getting back from the landlords one-half of the amount they paid. He suggested that there ought to be a central depôt from which proper men could be sent down as supervisors to the counties, and more attention would then be devoted to this question. He thought that the amount which the counties had to pay for extra police should appear clearly on the Estimates. If the Chief Secretary would look into this practice, which he (Colonel Nolan) contended ought to be entirely abolished, he thought he would be doing good service.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the subject to which his hon. and gallant Friend had referred was brought before the House four years ago, and it had also been brought prominently forward by his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) during last Session. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had expressed his opinion that the system should be inquired into; and perhaps they might, under the new Government, be able to get some kind of redress. It seemed to him that the whole system in regard to this Vote was unusual, and there was one clear violation of recognized principle of Government finance, which would strike anyone who had followed the Estimates for some time. On page 311 there was, under the Sub-head L, a gross charge of £34,000 for Rent of Barracks; but the sum actually charged was only £7,500, because there was a deduction of £26,000, which was obtained by stoppages from men accommodated in barracks (46 & 47 *Vict.* c. 14, s. 2). Well, he said that that appropriation under a Civil Service Vote was altogether abnormal; the Government had no right whatever to take the extra receipts in aid on a Civil Service Vote. It required the sanction of Parliament to allow extra receipts, in the case of the Army, to be taken in aid of the Vote, and not paid into the Exchequer. According to the established system, all those receipts ought to be paid into the Exchequer; but, instead of that, the sum of £26,500 had been handed over for the purpose of reducing by that amount an item of £31,000 on the Estimates. He regretted that the Financial Secretary to the Treasury was not in his place, because he would have appreciated the force of that argument, and would at once have recognized the fact that those who were responsible for drawing up the Estimate had acted against the whole policy of financial administration, at any rate as far as these Estimates were concerned. The effect of this departure from established rule was that the Department was enabled to play with a large sum of money, the appropriation of which practically escaped the control of Parliament. For his own part, he thought that the Committee would do right in rejecting this Vote, and requiring another Vote to be submitted in the proper form. Then, again, with regard to an item on page 305 for compensation for loss through being Boycotted, which last year was put down at £60. It seemed to him that the Department of the Treasury had here done a distinctly illegal thing, and the Committee had no assurance that the illegality would not be committed this year. The heading, "Compensation for Loss through being Boycotted," was printed in italics, showing that the charge was incurred last year; there was no charge for the present year. But if hon. Members would turn to last year's Estimate, they would find that there was no such heading at all. The money was not voted; it had been taken out of the baronies, and had been sanctioned by the Treasury, but not by the House of Commons. He objected to the Treasury taking upon itself to pay away public money on such a Vote as this. No doubt, several persons had lost from being Boycotted; but if they had no friends to assist them they had their remedy at law, and they could proceed for damages if they could prove that they had sustained special damages; but the Government had no right to spend money voted for a special service in Ireland to make good any losses sustained by those who made themselves obnoxious to persons connected with them, or because, in other words, they had been Boycotted. The whole proceeding was illegal. This particular sum of £60 was spent last year, and his complaint was that it was never voted. The Comptroller and Auditor General said that the authority for this seemed to be a Treasury letter of the year 1882. The Treasury had taken upon themselves to authorize a particular payment out of a Vote which had nothing whatever to do with it. As the Committee had no means of knowing that the same illegality would not be repeated hereafter, he asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to give them an assurance that there should be no such illegal payment as this next year.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY said, there was a point to which he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary in connection with this Estimate, and that was the sending of police reporters to take down the words of speakers at public meetings in Ireland. The subject had been brought under the notice of the Government in the course of a debate which took place last year, and a promise in respect of it had been extracted from one of the many Predecessors in Office of the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary. On the occasion in question the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) gave a promise to the effect that, as far as possible, those police reporters should not be sent to public meetings in Ireland. For himself, the right hon. Gentleman had said he should be very glad if the authorities could be induced to say that at public meetings in Ireland, attended by Members of Parliament, shorthand writers should be dispensed with; and he had expressed the hope that that state of things would shortly pass away. However, Government shorthand writers were still sent to public meetings in Ireland, and no attempt had been made to carry out the promise of the right hon. Gentleman the

Member for the Border Burghs. It was that of which hon. Members on those Benches complained—Government spies or reporters being still sent to the meetings. It was absurd to imagine that any Nationalist Member or speaker, addressing an auditory of his countrymen, was at all likely to be intimidated or to alter his speech by the presence of Government reporters. If he altered it in any direction, he would probably make it more extreme; he would be inclined to comment more strongly on the Government when he saw that the authorities were inclined to send down reporters. At any rate, the reporters of the police were useless; they were supposed to know how to write shorthand; but, according to the received authorities, the art could only be properly exercised by men regularly engaged in the work of reporting. Charles Dickens had said it was as difficult to learn shorthand as to learn six modern languages. Certainly, the average police reporter was not a man likely to be able to learn six languages. On former occasions in Ireland, when Daniel O'Connell found that he was being followed by police reporters, he spoke to his audience in the native tongue, and so baffled those persons. He (Mr. J. H. M'Carthy) asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to say that he would fulfil the promise given by his Predecessor (Mr. Trevelyan), and see that these particularly obnoxious persons should not be allowed to attend the meetings. They were of no use whatever, and only served strongly to irritate the Irish people, and to cause an amount of ill-feeling and disturbance which could only be injurious to the administration of any Government in Ireland. The amount of crime and disturbance in Ireland had really diminished, and he thought he was right in saying that the Judges at the Assizes had, in many cases, commented with emphasis on the remarkable absence of crime; whilst magistrates at Quarter Sessions had, in very many cases, also received the customary compliments of pairs of white gloves. Such conditions as those afforded a strong argument for removing such irritating exhibitions as the presence of police reporters at public meetings, and also a strong argument against the maintenance of extra police. There was another point to which he desired to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. There was in Cork a Resident Magistrate called Captain Plunkett, who had succeeded in making himself obnoxious by the manner in which he had acted in the ingenious manipulation of the body of which he had control. There was one point in particular to which he had called the attention of the late Chief Secretary last year, and in respect of which there had since been no alteration whatever. Captain Plunkett had an ingenious method quite his own, and, as far as he knew, not followed by any of his fellow-magistrates, of endeavouring to make the body of police under his control as obnoxious as possible to the persons with whom they came in contact. He thought the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would do well to direct his attention to that matter.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR said, he had to make some remarks on the charge of £36,560 which appeared under Sub-head G for Clothing. They, in Ireland, complained that vast sums of money were spent by the official class in Dublin Castle every year, and that the ratepayers derived little or no benefit or advantage from that expenditure; and that those sums of money found their way into the pockets of people in Scotland and England. Now, the labourers and artizans in Ireland had formed the idea that they had something to expect from the present Government, and certainly the labourers were justified in coming to that conclusion, because the Government were actually dealing with a measure which they hoped would greatly improve their condition. Owing to the presence in the Cabinet of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), the artizans also had formed the opinion that the present Government was interested in the industrial movement in Ireland, and were very anxious to improve the industrial condition of the country. Added to that, there was the interest which the Chief Secretary had in Irish affairs, and from all that they felt justified in believing that something would result before long. They had this item of £36,560 for clothing the Police Force in Ireland, and certainly the traders and manufacturers of Ireland thought that a portion of that very large sum might find its way into the pockets of the Irish people. It was a subject he knew on which the Government could not then be expected to give a final answer; but it was one worthy of the attention of the Government, and if they were anxious on the matter he was sure that they could get enough cloth for clothing their men in Ireland, although they might not perhaps be able to get the exact kind of cloth they were in the habit of using. He hoped that the subject would engage the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, because it would show that the expectations which the artizan class had formed in this matter were not quite without foundation. At one of the meetings he had had the honour of addressing lately, the people were so impressed with these ideas, that, to his surprise, he heard cheers given for the Tories, and he hoped that the result would show that the good opinion formed of them was justified. There was another subject connected with this Vote which he thought demanded explanation at the hands of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman, having been in Office but a short time, might not, of course, be able to answer him that evening fully; but he should be glad to have such a reply as the right hon. Gentleman was able to give. He asked what had occurred in the county of Waterford to justify the authorities in charging the people there with £2,000? Judging by what had been stated to be the condition of the county, they were under the impression that there was little or no crime there; and, in fact, the Chairman of Quarter Sessions had congratulated the jurors that there was absolutely no crime. The only crime committed there had been done by a soldier. There was an affray in which an unfortunate person had been killed. But in spite of that state of things in all the divisions of the county, the Government still charged this peaceable county £2,000 a-year for extra police. The right hon. Gentleman, as he had said, might not be in a position to give a satisfactory explanation of that very heavy charge on this county; but he asked him to communicate with the authorities in Ireland, and to state to the House at a future day what had justified the use of extra police in the county of Waterford. If the right hon. Gentleman preferred it, he would put a Notice on the Paper for Tuesday, and by that time probably the right hon. Gentleman would be able to state the particulars of the case.

MR. SEXTON said, he wished to join with his hon. Friend the Member for Athlone (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy) in his comments upon the irritating and useless custom of sending police reporters to public meetings. The practice would be objectionable under any circumstances; but it became not only objectionable, but folly, when applied to Members of the National Party in Ireland. The Orangemen in Ireland might do as they pleased; they might defy the law, they might threaten to kick the Queen's Crown, and yet the Government never interfered. They never sent a reporter, still less one of Gurney's staff, to take down those flowers of rhetoric. But if a Nationalist addressed a meeting in the most proper language he would find that there were two reporters at least taking down his words. He had himself been often obliged to provide those reporters with chairs at the meetings he had attended during his stay in Ireland, and to place them in a position of safety. He knew that words uttered by someone else at a meeting had been attributed to him by official reporters; and if Gurney's reporters made a mistake, how much more likely were police reporters to do so in these cases? If a meeting were illegal it could be suppressed; but it was exceedingly mean to endeavour to entrap speakers at Provincial meetings by sending police reporters there. If the Government wanted to prosecute a man they could bring him before a packed jury, and Messrs. Bolton and Anderson would do it for them in a moment. Therefore, he did not see why so much care should be taken to send these reporters to public meetings, because nothing in the nature of accurate evidence was necessary, unfortunately, to get a conviction. He hoped that no more would be heard of this practice. He thought the time had come when they might claim an explanation from the Government on the subject of extra police; and he trusted that they would henceforward give up these extra police altogether. Now that life and property in Ireland were safe, and there was nothing but ordinary crime to deal with, he trusted that the Government would fall back on the ordinary law. He said that the people of Ireland should be relieved of charges under this head, and not be required to pay any more than for the actual quota of police employed. Then, he would ask whether it was a fact that some of the Irish police were employed in Great Britain? He remembered that not long ago some Irish policemen followed respectable Irishmen in London. He himself happened to be once at a restaurant with a friend; he was told that there were detectives present; his three friends took a cab, and the detectives also took a cab; they went to the Princess's Theatre, and the three detectives went there too. He gave the present Government credit for stopping short, in some degree, of the imbecility which the late Government had displayed in the management of Irish affairs. He understood, however, that there was still a corps of about 50 Irish detectives in Great Britain, and that those men, distributed over Liverpool, Leeds, Glasgow, and other large towns, still lurked about public halls where meetings were held; they were always to be found in the vicinity. There were other capacities in which those men could be employed, if necessary, that would be of more use to the State. Then, again, the funds given for the preservation of rivers were not effectual, at any rate they had not the effect of making those who received the money carry out the law. Only a short time ago, at Gweedore, where two or three English gentlemen leased a portion of a salmon river, a boy of 15 was found in possession of a spear or gaff. He was instantly seized by a constable, and accused of endeavouring to take salmon. That incident occurred in the middle of the day, when the constable clearly had no right to interfere; however, he took upon himself to do so; and when the mother of the boy came on the scene, and endeavoured to protect her child, the policeman drove the spear into her wrist. The boy was taken to the police barrack and locked up. The father went there and demanded his son's release; but that demand, notwithstanding that the case was one for the issue of a summons, and not for summary arrest, was refused. Would the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary say whether or not the police were to be allowed to continue conduct of that kind? It was not the duty of the police, nor the duty of the Government, to allow the police to make themselves the agents of private persons for the protection of their private interests. The people who had salmon rivers ought to watch and preserve those rivers by means of their own keepers and water bailiffs, or, if they did not, the duty should be undertaken by the Conservancy Boards. At any rate, the police should not turn themselves into the under-strappers of the people who owned salmon rivers. There could be no doubt that the expenditure of this million and odd of money, according as its distribution was good, tended to the promotion of peace and order in Ireland, and according as it was ill-judged and corrupt tended to disorder and discontent. He contended that the secret of success with the Constabulary Force was this—to keep the men at their proper duty. The vicious principle adopted by the Irish Government in the past had practically resulted in this—that the honest policeman who did his duty fairly between man and man had slight chance of promotion; whilst the constable who put on list slippers and listened in door ways, who collected the gossip of neighbours, suborned perjury, and threatened a prisoner that unless he swore up to the mark a terrible punishment awaited him, was the practitioner who obtained promotion. A glance at the list of honours and rewards bestowed upon the Irish Constabulary during the past few weeks would show that the trickster and perjurer had had chevrons and stripes and money benefits conferred upon him, and had been lauded in the Reports of the Constabulary, whilst the man who had contented himself with an honest performance of his duty had been left to starve on his legal salary. Would they, he would like to ask, have a repetition of the case of the policeman Barclay, who disguised himself as a blacksmith, at Tubbercurry, and worked there at a forge? The Government had sent that man down there in a blacksmith's jacket, had supplied him with the means to light a forge, and as he had gone on with his work he had attempted to lure innocent young men of the district into crime. Would conduct of that kind be repeated? He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would never allow the

Queen's uniform to be so degraded in the future, nor allow public money to be so misapplied. The case of Constable Lynch, at Barbavilla, was fresh in the minds of hon. Members. That man had obtained evidence by telling a man that unless he swore to a meeting at Widow Fagan's to put certain persons into penal servitude he would have to go into penal servitude himself. Then there was the case of Sub-Inspector Gibbons, who had worked up the Maamtrasna trials. He had worked up the case so as to satisfy a Green Street Special Jury; but who was satisfied with that case now? The Government had had to re-open it; and it had been a cause of grave social excitement in Ireland, and would continue to be so until it was settled. The spectre of Myles Joyce, hanged for a crime with which he had had nothing to do, would haunt every Irish Executive until his memory had been vindicated. They found that such was the favour secured in Ireland by Sub-Inspector Gibbons through sending an innocent man to the gallows and four innocent men to penal servitude that he was able to hold the positions of District Inspector of Irish Constabulary and Lieutenant Colonel of the Egyptian Forces—he did not know whether there was any pay attached to the latter post. Inspector Gibbons was a "Bey" in Egypt. There was no reward which was too great for the man who either committed a useful perjury himself, or induced someone esle to do so; and he trusted that in this matter the Government would in the future pursue a course at right angles with that hitherto adopted. He would give two instances to exhibit the kind of fair play practised by the police in Ireland. The other day, at Dungannon, the Orange faction lit bonfires in celebration of the anniversary of the day which threw Irish Catholics into misery. That was painful to the Catholics—it was virtually celebrating their subjection and their misery, and they could not tolerate it; but the police stood round those bonfires. They not only allowed them, but bestowed upon them the favour of their presence. Well, in Kilkenny the other night, a Catholic Bishop was coming home from Rome. He was a Prelate of so eminent a zeal, and of so keen a desire for the social harmony of all classes of the Irish people, that he (Mr. Sexton) did not think respect for him was limited to one class. But while the procession was passing along the street a lieutenant threw up the window of the barrack, thrust his sword out, and shouted to the crowd that they were "rebels, Fenians, and Papists." He repeated that proceeding on the return of the procession, and if it had not been for the influence exercised over the people by the eminent Prelate they were honouring the town would have been in a state of tumult and disorder. As an evidence of the partial manner in which the law was put into force in Ireland, it would suffice to again call attention to the case of Sub-Sheriff Ormsby, himself a guardian of the law, who was found the other day, lying drunk and helpless in the street, and was carried away by the police on a stretcher. That gentleman was not brought up at the police court and charged with drunkenness as an ordinary citizen or peasant would have been; and he (Mr. Sexton) could not, under those circumstances, help reflecting that in connection with any further legislative measures which might be considered necessary for Ireland the Government would recognize the fact that those laws were best which were best administered. All the Government had to do to make the Constabulary Force effective and remove its unpopularity was to teach each man in it that the countenance of authority and the favour and good-will of those who were set over him would depend on his remembering every day of his service, and in every action of his life, the terms of the oath he took on entering the Force, which was to "do his duty without fear, favour, or affection, without malice or ill-will."

MR. DEASY said, that before the Chief Secretary got up to reply he should like to ask what the intention of the Government was with regard to the employment of extra policemen. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had pointed out that owing to the fact that the Prevention of Crime Act was to die out the extra police force quartered under that Act would have to be withdrawn. The number of extra police who had been quartered on the people under that Act was merely nominal as compared with the number quartered on them under the Act of William IV. After a great deal of cross-questioning the Irish Members had elicited from the then Chief Secretary the information which they now had before them as to the number of extra men the ratepayers of Ireland had had to pay for the last 10, 12, or 15 years. In fact, so long had that being going on, and so little attention had been paid to it by the Government of the day, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) had been actually unable to state the period during which many thousands of men were stationed in certain districts in Ireland —for instance, in the county of Cork, where the annual charge on the rates for those men was not less than £10,000. When the Irish Members asked under what circumstances those men had been stationed there, the Chief Secretary had been absolutely unable to afford them any information whatever. The expiration of the Prevention of Crime Act would relieve the people from taxation for extra police to a certain limited extent; but the people objected to pay the remainder. When they took into consideration the question of the redistribution of police in Ireland and the reduction of the total number of constables in that country, the Government should have borne in mind the great difficulty they had experienced in collecting the extra police tax in certain parts of Ireland. For instance, in the county of Cork, it was only when goats, and donkeys, and other property were seized that the authorities had been able to obtain this 2*s*. or 3*s*. a-head from the ratepayers. In many places processes had been issued for 2*d*., 3*d*., and 6*d*., and so on. The payment of the tax was frequently resisted. The people resisted it because they believed there was no necessity for those extra men at all. The county of Cork had been singularly quiet for the past two or three years. In fact, there was scarcely a Quarter Sessions where the Chairman did not consider it his duty to comment on the marked absence of the crimes which might render the imposition of that tax necessary. If there had been any reason for the quartering of extra police on them the people would have been glad to pay the tax; but no such reason could be assigned. The quartering of the men on the ratepayers was an injustice. With regard to the number of extra men in Cork City, the hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Irish Party (Mr. Parnell) had, on more than one occasion, raised a question in that House, and for a long time he had been unable to get the Chief Secretary of the day to accede to any alteration in the law, or to any reduction of the extra police force in the City. But at the end of last Session he induced the Government to give a promise that a short Act would be passed which would enable the Lord Lieutenant to redistribute the free force in Ireland with a view to relieving such a City as Cork of the enormous charges which were now put on it for this extra force. He would remind the Committee that the amount paid by the ratepayers of the City of Cork in respect of extra police had been very close on £20,000. It could not be denied—indeed, no Member of the Government of the Queen had ever sought to deny—that Cork was one of the most peaceable cities in the United Kingdom. The criminal records showed in a most conclusive manner that crime and disorder were singularly absent from the South of Ireland. Under those circumstances, why it was that the ratepayers of Cork should be subjected to an annual charge of £1,000 for the purpose of keeping up this enormous force was more than he could understand. Of course, those who were acquainted with the circumstances of the last couple of years would attribute it to the fact that they had in their midst in Cork a gentleman named Captain Plunkett, a gentleman who, for his own glorification, kept no less than 20 constables about him, either in plain clothes or in uniform. The presence of this person in the City was enough to drive people to desperation. The fact of his being seen strutting about with nothing to do and followed by a large number of policemen was quite enough to irritate the people and make them disorderly. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would, perhaps, tell the Committee in reply to these observations what the Government intended to do with these official Resident Magistrates on their offices being abolished. What Captain Plunkett and his men did he did not know. They did not do ordinary street duty—they were never known to do more than arrest a man or prevent a street fight now and then. As to regulating the traffic or doing anything of that kind they would not stoop to it. It was altogether below them. The police in Ireland sought to exercise over the people more control than even the magistracy exercised in England, or, perhaps, in any other part of the world. The state of things in the City of Cork was this. The free Police Force was nominally 150 men, but in reality it did not number more than 140; because, for some reason or other which did not appear quite clear, eight or 10 men were generally away from the City—or, at any rate, the people did not see them. No return was made of them, but the Government charged for them and for an extra force, notwithstanding that if the City had the full number of the free police, 150 men, the peace would be efficiently preserved, and there would be no necessity for an extra force in the place at all. But, putting that aside, on the basis of population the City of Cork was entitled to a free force of 170 men, and there were there at the present time about 170; but of that number the Government charged for 29 or 30 as an extra force. That was, they charged as extra men those who supplied the places of the absent members of the free force to the number of eight or 10 men, as he had just stated, and 20 men besides who were stationed in the city over and above the free force. He maintained that if the Government did not give the City the full complement of free police that it was entitled to—that was 150 men—and if they continued to quarter a number of extra police on the ratepayers, they were bound to pay for those extra police out of the Imperial Funds. They had no right to levy a rate for them. The City, as he had said, was entitled, on the basis of population, to a free force of 170 men; therefore, nothing could be more unjust than to charge it for 30 extra policemen when it was really nine or ten short of its legal complement. He trusted that in the redistribution of the Constabulary Force that must take place, under the Act of Parliament, between this and the 21st of August, the Lord Lieutenant would see his way to reducing the number of extra men all over Ireland, and that he would consider this case of Cork particularly because the people of that City were determined not to be coerced into paying an unjust rate of this kind any longer. They had resisted it for the past three or four years, and were determined to continue resisting it, no matter what the consequences might be to themselves. Under those circumstances, he hoped that before the end of the Session the right hon. Gentleman would be able to inform the House what course the Lord Lieutenant had decided upon in regard to those extra police. He (Mr. Deasy) had put a Question to the Government the day before yesterday as to the redistribution of the Force in Ireland, but had been informed that it would be impossible to know what could be done until the 21st of August, as the actual changes could not take place before that date. Perhaps the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish officials would endeavour to make up their minds, before the time for making the change came, what they intended to do with the men.

MR. MARUM said, the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had alluded to the police protecting fisheries, and he (Mr. Marum) wished there to be no misunderstanding on that point. It was true, the police looked after the rivers, and he did not object to it so far as the Police Regulations of the rivers were concerned; but if they watched the fisheries as gamekeepers it was highly unsatisfactory. The water bailiffs under the general law were entrusted with the preservation of fish, and their duties should not be undertaken by the police. With regard to the manner in which those water bailiffs conducted themselves, he wished to remark that two months ago he had been obliged to fine one, James Lund, for firing off a loaded revolver in the public road or street. He had fined the man only 10*s*. A short time afterwards that man and his comrade, Patrick Foley, were out by the river, when they met two or three women who, in a larkish humour, made some shouting. The bailiffs fired their revolvers over the heads of the women. The men were prosecuted, and the defence set up was that they were justified in intimidating the inhabitants by firing their revolvers. Of course, he need not say that the magistrates took a very different view of the law, and fined both the men for what they had done. He had felt it his duty to make a representation to the Lord Lieutenant, and to express the opinion that the men should not be entrusted with firearms; but he was sorry to say that all the notice the Lord Lieutenant took of his complaint was to say that he would consider the matter, and so forth. Three weeks ago Patrick Foley had been brought before him at the Petty Sessions charged with being drunk, and having a revolver in his possession. Of course, they imposed upon him a mitigated penalty under the circumstances, and then he (Mr. Marum) had made a representation to the present Lord Lieutenant —a similar representation to that he had made before—declaring that the man ought to be deprived of the use of firearms. A man who had pleaded guilty to firing shots to intimidate parties, and who had then been found drunk with a revolver in his possession, was not a proper person to enjoy that privilege. The first thing the Lord Lieutenant did was to withdraw the licences of those men. That was a good augury for the future. He did not think the police should be allowed to perform the functions of gamekeepers, and that he said notwithstanding that he was interested in one of the best fisheries of the River Nore.

Mr. MOLLOY said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo had mentioned that, as far as he was aware, the police no longer attended private meetings of the National League which were held in different parts of the country since the accession to Office of the present Government. It was only three or four days since he (Mr. Molloy) had had to ask a question of the Lord Lieutenant as to the action he would take in connection with a case which had happened in his county. A meeting had been held in a certain place—merely a meeting of the people of the neighbourhood, with no strangers present. The people who attended were very well known in the neighbourhood; the meeting in fact was the usual one, and yet, for some reason which he could not explain, the police sent a considerable distance to ask permission to attend. The expense of sending, of course, had to be paid; but that was a small matter. It was the irritation caused by action of this kind to which he wished to draw attention. That irritation was exceedingly great. There was no earthly reason why the police should attend—the meeting was one of the usual weekly meetings. It was advertised in the papers, and yet the police went down and endeavoured to force themselves into it—a meeting of an organization which was legal in every sense of the word, and which the Government had over and over again declared to be legitimate. What, he should like to know, was the object of such a proceeding—why were police sent down to local meetings to the annoyance of people taking part in them? It only helped to add to the expenditure; it only helped to add to the sums the Committee were asked to vote year after year. When he (Mr. Molloy) had challenged the Predecessor of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary upon this subject, the right hon. Gentleman had stated that the police had no right to indulge in this sort of occupation, and that instructions had been issued to them to that effect. But here was the thing going on still. The fact was that the County Inspectors and their subordinates had come to look upon themselves as superior authorities to the people in Dublin Castle. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, as he had charge of this matter, whether he would issue instructions to the police that they must no longer contravene the law as they had been doing day by day? The police had no right to interfere with those meetings. They had no more right to attend them, and force themselves into the private rooms in which they were being held, than they had to enter the dwellings of private persons in London. He would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman to take this matter seriously in hand. If there was any necessity for him to send to a meeting in order to see that the law was not broken, let him do it; but when there was no necessity and no excuse, let him restrain the police from acting illegally.

Colonel NOLAN said, he should like to call the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury to the manner in which the Appropriation Accounts were made out in the Estimates. In the case of one item, £134,000 in one Appropriation Account had been estimated £131,000. The system of putting down those items was not satisfactory. He should think it would be much better to give the details and to say "so much from the county of Galway," "so much from King's County," "so much from Louth," and so on, and then the officers of the Grand Jury who had to pay the county rates would be able to say that they had paid over the money. He did not say that it occurred; but it was plain from the manner in which the accounts were rendered that there was great opportunity for swindling. If they looked at the remarks of the Comptroller and Auditor General they would see how necessary it was to print something that the people could see, and which would account for the expenditure of this money for extra police. The receipts were so fluctuating that, in his opinion, a special account of them should be presented to the House. The receipts did not correspond with the Estimate; indeed, the Comptroller General did not know how many men were estimated for. Nominally, a certain number of men were allowed the counties; but a less number was given. The fact of the matter was, that the late Government were so ashamed of the present state of things that, instead of putting the accounts in the Estimates in order that there should be some check, they had hidden the whole thing away.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, that, as was to be expected from the fact that the Vote was a very interesting one to hon. Members, the discussion had ranged over a very wide area. Many of the subjects which had been dwelt upon he had not had time to go into carefully. There were, however, one or two points to which he wished to refer. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) had complained of the Inspector General dismissing a member of the Force. As far as he (the Chief Secretary) understood, the power to dismiss a member of the Force did not rest with the Inspector General, but with the Lord Lieutenant, though it was very unusual for His Excellency to exercise that power without the concurrence of the Inspector General. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had spoken of the account keeping, and had laid a great deal of stress on the fact that there was not sufficient information given in the Estimates in regard to any change or fluctuation in the accounts. It seemed to be imagined by the hon. and gallant Gentleman that under the present system there might be cheating and fraud; but he (the Chief Secretary) thought that anything like fraudulent proceedings were sufficiently guarded against. Personally, however, he saw no objection to granting a Return of the men in each county. If the hon. and gallant Gentleman would move for the Return, no doubt the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) would be able to see his way to grant it. The hon. Members for Kilkenny and Cork City (Mr. Marum and Mr. Deasy) had referred to the question of the distribution of the free force. The maximum free force was 10,006, and it was no doubt a grievance, if the number was considerably below that maximum, that any district should have to pay for extra men. But hon. Members were, no doubt, aware that an Act was passed this Session to guard against the possibility of such a state of things; it was one of the few Acts of Parliament passed by the late Government which met with his cordial approval. The Act came into force on the 21st of May, and it was stipulated that its provisions should be carried out by the 21st of August next. He fancied that the difficulty mentioned by the hon. Member for Kilkenny (Mr. Marum) was one which could be brought to an end by the distribution under the Act of this Session. The present Viceroy had now an enormous number of subjects to deal with; but he (the Chief Secretary) assured hon. Members that His Excellency would take the earliest opportunity of concluding his labours with respect to the distribution of the free force. There had been considerable discussion as to the advisability of members of the free force attending meetings. It was only the other day that he was asked a Question as to a constable attending a meeting, and the answer he then gave was that if any protests were raised against his presence he had no right there. The hon. Members for Sligo and Cork City (Mr. Sexton and Mr. Deasy) had addressed themselves at some length to the question of the maintenance of the extra police. As he had said earlier in the evening, the question of the reduction of the extra police was closely allied to the question of the administration of law and order in Ireland; and he could only repeat that if the country was peaceable and a very considerable reduction of police was attained, he would be the first to welcome such a state of things. As a matter of fact, there had already been a very considerable reduction of extra police. Then, again, complaint had been made of the intervention of the police in fishery matters. Of course, if it could be shown to him or to the Executive that the police had been exceeding their duty, and that they had, as alleged, been acting the part of under-keepers, the matter should receive the attention it deserved. Earlier in the evening the hon. Gentleman the Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) complained that a sum of money—he believed it was £26,500—which ought to have passed through the Treasury was entered in the account and balanced off against other charges in the Estimate. The sum of money was that which was stopped from those men who were accommodated in barracks; and therefore he (the Chief Secretary) did not think there could be any real grievance in the matter. A considerable time had been spent in the discussion of the Vote; he hoped that now it would be allowed to pass.

Mr. SEXTON said, it was very evident the Chief Secretary had not yet mastered the details of a good many of the questions which had been raised in the course of the debate. That being so, he suggested to his hon. Friends that they should not press the details that night. If the right hon. Gentleman would give them a pledge that the police would be kept to their proper duties, and would not be rewarded for exceeding their duties, he thought the Irish Members would be disposed to take it for the present as an assurance of a better spirit in the administration of the Force. He was disposed to let the Government take the Vote now, on the understanding that the next Vote relating to the prisons, which contained a good deal of contentious matter, would be a good time to report Progress.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £56,150, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Ireland.

Mr. SEXTON said, he had to make a few observations on this Vote by way of an appeal to the Government, and he sincerely trusted he would not be put off as he had been by the last Government. The Bishop of Achonry wished to found an industrial school to which girls under 12 who had been convicted of crime could be sent. The object was to prevent the children being contaminated by association with criminals; but as yet the authorities had not seen their way to grant the necessary certificate. A similar institution for boys had proved a great success. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross), who was an expert on the subject of industrial schools, would reconsider the question. He thought the Government ought to jump at such an offer made by a Prelate of the capacity of the Bishop of Achonry. He trusted the Government would assure him that they would accept the offer. It was very important that a Prelate like the Bishop of Achonry should have an opportunity of watching the children of his own district. In the public interest the settlement of this matter should be no longer delayed.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross) assured the hon. Gentleman that the question of industrial and reformatory schools was one in which he took a deep interest. He did not know much about this particular case; but, at the first blush, he did not see any reason why the school should not be established. He would, however, consider the matter, and communicate with the hon. Gentleman.

Colonel NOLAN pointed out that in the Connemara district there was no industrial school for boys. The Archbishop of Tuam, who was the principal Bishop in that district, had bought land for the purpose of establishing an industrial school at Letterfrack, a pretty part of the country, and one where there was very much land which could be easily reclaimed. If the Chief Secretary would give his sanction to the establishment of a school at that place, the institution would be found extremely useful to the people of Connemara. It would be very advantageous that the boys should be instructed in the reclamation of land, besides which the extreme beauty of the situation was not to be altogether forgotten. He hoped the Chief Secretary would look into the case; if he did, he would find that his Predecessor (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) looked upon the project with great favour, and, without making an absolute promise, was anxious that such a school should be established next year.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Sir William Hart Dyke) said, he could not make any promise; but he would not only consult his Predecessor, but all those who were interested in the matter.

Vote *agreed to.*

Class VI.—Non-Effective and Charitable Services.

(4.) £13,200, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Ireland.

(5.) £12,747, to complete the sum for Hospitals and Infirmaries, Ireland.

(6.) £2,371, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous, Charitable, and other Allowances, Ireland.

Class VII.—Miscellaneous.

(7.) £15,000, to complete the sum for the Registration of Voters, Ireland.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

POOR LAW UNIONS' OFFICERS (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 214.]

(*Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

committee. [*Progress 20th July.*]

[Mr. Ritchie in the Chair.]

Clause 1 (Short title).

Mr. SEXTON asked whether the Attorney General for Ireland would offer any explanation of the measure? Would the Board of Guardians of Westport be allowed to offer any alternative scheme in place of the one whereby the Unions of Newport and Westport were to be amalgamated?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Holmes) said, the Bill enabled the Union of Newport to be amalgamated with that of Westport—a process which had become a matter of absolute necessity. No doubt, the Local Government Board had already the power to abolish Unions or amalgamate them; but he did not think that power had been exercised arbitrarily or capriciously, for he believed that no Union had been abolished under it. Inquiries had been held by the Local Government Board into the proposed abolition of the Newport Union, and his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary had looked carefully into the matter himself. His right hon. Friend had requested him (the Attorney General for Ireland) to state what had been the result of his consideration, which had been approached without any predilection in favour of one side or the other, and which would probably show that there must be some misapprehension on the part of the Westport Board of Guardians. He would, therefore, state in a few words what was the view which the Local Government Board had taken. He believed there was no difference of opinion at all as to the necessity of abolishing Newport Union. The best thing that could be done with it was to abolish it in some way or other, for this reason—that the Union was not a very large one, the valuation was not great, and the expenses of workhouse management had considerably increased in Ireland. Taking those expenses in connection with the poorness of the locality, the rates of Newport had become excessive. Some remedy must be found for that state of things, and the remedy which suggested itself was to abolish the Union, as a separate Union, and amalgamate it with some other, and thereby save the greater part of the staff and house expenditure. He thought that no hon. Member could object to that being done; and the only difference of opinion was as to whether, if Newport was abolished as a separate Union, it should be handed over to Westport, or whether it should be divided between Westport, Castlebar, and Belmullet. That point had been considered, and the result was that in the interest not only of Newport, but of Westport itself, it was considered best to hand it over to Westport, and once more let it form a Union of the same kind as existed about the year 1847. So far as he could understand, the objection of the Westport Guardians was a financial objection, and they urged that while up to the present time their rates had been moderate, they would now become excessive. But so far as he could understand the figures, he thought there must be some misapprehension about this. Of course, the greater number of paupers would be charged, as at present, upon the electoral divisions. The ordinary paupers would be charged upon the electoral division of Newport, and in no respect whatever would they be thrown upon Westport. But there were the charges of the Union at large, which amounted at present at Westport to £1,000 a-year. The addition which would be thrown on those charges by the amalgamation would be about £135 a-year, making the total establishment charges for the amalgamated Union £1,135 a-year. Now, the Westport Union at the present time had for its rating valuation £31,000 a-year, and that would be increased by the addition of the Newport valuation by a further sum of £13,000 a-year, so that the establishment charges would be raised by £135 a-year, while the rating area would be raised by £13,000 a-year. As a matter of fact, therefore, the establishment charges would be considerably reduced, so far as each individual ratepayer was concerned, and there would be a distinct gain instead of a loss to Westport. The same thing would hold good in regard to certain other charges, which would be spread over the amalgamated Union. The result of the inquiries was that this was the best way in which a change could be made. He had only one further observation to make. It was clear that, for the sake of the inhabitants of Newport, the Newport Union could no longer continue to exist. Everyone admitted that there must be some change, and the only object of passing this Bill was to enable the change to be made in the best way for the interests of justice and the interests of the people. If the Bill was not carried the change abolishing the Newport Union must still be made, and the only result would be to inflict injustice upon those whom the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sexton) would not like to see unjustly treated. Under the circumstances, he asked the hon. Gentleman to allow the Bill to pass.

Mr. SEXTON quite agreed that the amalgamation of the Newport Union was necessary, for the ratepayers could no longer stand the burden that was thrown upon them. He only regretted that the Local Government Board had not taken pains to impress upon the Westport Guardians what were the real facts of the case; and he would ask the Government to make some effort even now to convince the Westport Guardians, who at present were strongly impressed with the belief that they would suffer. However, he now understood that that would not be the case; and, under the circumstances, he did not feel justified in offering any further opposition.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

[*Lords.*]—[Bill 242.]

(*Secretary Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross): Sir, I wish to move the second reading of this Bill. It will not be necessary for me to take up any large amount of the time of the House in stating the contents of the measure. No doubt, there has been for some years a desire in Scotland that a special Officer should be appointed to take charge of what may be called the adminstrative part of the law of Scotland. I am quite aware, and hon. Members generally are also aware, that the Lord Advocate, acting as Under Secretary of State, has had very large powers in regard to Scotland, and it was always my privilege and my pleasure, when I held the Office of Home Secretary some years ago, to assist in Scotch legislation and Scotch administration so far as I could. But, undoubtedly, there has been a growing feeling in Scotland for a long time that the people of that country are entitled to have a separate Officer, quite apart from the Secretary of State, who should look after the affairs of Scotland. One way of proceeding was that that Officer should be simply a lawyer, like the Lord Advocate. No doubt, in former times, the Lord Advocate was not so distinctly a lawyer as he has been of late years; but the desire was that some person more intimately connected with the general wishes and feelings of Scotland, and quite irrespective of legal attainments, should deal with these matters, instead of the Secretary of State. When the Government, which immediately preceded the late Government, were in

Office, they brought in a Bill to establish an Under Secretary for Scotland. That measure did not, however, meet with much favour, and it was withdrawn. The present Bill is not introduced for the first time, for this is the third year that it has been before the country. I understand that it has been canvassed in every part of Scotland, and that there is a general feeling in that country in its favour. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Lyon Playfair) is of that opinion or not; but, from all I can gather, the general feeling in all parts of Scotland is that a Bill of this kind should be passed, and that this particular Bill, having been threshed out for three years, has eventually come to meet the wishes of the Scottish people. For this reason I have great pleasure in moving the second reading to-night. Hon. Members will see that it transfers the whole of the duties now performed by the Secretary of State connected with the administration of the Poor Law, lunacy, public health, Fishery Boards, police, prisons, and other matters of that kind, entirely to this new Officer. [Sir LYON PLAYFAIR: And education.] I will come to that presently. I am speaking at present of the functions now performed by the Secretary of State and the Lord Advocate. They will be found in the first part of the Schedule, which does not touch the question of education at all. Then, by the second part of the Schedule, it will be found that there are transferred all the powers now vested in or exercised by the Privy Council relating to the Board of Manufactures and the public health. In the third part of the Schedule the powers and duties of the Treasury are transferred to the same Officer; and when we come to the fourth part of the Schedule and to Clauses 6 and 7, I am quite aware that we shall in Committee touch a point about which there is a considerable difference of opinion—that is to say, whether the educational functions which are now carried on by the Privy Council in England shall be transferred to this Officer for Scotland or not. The 6th clause says that—

> "It shall be lawful for Her Majesty from time to time, by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, to appoint the Secretary for Scotland to be Vice President of the Scotch Education Department; and the Scotch Education Department shall mean the Lords of any Committee of the Privy Council appointed by Her Majesty on Education in Scotland."

And by the 7th clause it is provided that—

> "After the appointment of the Vice President of the Scotch Education Department, all powers and duties vested in or imposed on the Scotch Education Department constituted under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, shall be transferred to, vested in, and imposed on the Scotch Education Department constituted under this Act, with the new Secretary for Scotland at its head."

Of course, that Officer will be one of the great Officers of State in Scotland; and although he will not have all the privileges and powers of the Lord Advocate, no doubt many of the duties of the Lord Advocate will for the future be vested in this high Officer. I do not think it would be wise in me to take up any more of the time of the House, except to say this—that so far as that part of the Bill is concerned which relates to education, and which is the only contentious matter in the whole of the measure, it seems to me to be specially a matter for discussion in Committee. So far as the establishment of this Officer is concerned, I believe he will be established by general consent from one end of Scotland to the other. Whether all these functions are to be transferred to him is a question to be decided when you, Sir, leave the Chair; but at this late period of the Session, and looking to the fact that there is other Scotch Business to be brought forward, if possible, in the course of the Session, I do sincerely hope that this particular stage of the Bill may be passed to-night, I will not say without discussion, but, at all events, without any long discussion. There will be an opportunity for discussing the Bill when we move that you, Sir, do leave the Chair; and I am sure, knowing what is the feeling of the Scotch Members on this subject, and the way in which their debates are always carried on, they will have no desire to have two discussions where one would be enough. Therefore, without further detaining the House, I beg to move that this Bill be now read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR, in moving the adjournment of the debate, said, the

Scotch Members had been assured by the responsible Minister who had charge of the Business of the House that this Bill would not be brought on that night. There was only one Scotch Member besides himself on that (the Opposition) side of the House, and there was not a single Scotch Member unconnected with the Government on the other side, so far as he could observe. This was a Bill which extremely interested the Scotch people. It was not a Bill upon which there was a common agreement. He was opposed to it in principle from beginning to end, and he had given Notice that he should oppose it on the Motion for second reading. He had fully understood, and, indeed, had been informed—not only that day, but for several days past—that the Bill was only nominally on the Paper that night, and that there was really no intention of proceeding with it at the present Sitting. If it had been believed that it would have been brought on, the Scotch Members would have been there in an entire body, for they were extremely interested in the Bill, and it would be excessively unsatisfactory if the Bill should pass without any discussion. Of course, on a Motion for Adjournment he could not go into the principles of the measure; but he could assure the House that it would be a great disappointment to the Scotch Members if the Bill were taken that night. He did not suppose there was any breach of faith on the part of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary; but the Scotch Members had all been informed, and several of them had gone away fully under that impression within the last quarter of an hour, that there was no intention of bringing the Bill on that night. He therefore moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross) hoped the debate would not be adjourned, on the understanding, which he willingly gave, that there should be a good opportunity for discussion on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair. It seemed to him that at that time of the Session this was the only mode of dealing with such a measure. He was quite sure his right hon. Friend (Sir Lyon Playfair) did not desire to discuss the Bill twice, for there was really only one point to discuss. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would allow the Bill to be read a second time now.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN joined in the appeal to his right hon. Friend (Sir Lyon Playfair) to allow this stage of the Bill to be taken that night, on the understanding which had just been given by the Home Secretary that there should be a proper opportunity for the discussion of the important point at issue, and any other point that might be raised on the next stage. The general question had, he thought, been pretty well threshed out and settled, for there had been a similar Bill under the consideration of the country before. Under those circumstances, it did not seem to him to be a Bill which needed so minute a second-reading discussion as ought under other circumstances to be given to it.

Sir LYON PLAYFAIR consented to withdraw the Motion for Adjournment on the full understanding that there would be ample time given for discussing the next stage, and that it would not be taken at so late an hour of the night as this, when it had come on entirely by surprise, and when the Scotch Members were not present.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Wednesday* next.

PATENT LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Sir Farrer Herschell, Mr. Holms.*)

[BILL 240.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: My hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General is unfortunately not present. I believe he has some objections to the Bill which he would like to place before the House, and I hope it will be understood that if we assent to the second reading now, we do not at all pledge ourselves to anything with regard to the further progress of the measure. It may be necessary for us to move Amendments of an important character to the Bill.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday.*

OATHS BILL.—[Bill 62.]

(*Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Percy Wyndham, Mr. Charles Russell, Mr. Noel, Mr. Pennington, Mr. Arthur Elliot.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [15th July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, it was understood that at that time of the Session it was useless to proceed with Bills of a highly contentious character. He thought it would be impossible at that time to discuss a matter of this importance; and, therefore, he thought that the proper course would be to discharge the Order.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order be discharged."—(*Mr. Newdegate.*)

Mr. SPEAKER said, in the absence of the hon. and learned Member in charge of the Bill (Mr. Hopwood), it would be a very unusual course for the Order to be discharged.

Debate *further adjourned* till *Wednesday* next.

POLICE ENFRANCHISEMENT EXTENSION BILL.—[Bill 269.]

(*Mr. Coleridge Kennard, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbebtson, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Mr. Cowen, Lord Claud John Hamilton, Mr. Robert Fowler, Mr. Reid, Mr. Houldsworth, Mr. George Elliot.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [23rd July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD said, that at that late hour it would, in his opinion, be improper to take up a matter of this importance. The Bill ought not to have been put down at a time when there was no opportunity of going fully into the matter. The Bill proposed to enable the members of the Police Force to vote at Parliamentary Elections, and there was much to be said in favour of that proposal. But, on the other hand, there were some serious objections to such a proposal, and the question should, therefore, be fully and fairly discussed. That could not be done at that period of the Session, and when the House was in a sense demoralized by the immediate prospect of a General Election. The question should, therefore, be deferred until after the Elections.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Morgan Lloyd.*)

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord John Manners) said, this question had been already prominently brought before the House. The measure only proposed the enfranchisement of capable citizens; and he sincerely hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would not press his Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he wished to hear the opinion of the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) on the Bill.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross) said, he could not give his opinion on the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. FIRTH remarked, that it was only a quarter past 12 o'clock, and he hoped his hon. and learned Friend would withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

The SECRETARY of STATE (Sir R. Assheton Cross) said, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) wished to know his opinion on this Bill, he would say that he could conceive of no more capable citizens, in the fullest sense of the term, than the police. They were men who were intrusted with important public duties, and he did not see that the character of their duties bore in any form or shape upon the question of their politics. They were placed in their position on account of their abilities;

and it seemed to him a very hard case, seeing that they discharged a public duty, that they should not be enfranchised. He should, therefore, support the Motion for the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. RAMSAY said, as the right hon. Gentleman had stated, the police were intrusted with the preservation of the peace. But who was to prevent political feeling arising in the minds of the police, as it did in the minds of other people? He did not see that any election could take place in which they took part without their being influenced by political feeling. He thought they would place these men, for whom they had a sincere respect, in a false position if they were to intrust them with the franchise, when they were almost exclusively employed in the preservation of the peace amongst the electors. He should, therefore, move that the Bill be read a second time that day three months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Ramsay.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he could not agree with his hon. Friend who had just spoken. The hon. Gentleman had said that the police were the preservers of the peace. But so were the magistrates; and he never heard that, because magistrates were preservers of the peace, they ought not to be allowed to vote. There were other classes charged with that duty also, and he did not understood that soldiers and sailors were deprived of votes in respect of the duties which they performed. There was a time when it was supposed that officers of the Inland Revenue ought not to be allowed to vote, on the ground that political influence might be exercised over them. Considering how widely they were extending the franchise in this country, he thought that a class of men, certainly not the least deserving, ought not to be excluded from it. To select them as special objects of exclusion would be both invidious and unjust. He had asked for the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who was mainly responsible in a question such as this. The right hon. Gentleman had given his opinion; and from his own knowledge of the position of the police, he should be extremely unwilling that they should be excluded from the exercise of the franchise.

Mr. FIRTH said, in view of the itinerant character of the police, he thought that the period of qualification in their case ought to be shortened. He should move that in Committee.

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) said, he had spent some time the evening before in endeavouring to find some Statute which prevented policemen in Scotch burghs from registering their vote, and he could find none. He therefore thought that it would be somewhat inequitable that Scotch burgh police should have the franchise, and not the English police.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, he was sure the House would appreciate the difficulties which some hon. Members had in supporting the Bill. He thought the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) in reference to magistrates did not apply, because the magistrates were unpaid and the police were paid. That, he thought, was an important distinction. He did not think that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, or his Predecessor (Sir William Harcourt), had made any reference to the rules which prescribed that no part should be taken by other Civil servants in political matters, although they were allowed to vote. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would be prepared to move on the part of the Government that the Secretary of State from time to time occupying his post should have power to issue regulations of a similar character with regard to the police. With that limitation, he would have no difficulty in supporting the Motion for the second reading of the Bill; but in the absence of an understanding to that effect, he should not do so.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. Assheton Cross) said, he certainly never intended that the police should be allowed to do anything else than exercise the franchise. He would take care that a provision of the kind indicated by the hon. Member should be put into the Bill.

MR. RAMSAY said, that the feeling in favour of the Bill being read a second time seemed to be so general that he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

PLURALITIES (*re-committed*) BILL.

(*Mr. Acland, Mr. Edward Howard, Sir John Kennaway, Lord Edward Cavendish.*)

[BILL 241.] COMMITTEE.

(In the Committee.)

Bill *considered* in Committee.

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Construction and Interpretation).

MR. WARTON said, he rose to move the omission from lines 18 and 19 of the words "and shall have been required of him by the bishop." It would be recollected that on the Motion for the second reading of the Bill he had opposed these words on the ground that they appeared to give too much power to the Bishop over the clergy. He now wished to have an explanation of the meaning of the words. This was not merely a Pluralities Bill, it was really a Church Discipline Bill; and he wanted to know how they were to understand the words—

> "But also all such duties as any clergyman holding a benefice is bound by law to perform, or the performance of which is solemnly promised by every clergyman of the Church of England at the time of his ordination, and shall have been required of him by the bishop?"

Were the words really in duplication of what had gone before, or did they really refer to some particular order or injunction given by the Bishop of his own motion?

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, lines 18 and 19, to leave out the words "and shall have been required of him by the bishop."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. ACLAND said, the object of these words was that no clergymen might be taken by surprise on being found fault with.

MR. WARTON said, he believed he understood the meaning of the hon. Gentleman opposite, but he did not think it was expressed by the clause. He would ask the hon. Member to agree to insert the words "and the performance of which shall be required of him."

MR. ACLAND said, he would agree to those words.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 18, after the word "and," to insert the words "the performance of which."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 19, after the word "him," to insert the words "in writing by the bishop."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 25, to leave out from the word "require" to the word "population," in line 26, inclusive, and insert the words "more than one service in the Welsh language on every Sunday in such church or chapel of ease situated in any such benefice."—(*Sir John Kennaway.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 3 to 7, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Bishop may assign extra stipend of seventy pounds to curate appointed by him under sections 75 and 77 of 1 & 2 Victoria, chapter 106).

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 42, to leave out all after "that," to end of Clause, and insert "any stipend or stipends so augmented shall not exceed the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds, except in cases where the whole net income of the benefice exceeds the sum of three hundred pounds a year."—(*Sir John Kennaway.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 9 to 13, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 14 (Two benefices may be held together by dispensation if churches within five miles of one another, and annual value of one does not exceed two hundred pounds).

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 29, after "pounds," insert "or if, on one of the said benefices there be no church, then the distance between the two benefices, for the purposes of this Act, shall be computed in such manner as shall be directed by the bishop of the diocese." — (*Mr. Stuart-Wortley.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

MOTION.

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HERBERT, Bill to continue various Expiring Laws, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HERBERT and Sir HENRY HOLLAND.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 247.]

House adjourned at quarter before One o'clock till Monday next.

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LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK, 22, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

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When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

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c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 8 [Bill 220]

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Literature, Science, and Art—The National Portrait Gallery, 1204

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill
(*Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ferguson*)
c. Committee; Report *July* 9, 224 [Bill 26]
Considered *July* 14, 784
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *July* 16, 1016
Amendt. to leave out from "Bill be," add "re-committed in respect of a new Clause" (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 42, N. 24; M. 18 (D. L. 234)
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3°
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Hobhouse*) *July* 17 (No. 185)

Corbet, Mr. W. J., *Wicklow*
Ireland—Questions
Crime and Outrage—Murder of Mrs. Nolan, 420
Fishery Piers and Harbours—Greystones Harbour, 1624
Inspectors of Lunacy—The Report, 1624
Law and Justice—"Doyle *v.* Fenton"—Tinahely Petty Sessions, 123, 124, 903
National School Teachers—Pension Fund—The Valuation, 430
Post Office—Postal Arrangements at Arklow, 1622
Ireland—Maamtrasna, &c. Murders, Res. 1084
Lunacy Reports (England and Scotland), 1619
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Corbet, Mr. W. J.—*cont.*
Supply—Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland, 1540
Public Buildings, Ireland, 1235, 1236, 1241, 1246

Corn Sales Bill
(*Mr. Rankin, Mr. Joseph Bailey, Mr. Biddell, Mr. Duckham*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 8 [Bill 57]

Corry, Mr. J. P., *Belfast Co.*
Supply—Public Buildings, Ireland, 1220

Cotton, Mr. Alderman W. J. R., *London*
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Consid. *add. cl.* 1652
Southwark and Vauxhall Water, 1614

County Officers and Courts (Ireland) (Pensions) Bill (*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. Read 2°, after debate *July* 21, 1511 [Bill 112]

Courtney, Mr. L. H., *Liskeard*
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Motion for Leave, 582, 585; 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1007, 1010; Comm. Amendt. 1411; *cl.* 2, 1480, 1506
Navy Estimates—Half-Pay, Reserved, &c. Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines, Motion for Adjournment, 219
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers), Comm. *cl.* 2, 777
Public Health (Members and Officers), Comm. 234; *cl.* 2, 791; Amendt. 795; *cl.* 3, *ib.* 797
Supply—Houses of Parliament, 867

Cowper, Earl
Defences of the Empire—Defence of Commercial Ports and Sea-side Towns, 1028

Cranbrook, Viscount (Lord President of the Council)
Secondary Education in Board Schools (Metropolis), Motion for a Return, 1026
Secretary for Scotland, Comm. *add. cl.* 589; Amendt. 591, 606; 3R. 1372, 1379, 1380

Criminal Law Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*Mr. H. H. Fowler*)
c. Read 2°, after debate *July* 9, 197 [Bill 159]

Criminal Law Amendment Bill
Question, Lord Braye; Answer, The Paymaster General (Earl Beauchamp) *July* 10, 275; Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 21, 1512

Criminal Law Amendment [Cost of Prosecutions]
Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to *July* 13, 585
Res. reported *July* 14

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill
Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 13, 436; Notice of Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 16, 902

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill [Bill 184]
(*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 13, 566; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. R. H. Paget*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 81, N. 47; M. 34 (D. L. 223); Debate adjourned

Cropper, Mr. J., *Kendal*
China—Opium Trade—The Treaty, 1634
England and China—Importation of Opium—The Agreement, 662
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1496
Pluralities, Nomination of Select Committee, 242
Supply—Land Registry, 750
Report, 564

Cross, Right Hon. Sir R. A. (Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Lancashire, S. W.*
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. *cl.* 1, 230
Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 197, 211
Customs—Search of Passengers' Luggage, 1191
Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 307
Egypt (Soudan) — Reported Fighting at Kassala, 1518
Ireland — "Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland," 1058
Law and Justice—Questions
Assizes, 1195, 1196
Case of David Bradley, M.D. 907, 1396
Flogging, 925
High Court of Justice—Return of Causes, 911
Mrs. Jeffrey's Case, 125, 1187
Punishment of Burglars—Flogging, 1062
Sentences at the Surrey Sessions, 658
Law and Police—Questions
Alleged Case of Abduction, 1404
Alleged Drunkenness—Case of Mr. J. Shaw Phillips, Culham House, Abingdon, Berks, 913
Disturbances at Rye House, Herts, 1194, 1195
Kensington Gardens, 1207
Police Constable Davis, 1059
Sale of Obscene Literature, 1409, 1516
Metropolis — Street Traffic — "Pall Mall Gazette," 126, 281, 289, 425, 426, 427, 661, 910
Mines, Accidents in—The Royal Commission, 1205
Mines Regulation Act—Clifton Hall Colliery Explosion, 1394
Parliament—Business of the House, 1517
Dissolution — Postponement of the School Board Elections, 915
Palace of Westminster — Access to this House—Mr. Jenkinson, 1061

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Cross, Right Hon. Sir R. A.—*cont.*
Police Enfranchisement Extension, 2R. 1866, 1868
Railways (England and Wales)—Accident on the Furness Railway, 126
Representation of the People Act, 1884—Election Expenses, 1208
Scotland—Administration of Justice in the Highlands and Islands, 339
Law and Justice—Procurators Fiscal, 1804
Secretary for Scotland, 2R. 1860, 1863
Supply—Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies, 755
Land Registry, 753
Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Ireland, 1856

Customs
Custom House Records, Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 24, 1779
Search of Passengers' Luggage, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 20, 1191

Crown Lands Bill
(*Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 22 [Bill 51]
Order for Committee read and discharged, *July* 23
Ordered, That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House and Two by the Committee of Selection
Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented two clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard against the Bill, and Counsel heard in support of the Bill
Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records
Ordered, That Three be the quorum
Select Committee nominated *July* 24

Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2) Bill
Brewing Licences, Questions, Mr. Clare Read; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 14, 660
Storing of Grain and Rice, Question, Mr. Hicks; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 14, 658

Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2) Bill
(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Holland*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 9 [Bill 223]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 16, 928
Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "in view of the rapid extension of local rating and of the continuous imposition of the Income Tax, it is desirable that the province of Local Rating and of Imperial Taxation be severally readjusted and defined, and

[cont.

Customs and Inland Revenue (*No.* 2) *Bill*—cont.
that a common authority and common measure be provided for the levy of both rates and taxes so as to regulate their incidence upon the principle of assessing the rate or tax upon the real, that is, upon the net annual value" (*Mr. J. G. Hubbard*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put, and agreed to
Main Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read 2°;" after short debate, main Question put, and agreed to: Bill read 2°
Committee; Report *July* 23, 1698

Cyprus—Report of the High Commissioner
Question, Captain Aylmer; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Colonel Stanley) *July* 9, 121

DALHOUSIE, Earl of
Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 4, 1166, 1169

DALRYMPLE, Mr. C., (Lord of the Treasury), *Buteshire*
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1483, 1486, 1488, 1494
Parliament—Business of the House, 433
Poor Law (England and Wales)—Removal of Paupers from Scotland to Ireland—Cases of Ann Magee and Thomas Carlin, 1400
Scotland—Administration of Justice in the Highlands and Islands, 335
  Housing of the Working Classes, 1626
Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment), Comm. *add. cl.* 1150
Supply — Register House Department, Edinburgh, 757

DAVEY, Mr. H., *Christchurch*
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 10, Amendt. 1707, 1708, 1709, 1712
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. 1421, 1437

DAWNAY, Hon. G. C. (Surveyor General of Ordnance), *York, N.R.*
Army Estimates — Commissariat, &c. Store Establishments, Wages, &c. 513, 515, 534
Defences of the Empire — Coaling Stations, 1777;—Works at Singapore, 1783

DEASY, Mr. J., *Cork*
Ireland—Law and Justice—Custody of Prisoners in Ireland, 1811
  Lunatic Asylums — Cork Lunatic Asylum, 1807
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1502
Navy—Haulbowline Works, Queenstown, 1785, 1786
Supply—Constabulary, Ireland, 1846
  Irish Land Commission, 1583
  Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland, 1536, 1544, 1572
  Local Government Board, Ireland, 1276
  Royal Irish Constabulary — Distribution, 1515, 1516

Deeds of Arrangement Registration Bill
(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. W. Newzam Nicholson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 9 [Bill 225]

DENMAN, Lord
Land Purchase (Ireland), 2R. 1181
Secretary for Scotland, 3R. 1378

Depression of Trade and Industry—Royal Commission on the
Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 9, 114; Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Heneage; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 13, 419; Question, Mr. Williamson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 16, 908; Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 20, 1190
Representation of Agriculture, Question, Mr. Storer; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 24, 1787; Observations, Mr. Storer, Mr. J. Lowther, 1788

DE ROS, Lord
Wellington Statue—Re-erection at Aldershot, 608

Destitute Children (*Compulsory Industrial Training*)
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *July* 10, To leave out from "That," add "it is expedient to establish a system of compulsory industrial training for the children of the destitute classes in night schools, from the age of 12 or 13 to 16 years, in order to fit them to earn their living either at home or in the Colonies" (*Mr. Samuel Smith*) *v.*, 290; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put, and agreed to

DE WORMS, Baron H. (Secretary to the Board of Trade), *Greenwich*
Electric Lighting Act, 1882, 417
Harbour Accommodation—National Harbours of Refuge, 1629
Lighthouse Commission—Professor Tyndall, 1617
Mercantile Marine — Certificates of Competency, 417
Mercantile Marine Fund, 1778
Merchant Shipping Act—The Wreck Register, 1883-4, 1402
Railways—Railway Couplings—Accidents to Railway Servants, 409
United States—Bounty on Sugar Exportation, 1619

DIGBY, Mr. J. K. D. Wingfield, *Somerset, Mid*
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Dilke, Right Hon. Sir C. W., *Chelsea, &c.*
  Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. *cl.* 1, 230, 231
  Intermediate Education (Wales), 2R. Bill withdrawn, 224
  Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, 285
  Navy Estimates — Half-Pay, Reserved, &c. Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines, 83
  Parliament — Dissolution — Postponement of School Board Elections, 286
  Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices), Comm. 237 ; *cl.* 1, 238
  Public Health (Members and Officers), Comm. 234
  Public Health (Metropolis) — Westminster Sewer, 281
  Rathmines and Rathgar Township, Consid. *cl.* 11, Amendt. 635, 647, 652 ; *cl.* 12, Amendt. *ib.*
  River Thames (No. 2), Consid. 84, 238

Dixon-Hartland, Mr. F. D., *Evesham*
  Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 10, 1704 ; *cl.* 23, Amendt. 1718 ; *cl.* 25, 1723

Donoughmore, Earl of
  Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks Railway, 3R. 1152

Douglas, Mr. A. Akers- (Secretary to the Treasury), *Kent, E.*
  Commissioners of Woods and Forests—Sale of Land to Occupiers, 410

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill (*Earl of Iddesleigh*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 9 (No. 155)
  Committee * ; Report *July* 10
  Read 3ª * *July* 13
  Royal Assent *July* 16 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxiii]

Duckham, Mr. T., *Herefordshire*
  Sale of Food and Drugs Act—Oleomargarine, 114

Duff, Mr. R. W., *Banffshire*
  Navy Estimates—Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c. 76

Dyke, Right Hon. Sir W. H. (Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), *Kent, Mid*
  Contagious Diseases (Animals)—Compulsory Slaughter of Pigs attacked by Swine Fever, 659
  Ireland—Questions
    Collector Generalship of Rates, Dublin, 410
    Failure of the Munster Bank, 1210
    Fisheries—Deep Sea Trawling, 656 ;—Mussel Fisheries, 1616
    Fishery Act, 1842—Obstruction of Fisheries, 1780
    Fishery Piers and Harbours, 1397

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Dyke, Right Hon. Sir W. H.—*cont.*
    Grand Jury Act—Fees to the Secretary to the Grand Jury, Co. Cavan, 910
    Industrial Schools, 1057
    Inland Navigation and Drainage — The Upper Morning Star River Drainage District, 911
    Inspectors of Lunacy—Report, 1624
    Inspector of Prisons, 288
    Irish Land Commission—Block in the Appeal Court, 1057 ;—Fair Rents, 112, 284
    Land Law Act, 1881—Duke of Abercorn's Estate — Bryan Molloy, 1780 ; — Sub-Commissioners, 416
    Landlord and Tenant — Miss Kieran, Tenant of the Earl of Howth, 118 ;—Mr. Sandford Wills, 1782
    Land Purchase, 1624
    Loans to Landlords (Raymunterdoney, Co. Donegal), 122
    Local Taxation—Town Commissioners of Bangor, Co. Down—Audit of Accounts, 1206
    Meetings of the National League, King's Co.—Intrusion of the Police, 1192
    Mr. C. H. James, Official Assignee in Bankruptcy—Investigation of Accounts, 656
    Piers and Harbours—The Grand Jury, Co. Donegal—Inquiry into Improper Expenditure, 414
    Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Resident Magistrates, 427, 428
    Prisons—Salaries to Prison Warders, 279
    Protestant Episcopalian Church of Ireland, 1405
    Royal University of Ireland—Second Examination in Arts, 1209
    Sea Fisheries—The Rivers Foyle and Bann, 1617
    Tramways, 1623
  Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Questions
    Alleged Firing at the Person at Killasmeestia, Queen's Co. 905
    Boycotting of Irish Workmen, 920
    Murder of Mrs. Nolan, 420, 920, 921
  Ireland—Law and Justice—Questions
    Cavan Grand Jury, 1616
    Expenses of Witnesses—Mrs. Margaret Raftery, 1621
    Maamtrasna Murders, 921, 1405
    Mr. O'Brien, M.P., 1401
    Mr. W. Francis, Petty Sessions Clerk, Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim, 916
    Release of a Convict Murderer, 909
  Ireland—Law and Police—Questions
    Abstraction of Cattle, Co. Leitrim, 1618
    Alleged Disturbances at Portadown, 1200
    Detention of Intoxicated Persons, 1209
    Killing of Thomas M'Grath's Geese at Cahir, Co. Roscommon, 1782
    Protection Act, Cladymore, 1064
  Ireland—Magistracy—Questions
    Belfast Petty Sessions—Attendance of Magistrates, 661
    Borough of Belfast—Roman Catholic Magistrates, 1193
    Resident Magistrates, 127
    Stewartstown Petty Sessions—Party Processions, 1615
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  Ireland—National Education—Questions
    Commissioners of National Education—Rev. Dr. Hanna, D.D., 1196
    Intermediate Education Act, 1878—Application of Act to Girls, 918
    Salaries of National School Teachers, 119
  Ireland—Poor Law—Questions
    Election of Guardians—North Portarlington Division—Mountmellick Unoin, 431
    Philip Doyle, Poor Rate Collector—Tinahely Petty Sessions District, 123, 904
    Rathdowney Dispensary, 1194
  Ireland — Royal Irish Constabulary—Questions
    Case of District Inspector Murphy, 377, 381
    Death of Peter O'Gara in a Police Cell at Sligo, 423
    Distribution, 1515, 1516
    District Inspector Gibbons, 1621
    Explosives Acts—Appointment of Inspectors, 1055
    Promotion, 1054
  Ireland—Land Law Act, 1881—Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole, Res. 1794
  Ireland — Maamtrasna, &c. Murders, Res. 1136
  Labourers (Ireland) (No. 2), 2R. 574
  Parliament—Business of the House, 1633
  Parliamentary Elections—Assistant Revising Barristers, 120
  Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland), Comm. 1335, 1336
  Supply—Constabulary, Ireland, 1830, 1853
    County Court Officers, Ireland, 1823, 1829
    Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1323
    Irish Land Commission, 1582, 1592, 1593
    Local Government Board, Ireland, 1281, 1288, 1296, 1300
    Public Works Office, Ireland, 1314
    Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Ireland, 1857

Earldom of Mar Restitution Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Privy Seal*)
l. Select Committee nominated *July* 14; List of the Committee, 634; short debate thereon

East India Loan (£10,000,000 Bill)
(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Kynaston Cross*)
c. Read 3° * *July* 8 [Bill 109]
l. Read 1^{a} * (*The Lord Harris*) *July* 9 (No. 164)
Read 2^{a}, after short debate *July* 10, 271
Committee*; Report *July* 13
Read 3^{a} * *July* 16
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 28]

East India Unclaimed Stocks Bill
(*Earl of Kimberley*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 25]

Ebrington, Viscount, *Tiverton*
  Africa (South) — Bechuanaland — Methuen's Horse, 1398
  Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1479

Ecclesiastical Commissioners Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 1° * *July* 9 [Bill 227]
Read 2° * *July* 14
Committee *; Report; read 3° *July* 16
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 31]

Ecroyd, Mr. W. F., *Preston*
  Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 317
  Ways and Means, Comm. 172, 186

Education Department (*England and Wales*)
  Appointment of Schoolmistress at Ashbocking, Suffolk, Question, Mr. Jesse Collings; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 21, 1398
  Croydon and West Bromwich School Boards, Question, Sir Arthur Bass; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 10, 279
  Education of the Deaf—A Royal Commission, Question, Mr. Ackers; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 23, 1625
  National Education—A Royal Commission, Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 17, 1053
  Religious Instruction in Board Schools, Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 21, 1399
  School Board Elections, Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 21, 1406
  School Grants — Vicar of St. Mark's, South Shields, Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 23, 1629

Education—Secondary Education in Board Schools (*Metropolis*)
  Motion for a Return (*Lord Norton*) *July* 17, 1020; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Return ordered to be laid before the House

Egerton, Hon. A. F., *Wigan*
  Navy—Evolutionary Squadron, 124
    Shipbuilding—Naval Expenditure (Vote of Credit), 421
  Supply, Report, 563

Egypt
Lords
  The Nile Expedition—Sir Charles Wilson, Question, Viscount Enfield; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for War (Viscount Bury) *July* 14, 609

Egypt
Commons
Finance, &c.
  Egyptian General Assembly—The Egyptian Loan, Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 9, 115

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Egypt—COMMONS—*Finance, &c.*—cont.

The International Financial Agreement—The Loan of £9,000,000, Questions, Mr. Ruston ; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 16, 918 ; *July* 17, 1060 ; Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Ruston ; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 23, 1630

The Soudan

Evacuation of Dongola, Question, Mr. Wingfield Digby ; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 10, 281

The Troops at Suakin, Question, Dr. Cameron ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 13, 419

Reported Death of the Mahdi, Question, Mr. Brodrick ; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 13, 436 ; Question, Sir Robert Fowler ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 22, 1594 ; Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot ; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 23, 1634

Reported Fighting at Kassala, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 22, 1518 ; Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1594

Military Expedition

Sir Herbert Stewart's Force, Question, General Owen Williams ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 21, 1404

The Suakin and Red Sea Force—The Indian Contingent, Question, Mr. M'Laren ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 23, 1621

The Nile Expedition

Steamers on the Nile, Question, Mr. Gourley ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 13, 427

Sir Charles Wilson, Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor ; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 14, 660 ; *July* 16, 914

War in the Soudan

Medical Officers, Question, Mr. Beresford ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 23, 1625

(*Miscellaneous Questions*)

Alleged Slavery, Questions, Mr. M'Coan ; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 9, 121 ; *July* 13, 424

M. Olivier Pain, Question, Mr. O'Kelly ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 9, 120 ; Question Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 10, 280 ; Question, Mr. O'Kelly ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 20, 1201 ; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 22, 1594

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Egypt — COMMONS — *Miscellaneous Questions*—cont.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Mission, Questions, Mr. M'Laren ; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 23, 1632

The Alexandria Massacres—Charges against the Khedive, Question, Mr. M'Coan ; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill *July* 16, 924

The Earl of Northbrook's Reports, Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler ; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 9, 124

The International Sanitary Council—Quarantine, Question, Mr. Sutherland ; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 9, 113

ELCHO, Lord, *Haddingtonshire*
Parliament—Business of the House, 659
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Electric Lighting Act, 1882—*Legislation*
Question, Mr. Warton ; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 13, 417

Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Birmingham, &c.) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord President*)
l. Read 3^{a} * *July* 9 (No. 80)
c. Read 1^{o} * *July* 10 [Bill 228]
Read ^{o} * *July* 15

Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord President*)
l. Committee * *July* 9 (No. 79)
Report * *July* 10
Read 3^{a} * *July* 13
c. Read 1^{o} * *July* 13 [Bill 233]
2R. deferred, after short debate *July* 20, 1184
Read 2^{c} * *July* 21

ELLENBOROUGH, Lord
Real Property Registration, 2R. 106

ELLIOT, Hon. A. R. D., *Roxburgh*
Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 202
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Consid. *add. cl.* 1659 ; *cl.* 2, 1671

ELTON, Mr. C. I., *Somerset, W.*
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Consid. *add. cl.* 784 ; Amendt. 785, 786 ; 3R. 1017

EMLY, Lord
Giants' Causeway, Portrush, and Bush Valley Railway and Tramway, 3R. 1561

EMLYN, Viscount, *Carmarthenshire*
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. 1443

Empire, Defences of the
Coaling Stations, Question, Mr. Salt ; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Guy Dawnay) *July* 24, 1777

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Empire, Defences of the—cont.
Defence of Commercial Ports and Seaside Towns, Question, Observations, Earl Cowper; Reply, The Lord Privy Seal (The Earl of Harrowby); short debate thereon *July* 17, 1028
Defence of Londonderry Harbour, Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 23, 1628
Works at Singapore, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Guy Dawnay) *July* 24, 1782

ENFIELD, Viscount
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  Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to make provisions in the Bill for extending the eligibility of persons for appointments as Naval Knights of Windsor (*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett*); Committee; Report *July* 21, 1514
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- *Failure of the Munster Bank*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Brodrick; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke), The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 20, 1210; Questions, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Gray; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 21, 1407
- *Grand Jury* (*Ireland*) *Act—Fees to the Secretary to the Grand Jury, Co. Cavan*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 16, 909
- *Industrial Schools*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 17, 1057
- *Intermediate Education* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1878—*Application of Act to Girls*, Question, Mr. James Stuart; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 16, 917
- *Landlord and Tenant—Miss Kieran, Tenant of the Earl of Howth*, Question, Mr. Sheil; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 9, 118;—*Mr. Sandford Wills*, Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 24, 1782
- *Loans to Landlords* (*Raymunterdoney, Co. Donegal*, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 9, 122
- *Local Taxation — Town Commissioners of Bangor, Co. Down — Audit of Accounts*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 20, 1206
- *Meetings of the National League, King's Co.—Intrusion of the Police*, Questions, Mr. Molloy; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 20, 1192
- *Mr. C. H. James, Official Asignee in Bankruptcy—Investigation of Accounts*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 14, 656
- *Parliamentary Elections—Assistant Revising Barristers*, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 9, 120;—*City of Londonderry—The New List of Voters*, Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) *July* 20, 1188
- *Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 16, 904

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- *The Bankruptcy Court—Insufficiency of Staff*, Question, Mr. Findlater; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 17, 1058
- *The Collector General of Rates, Dublin*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 13, 410
- *The Landed Estates Court—Purchase of Holdings*, Observations, Lord Castletown; Reply, The Marquess of Waterford *July* 13, 396
- *The "Protestant Episcopalian Church of Ireland,"* Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 17, 1057; Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 21, 1405
- *The Royal University of Ireland—Second Examination in Arts*, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 20, 1208
- *Tramways*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 23, 1623
- *Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing Perpetuity Act*, 1851, Withdrawal of Notice, Observations, The Earl of Leitrim *July* 17, 1040

Board of Works (*Ireland*)
- *Sligo Harbour Board—Repayment of Loan*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 14, 657

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- *Deep Sea Trawling*, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 14, 655
- *Fisheries* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1842—*Obstruction of Fisheries*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 24, 1779
- *Mussel Fisheries*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 23, 1616

Sea Fisheries (*Ireland*)
- *The Rivers Foyle and Bann*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 23, 1617

Lunatic Asylums (*Ireland*)
- *Cork Lunatic Asylum*, Observations, Mr. Deasy *July* 24, 1807
- *Inspectors of Lunacy—The Report*, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 23, 1624

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- *Commissioners of—The Rev. Dr. Hanna, D.D.*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 20, 1196

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Rathdowney Dispensary District, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 20, 1193

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The General Post Office, Dublin—Substitution of Gas Engines for Steam, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord John Manners) *July* 10, 278

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The River Bann, Questions, Sir Thomas M'Clure, Dr. Lyons; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 20, 1186

The Upper Morning Star River Drainage District, Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 16, 911

Fishery Piers and Harbours (Ireland)

Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 21, 1396

Piers at Balderrig, Killerduff, and Pul-Na-Muck, Co. Mayo, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 24, 1781

The Greystones Harbour, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 23, 1624

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Chancery Division, High Court of Justice—Contempt of Court—Mr. O'Brien, M.P., Questions, Mr. M'Coan; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes); Question, Mr. Healy [no reply] *July* 16, 923; Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Speaker, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 21, 1401

Custody of Prisoners in Ireland, Observations, Mr. Sexton; Reply, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes); short debate thereon *July* 24, 1808

Expenses of Witnesses — Mrs. Margaret Raftery, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 23, 1621

Mr. W. Francis, Petty Sessions Clerk, Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 16, 916

Release of a Convict Murderer, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 16, 909

The Maamtrasna Murders, Question, Mr Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 16, 921; Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 21, 1405

The Magistracy (Ireland)

Belfast Petty Sessions—Attendance of Magistrates, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 14, 661

Stewartstown Petty Sessions—Party Processions, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 23, 1615

Borough of Belfast—Roman Catholic Magistrates, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 20, 1193

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Detention of Intoxicated Persons, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 20, 1209

Killing of Thomas M'Grath's Geese at Cahir, Co. Roscommon, Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 24, 1782

Protection at Cladymore, Question, Mr. Small; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 17, 1064

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Inspectors of Prisons, Question, Mr. Brodrick; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 10, 288

Salaries of Prison Warders, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 10, 278

Royal Irish Constabulary

Case of District Inspector Murphy, Observations, Mr. John Redmond; Reply, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes); debate thereon *July* 10, 340

Death of Peter O'Gara in a Police Cell at Sligo, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 13, 422

Distribution, Questions, Mr. Deasy, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 22, 1515

District Inspector Gibbons, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 23, 1620

Explosives Acts — Appointment of Inspectors, Question, Mr. P. J. Power; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 17, 1055

Promotion, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 17, 1054

Crime and Outrage (*Ireland*)

Alleged Firing at the Person at Killasmeestia, Queen's Co., Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 16, 905

"*Boycotting*" *of Irish Workmen*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 16, 920

Murder of Mrs. Nolan, Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 13, 420; Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke); Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor [no reply] *July* 16, 920

Riot at Waterford, Question, Mr. P. J. Power; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 13, 436

[See titles *Land Law* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881
" *Land Law* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881 —*Irish Land Commission*
" *Prevention of Crime* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1882]

Ireland—Maamtrasna, &c. Murders

Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 16, 921; Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 21, 1405

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *July* 17, To leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the Government to institute strict inquiry into the evidence and convictions in the Maamtrasna, Barbavilla, Crossmaglen, and Castleisland cases, the case of the brothers Delahunty, and, generally, all cases in which witnesses examined in the trials now declare that they committed perjury, or in which proof of the innocence of the accused is tendered by credible persons, and that such inquiries, with a view to the full discovery of truth and the relief of innocent persons, should be held in the manner most favourable to the reception of all available evidence" (*Mr. Parnell*) *v.*, 1064; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put, and agreed to

JAMES, Right Hon. Sir H., *Taunton*

Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. 1445; *cl.* 2, 1499
Police Enfranchisement Extension, 2R. 1732
Revising Barristers, 2R. 1730

Japan—Mr. Hartley

Question, Mr. Grantham; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 17, 1060

JERNINGHAM, Mr. H. E. H., *Berwick-on-Tweed*

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Mines, Accidents in—The Royal Commission, 1205

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Pluralities, Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1870; *cl.* 8, Amendt. *ib.*
Public Health (Members and Officers), Comm. 233, 234; *cl.* 2, 788, 792; *cl.* 3, 796

KENNY, Mr. M. J., *Ennis*

Ireland—Magistracy—Resident Magistrates, 127

KIMBERLEY, Earl of

East India Loan (£10,000,000), 2R. 274
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KING-HARMAN, Colonel E. R., *Dublin Co.*

Labourers (Ireland) (No. 2), 2R. 575
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Consid. *add. cl.* 1657

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King-Harman, Colonel E. R.—*cont.*
Rathmines and Rathgar Township, Consid. *cl.* 11, 646, 648
Supply—Local Government Board, Ireland, 1284, 1289
Public Buildings, Ireland, 1222

Labouchere, Mr. H., *Northampton*
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. 1694
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Rathmines and Rathgar Township, Consid. *cl.* 11, 651
Southwark and Vauxhall Water, 2R. 1387, 1612, 1613
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Labourers (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill
(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. 2R. deferred, after short debate *July* 9, 223
Read 2^{o}, after debate *July* 13, 574 [Bill 68]
Committee *—R.P. *July* 22

Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881
Duke of Abercorn's Estate—Bryan Molloy, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 24, 1780
Sub-Commissioners, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 13, 415

Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881 — *The Irish Land Commission*
Fair Rents, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 9, 112
Applications for Fair Rent and Appeals, Question, Mr. Marum; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 10, 284
Block in the Appeal Court, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 17, 1056

Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881—*Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole*
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *July* 24, To leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, the oppressive character of Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole's relations with his own tenantry, and the general public distrust justly inspired by his decisions, render it undesirable that he should continue to be intrusted with the administration of the Land Law (Ireland) Act" (*Mr. O'Brien*) *v.* 1789; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Amendt. To leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, the general public distrust inspired by the decisions of Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole renders it desirable that further inquiry should be made into his administration of the Land Law (Ireland) Act" (*Mr. O'Brien*) *v.*; Question put, "That the words, &c.;" A. 123, N. 32; M. 91 (D. L. 247)
Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881—*Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole*—cont.

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Lord Ashbourne*)
l. Presented; read 1^{a}, after short debate *July* 17, 1040 (No. 184)
Read 2^{a}, after short debate *July* 20, 1178
Committee, after debate *July* 21, 1342
Report *July* 23, 1606 (No. 197)
Read 3^{a}, after short debate *July* 24, 1775 (Nos. 204-205)
c. Read 1^{o} * *July* 24 [Bill 249]

Land Purchase (*Ireland*) *Bill*
Question, Mr. Small; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 23, 1624

Lands Held in Mortmain—The Death Duties
Amendt. on Committee of Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2) Bill *July* 23, To leave out from "That," add "the proposed exemption of lands held in mortmain from the charge to be imposed on corporate property in lieu of Death Duties is inexpedient and unjust" (*Mr. Arthur Arnold*) *v.* 1679; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 94, N. 38; M. 56 (D. L. 243)

Law and Justice (England and Wales)
(*Questions*)
Case of David Bradley, M.D., Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 16, 907; Questions, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 21, 1396
Court of Bankruptcy, Newcastle-on-Tyne—The Vicar of St. Mark's, South Shields, Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 20, 1203
High Court of Justice—Return of Causes, Question, Mr. Ince; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 16, 911
Offences under the Explosives Act, 1883, *and Attacks upon unarmed Persons with Revolvers—Flogging*, Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 16, 925
Sentences at the Surrey Sessions, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 14, 657
The Assizes, Questions, Mr. Hicks; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 20, 1195

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LAW AND JUSTICE (*England and Wales*)—cont.
The Trial of Mrs. Jeffreys, Questions, Mr. W. Fowler; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 9, 125; *July* 20, 1187

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)
Alleged Case of Abduction, Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 21, 1403
Alleged Drunkenness — Case of Mr. John Shaw Phillips, Culham House, Abingdon, Berks, Question, Mr. E. W. Harcourt; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 16, 913
Attack on Police Constable Davis, Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 17, 1059
Disturbance at Rye House, Herts, Questions, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Beresford, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 20, 1194
Kensington Gardens, Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 20, 1207
Punishment of Burglars attacking unarmed Persons with Revolvers—Flogging, Questions, Sir Frederick Milner, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 17, 1062
The "Pall Mall Gazette" — Objectionable Articles, Question, Mr. Albert Grey; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 10, 281; Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 14, 661; Question, Mr. Samuel Smith; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 16, 910
Sale of Obscene Literature, Questions, Mr. Staveley Hill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross); Question, Mr. Onslow [no reply] *July* 21, 1408
Obscene Publications, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 22, 1516
[See titles *Metropolis — "Pall Mall Gazette," The*]

Law of Evidence (Criminal Cases) Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 14 [Bill 65]

LAWRENCE, Sir J. J. Trevor, *Surrey, Mid*
Southwark and Vauxhall Water, 2R. 1384

LAWRENCE, Mr. Alderman W., *London*
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), 2R. 948
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LENNOX, Right Hon. Lord H. G. C. G., *Chichester*
Admiralty — Expenditure and Liabilities — Financial Management of the Navy, 1200; —Appointment of a Financial Lord, 1201
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(*Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Houldsworth*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * *July* 9 [Bill 226]

Lighthouse Commission, The — Professor Tyndall
Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 23, 1617

LIMERICK, Earl of
Land Purchase (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1368; *cl.* 15, 1369
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Questions, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Mr. Mundella; Answers, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 13, 408; Question, Sir Harry Verney; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 23, 1631
Security from Risk of Fire, Question, Mr. Coope; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 20, 1204
"*The House of Commons*, 1793"—*The Painting by Hickel*, Question, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 14, 661

LLOYD, Mr. M., *Beaumaris*
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Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders Bill (*Lord Carrington*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lix]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders Bill
(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*)
c. Read 3º * *July* 8 [Bill 182]
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *July* 9 (No. 170)
Read 2ª * *July* 17

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill
(*The Lord President*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxi]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4) Bill
(*The Lord President*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lx]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 5) Bill
(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*)
c. Considered * *July* 8 [Bill 186]
Read 3º * *July* 9
l. Read 1ª * (*E. of Iddesleigh*) *July* 10 (No. 173)
Read 2ª * *July* 17
Committee *; Report *July* 20
Read 3ª * *July* 21
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cix]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]
c. Report * *July* 14 [Bill 162]
Read 3º * *July* 15
l. Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. xcviii]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 1º * *July* 8 [Bill 212]
Read 2º * *July* 14

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 1ª * *July* 9 (No. 167)
Read 2ª * *July* 17
Committee *; Report *July* 20
Read 3ª * *July* 21
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cvi]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee * *July* 13 (No. 147)
Report * *July* 14
Read 3ª * *July* 16
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. ci]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 17 (No. 153)
Report * *July* 20
Read 3ª * *July* 21

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke*)
c. Read 3º * *July* 8 [Bill 201]
l. Read 1ª * *July* 9 (No. 168)
Read 2ª * *July* 17
Committee *; Report *July* 20
Read 3ª * *July* 21
Royal Assent *July* 22 48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cvii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Municipal Corporations) Bill
l. Read 1ª * *July* 9 (No. 166)
Read 2ª * *July* 17
Committee *; Report *July* 20
Read 3ª * *July* 21
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cv]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) Bill (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke*)
c. Read 3º * *July* 8 [Bill 198]
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Carrington*) *July* 9 (No. 169)
Read 2ª * *July* 17
Committee *; Report *July* 20
Read 3ª * *July* 21
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cviii]

Local Loans (Sinking Funds) Bill (*Sir Matthew Ridley, Sir Richard Cross, Sir Hardinge Giffard*)
c. Read 3º * *July* 10 [Bill 189]
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Brownlow*) *July* 13 (No. 175)
Read 2ª * *July* 17
Committee *; Report *July* 20
Read 3ª * *July* 21
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 30]

Lunacy Acts Amendment Bill (*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*)
c. Ordered; read 1º * *July* 22 [Bill 244]

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Marine Biological Association—Application for an Examining Station in Plymouth Sound
  Question, Sir Lyon Playfair ; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 20, 1196

Marriages (Saint John, Cowley) Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*)
c. Ordered ; read 1°* *July* 14 [Bill 234]
  Read 2°* *July* 15
  Committee* ; Report ; read 3° *July* 16
l. Read 1ª* (*E. Beauchamp*) *July* 17 (No. 187)
  Read 2ª* ; Committee negatived *July* 20
  Read 3ª, after short debate *July* 21, 1342
  Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cx]

Marriages Validity Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General*)
c. Bill withdrawn* *July* 9 [Bill 103]

MARTIN, Mr. R. B., *Tewkesbury*
  Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 10, 1704 ; *cl.* 23, 1719 ; *cl.* 25, Amendt. 1721

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Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill
Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Questions, Mr. Jesse Collings, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Carbutt; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 10, 285; Notice of Question, Mr. Jesse Collings; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr . A. J Balfour), 289; Question, Mr. Jesse Collings; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 13, 435; Questions, Mr. Heneage, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 14, 664; Observations, Mr. Jesse Collings; Reply, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 17, 1059; Questions, Mr. Pell, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Causton; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 21, 1408; Questions, Mr. Heneage; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 24, 1783

Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Bill (*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Dalrymple*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Arthur Balfour*) *July* 13, 576; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Clare Read*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 5, N. 33; M. 28 (D. L. 224)
Original Question again proposed; after short debate, original Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * [Bill 232]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 16, 964
Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "in the relief of destitute paupers out of any Poor Rate, this House declines to draw a distinction in favour of enfranchising those who obtain it in the form of medical treatment and those who are compelled to accept it in the form of bread" (*Mr. Pell*) *v*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Courtney*); after further short debate, Question put, and negatived; Question put, A. 279, N. 20; M. 259 (D. L. 232)
Main Question again proposed, 1010; after short debate, main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 21, 1411
Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "this House cannot approve of a measure which removes an incentive to independence, and fundamentally changes the principle of the Poor Law under which pauperism has steadily diminished since 1834" (*Mr. Courtney*) *v*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put: A. 226, N. 22; M. 204 (D. L. 236)
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put, and agreed to; Committee; Report
Considered *July* 23, 1637; after debate, Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of an Amendment to Clause 2" (*Mr. Ramsay*); after further short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Committee; Report
Moved, "That the Bill be read 3° To-morrow" (*Mr. Jesse Collings*), 1673; after short debate, Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Heneage*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn
Original Question put, and agreed to
Read 3° * *July* 24

Meldon, Mr. C. H., *Kildare*
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Consid. *add. cl.* 1647

Mercantile Marine
Certificates of Competency, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 13, 418
Mercantile Marine Fund, Question, Mr. Atkinson; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 24, 1778

Merchant Shipping Act — The Wreck Register, 1883-4
Question, Mr. Atkinson; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 21, 1402

Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry, &c.) Bill (*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 8 [Bill 179]

Metropolis
Public Health
The Westminster Sewer, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke ; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 10, 281

Street Traffic
The "Pall Mall Gazette"—Objectionable Articles — Revelations of Gross Immoralities, Question, Mr. Albert Grey ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 9, 126
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Newsvendors and the Police — Sale of Objectionable Publications, Question, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 10, 289

The Parks
Victoria Park Cricket Ground, Question, Mr. Bryce ; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 17, 1062

Metropolis (Hughes Fields, Deptford) Provisional Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]
c. Report * *July* 14 [Bill 205]
Read 3° * *July* 15
l. Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. xcix]

Metropolis Management Acts Amendment Bill (*Earl of Camperdown*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 17 (No. 162)
Committee * ; Report *July* 21

Metropolis (Tabard Street, Newington) Provisional Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]
c. Report * *July* 14 [Bill 204]
Read 3° * *July* 15
l. Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. c]

Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill (*Sir Henry Holland, Colonel Walrond*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *July* 9 [Bill 224]
Read 2° * *July* 13
Committee * ; Report *July* 20
Considered * *July* 23
Read 3° * *July* 24

Metropolitan Police Staff Superannuation Bill (*Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Sir Henry Holland*)
c. Ordered * *July* 23

Milltown, Earl of
Cholera Hospitals (Ireland), Comm. 1772
Housing of the Working Classes (England), Comm. 1171
Land Purchase (Ireland), 1R. 1051 ; 3R. 1776
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Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 9, 395 ; Report, Amendt. 1161
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Milner, Sir F. G., *York City*
Law and Police—Punishment of Burglars—Flogging, 1062
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. 1430
Supply—Public Education, 683

Mines, Accidents in — The Royal Commission
Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 20, 1205

Mines Regulation Act — Clifton Hall Colliery Explosion
Question, Mr. Burt ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 21, 1393

Minto, Earl of
Secretary for Scotland, Comm. *add. cl.* 591 ; Report, 899 ; 3R. Amendt. 1371, 1380

Molloy, Mr. B. C., *King's Co.*
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Meetings of the National League, King's Co.—Intrusion of Police, 1192
Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland), Comm. 1014
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Monk, Mr. C. J., *Gloucester City*
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), 2R. 945
Parliament—Business of the House, 1517

Monk-Bretton, Lord
Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 9, 395

Morley, Earl of
Defences of the Empire—Defence of Commercial Ports and Seaside Towns, 1039

Morley, Mr. J., *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*
Charity Commission—Mr. Charles Alderson, 1198, 1199

Morley, Mr. S., *Bristol*
Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 206

Mount-Temple, Lord
Protection of Young Girls—A Royal Commission, 1161, 1164
River Thames (No. 2), 2R. 1597, 1599

Moveable Dwellings Bill (*Mr. Digby, Mr. Elton, Mr. Burt, Mr. Warton, Mr. Broadhurst*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Digby*) *July* 21, 1512; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * [Bill 239]
Moved, "That the Bill be read 2° upon Thursday;" Motion withdrawn; Bill to be read 2° upon Monday next

Mowbray, Right Hon. Sir J. R., *Oxford University*
Admiralty (Expenditure and Liabilities), Motion for a Select Committee, 881
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. 1692

Mundella, Right Hon. A. J., *Sheffield*
Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 310, 316, 324
Education Department—School Board Elections, 1406
Heriot's Hospital Scheme, Motion for an Address, 1754
Literature, Science, and Art—National Portrait Gallery, 408
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. 1459
Supply—Public Education, 698, 704, 709, 720, 726, 728, 732

National Debt Bill (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 10 [Bill 172]
Committee; Report *July* 16, 964
Considered * *July* 17
Read 3° * *July* 20
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl of Iddesleigh*) *July* 21
Read 2ª * *July* 24

Navy (*Miscellaneous Questions*)
Collision with H.M.S. "Hecla," Questions, Mr. Onslow; Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) *July* 22, 1516
Haulbowline Works, Queenstown, Questions, Mr. Deasy; Answers, The Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) *July* 24. 1785
Naval Accountant and Engineer Officers, Question, Mr. Gabbett; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) *July* 21, 1403
Naval Hospitals—Scripture Readers, &c., Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 20, 1199
Naval Knights of Windsor, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 16, 906
New South Wales—A Training Ship, Question, Mr. Brogden; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 20, 1206

Navy—*cont.*
Rank of Chief Engineers, Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver: Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) *July* 17, 1055
Re-instatement of Hobart Pasha, Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 8, 3;—*The Pay of Hobart Pasha,* Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 9, 126 [See *Supply—Questions*]
Royal Marines and the Commissariat Staff, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) *July* 14, 653
Shipbuilding Contracts—Time Allowed for Completion, Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) *July* 20, 1187
Shipbuilding—Naval Expenditure (*The Vote of Credit*), Questions, Mr. A. F. Egerton, Mr. Rylands; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 13, 421
The Dockyards—Duty Pay, Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 10, 276
The Evolutionary Squadron, Question, Mr. A. F. Egerton; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 9, 124
Torpedo Experiments, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 13, 418
Torpedo Boats, Questions, Captain Price, Captain Aylmer; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 20, 1188
Range for Torpedo Practice, Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) *July* 24, 1785

Navy—Admiralty (Expenditure and Liabilities)
Notice, The Earl of Northbrook *July* 10, 244; Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton), 285; Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 13, 435; Observations, The Earl of Northbrook; short debate thereon *July* 14, 610
Moved, That a Select Committee be appointed, "to inquire into and report upon the circumstances under which the Expenditure and Liabilities incurred by the Admiralty under the recent Vote of Credit have exceeded the revised Estimate stated to the House by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 5th June 1885."—Committee to consist of Seven Members, to be nominated by the Committee of Selection; Three to be the quorum:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records (*Lord George Hamilton*) *July* 15, 881; after short debate, Motion agreed to
Financial Management of the Navy, Question, Lord Henry Lennox; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 20, 1200

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Navy—Admiralty (Expenditure and Liabilities)—cont.
  Appointment of a Financial Lord, Question, Lord Henry Lennox; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 20, 1201

NEWDEGATE, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.*
  Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), 2R. 943
  Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 324

NOLAN, Colonel J. P., *Galway Co.*
  Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 502
    Commissariat, &c. Store Establishments, Wages, &c. 532
  Army (Supplementary) Estimate — Land Forces, 467
  Cholera Hospitals (Ireland), 2R. 575
  Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Swine Fever—Animals Order, 1884, 410, 659
  Law and Police—Disturbances at Rye House, Herts, 1194, 1195
  Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *add. cl.* 1511
  Navy—Royal Marines and the Commissariat Staff, 653
  Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 33
  Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers), Comm. *cl.* 2, 778
  Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland), Comm. 1013, 1015
  Supply—Admiralty Court Registry, Ireland, 1318, 1319
    Comm. 381
    Constabulary, Ireland, 1833, 1852
    Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1323
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    National Gallery of Ireland, 1325, 1327, 1329, 1330
    Public Buildings, Ireland, 1219, 1245
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    Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Ireland, 1856
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NORTHBROOK, Earl of
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  Defences of the Empire—Defence of Commercial Ports and Seaside Towns, 1037
  Vote of Credit—Naval Administration of the late Government, 610, 630, 631

NORTHCOTE, Hon. H. S. (Financial Secretary, War Department), *Exeter*
  Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 496

North Sea Fisheries—"Coopering"
  Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 24, 1783

NORTON, Lord
  Secondary Education in Board Schools (Metropolis), Motion for a Return, 1020

Oaths Bill (*Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Percy Wyndham, Mr. Charles Russell, Mr. Noel, Mr. Pennington, Mr. Arthur Elliot*)
  c. 2R., Debate adjourned *July* 15, 882
    Debate resumed *July* 24, 1865
    Moved, "That the Order be discharged" (*Mr. Newdegate*); Debate further adjourned

O'BEIRNE, Colonel F., *Leitrim*
  Ireland — Law and Police — Abstraction of Cattle, Co. Leitrim, 1617

O'BRIEN, Sir P., *King's Co.*
  Supply—Irish Land Commission, 1581, 1582
    Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland, 1565, 1567, 1570

O'BRIEN, Mr. W., *Mallow*
  Ireland—Questions
    Law and Police—Alleged Disturbances at Portadown, 1199, 1200
    Loans to Landlords—Raymunterdoney, Co. Donegal, 122
    Royal Irish Constabulary—Case of District Inspector Murphy, 347
  Ireland—Land Law Act, 1881—Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole, Res. 1789, 1798, 1799
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O'CONNOR, Mr. A., *Queen's Co.*
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  Egypt (Nile Expedition)—Sir Charles Wilson, 660, 914
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  Public Health (Members and Officers), Comm. *cl.* 2, 793; *cl.* 3, 796
  Southwark and Vauxhall Water, 2R. 1381, 1610
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    Half-Pay, Reserved, &c. Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines, 79, 83
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  Pluralities, Nomination of Select Committee, 239
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The Voting Lists—Omission of Recipients of Poor Law Medical Relief, Questions, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Lewis; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 10, 282

Fixing of Polling Places, Questions, Mr. Heneage, Sir Bernhard Samuelson; Answers, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *July* 13, 433

The Dissolution — Postponement of School Board Elections, Notice of Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 10, 286; Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 16, 915

Parliament—Commons—*cont.*

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER

Accommodation in this House, Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 13, 421

Access to this House—Mr. Jenkinson, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 17, 1061

Parliament—House of Commons—Retirement of R. A. Gosset, Esq., Serjeant-at-Arms

Letter received by Mr. Speaker from Mr. Gosset, the Serjeant-at-Arms *July* 20, 1213; Letter to be taken into Consideration at a quarter-past 4 on Thursday next

Moved, "That the letter of Mr. Gosset be read by the Clerk at the Table" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) *July* 23, 1635; Motion agreed to; Letter read

Moved, "That Mr. Speaker be requested to acquaint Ralph Allen Gosset, esquire, that this House entertains a just sense of the exemplary manner in which he has uniformly discharged the duties of the office of Serjeant-at-Arms, and has devoted himself to the service of the House for a period of nearly fifty years" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Parliament—House of Lords

New Peers

July 9—Sir Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild, Baronet, created Baron Rothschild of Tring in the county of Hertford

July 13—Mervyn Edward, Viscount Powerscourt in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland, K.P., created Baron Powerscourt, of Powerscourt in the county of Wicklow

Anthony Henley, Baron Henley in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland, created Baron Northington, of Watford in the county of Northampton

The Right Honourable Sir Arthur Hobhouse, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, created Baron Hobhouse, of Hadspen in the county of Somerset

July 14—Gavin, Lord Breadalbane (Earl of Breadalbane in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland), created Earl of Ormelie in the county of Caithness, and Marquess of Breadalbane

Sat First

July 24—The Earl of Aylesford, after the death of his brother

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS
New Writ Issued
July 9—*For* Horsham, *v.* Sir Henry Fletcher, baronet, Groom in Waiting

New Members Sworn
July 10—Right Hon. William Thackeray Marriott, *Brighton*
July 13—John Eldon Gorst, esquire, *Chatham*
Henry John Atkinson, esquire, *Lincoln County* (Northern Division)
July 14—Lord Arthur Hill, *County of Down*
July 16—Sir Henry Fletcher, baronet, *Horsham*
July 20—Ferdinand James de Rothschild, commonly called Baron Ferdinand James de Rothschild, *Aylesbury*

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices) Bill (*Mr. Richard Paget, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Bulwer*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 8 [Bill 148]
Committee—R.P. *July* 9, 236
Committee; Report *July* 20, 1337
Considered *; read 3° *July* 21
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Beauchamp*) *July* 23 (No. 199)
Read 2ª * *July* 24

Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Bill
Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 9, 124; Question, Mr. Freshfield; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *July* 23, 1628

Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Bill (*Mr. Attorney General, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Order for Committee read *July* 13, 573
Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to extend the Bill to the Expenses of Returning Officers at Parliamentary Elections in Scotland" (*Sir Farrer Herschell*); Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P. [Bill 99]
Committee—R.P. *July* 14, 775

Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Woodall, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Coleridge Kennard, Mr. Stansfeld, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Yorke*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 22 [Bill 32]

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*
Ireland—Failure of the Munster Bank, 1407
Royal Irish Constabulary—Case of District Inspector Murphy, 369, 370
Ireland—Maamtrasna, &c. Murders, Res. 1064, 1091, 1092, 1101
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Consid. *add. cl.* 1657
Parliament—Business of the House, 927, 1409, 1410, 1633
[*cont.*

PARNELL, Mr. C. S.—*cont.*
Parliament — House of Commons — R. A. Gosset, Esq. Serjeant-at-Arms, 1637
Supply, Comm. 382
Public Buildings, Ireland, 1253
Public Works Office, Ireland, 1315

Patent Law Amendment Bill
(*Sir Farrer Herschell, Mr. Holms*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Sir Farrer Herschell*) *July* 21, 1513; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° *
Read 2° *July* 24, 1864 [Bill 240]

PATRICK, Mr. R. W. COCHRAN-, *Ayrshire, N.*
Supply — Grants in Aid of Local Taxation, Personal Explanation, 1212
Public Education, Scotland, 734

PEDDIE, Mr. J. DICK-, *Kilmarnock, &c.*
Supply—Houses of Parliament, 831

PEEL, Right Hon. A. W. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

PEEL, Right Hon. Sir R., *Huntingdon*
Factory Acts (Extension to Shops), 2R. 235
Navy Estimates—Half-Pay, Reserved, &c. Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines, 81, 82, 83, 216, 217
Supply, Report, 558, 564, 565

PELL, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*
Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 304
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Motion for Leave, 581, 584; 2R. Amendt. 964, 965, 968, 975, 988, 1007, 1408; Comm. 1447; *cl.* 1, Motion for reporting Progress, 1475; *cl.* 2, 1483; Motion for reporting Progress, 1485, 1490, 1498, 1503; Consid. *add. cl.* 1652

PEMBERTON, Mr. E. L., *Kent, E.*
Southwark and Vauxhall Water, 1610

PERCY, Lord A. M. A., *Westminster*
Lunacy Acts Amendment—Pauper Lunatics, 1397
Supply—Public Education, 710, 713, 714

PICTON, Mr. J. A., *Leicester Bo.*
Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 209, 210
Education Department—Religious Instruction in Board Schools, 1399
Ireland — Land Law Act, 1881 — Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole, Res. 1799
Law and Police—Alleged Case of Abduction, 1403
Supply—Public Education, 692

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders Bill (*Lord Sudeley*)
l. Committee * *July* 13 (No. 114)
Report * *July* 14
Read 3ª * *July* 16
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. civ]

PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Sir Lyon, *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
Marine Biological Association — Application for an Examining Station in Plymouth Sound, 1196
Secretary for Scotland, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1862, 1864
Supply—Public Education, Scotland, 743

PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. R. (First Commissioner of Works), *Dublin University*
Ireland — Royal Irish Constabulary — Case of District Inspector Murphy, 368, 369
Literature, Science, and Art—National Portrait Gallery, 408, 409, 1204, 1631
Parks (Metropolis)—Victoria Park Cricket Ground, 1063
Parliament—Palace of Westminster—Accommodation in this House, 421
Supply—Houses of Parliament, 799, 876
National Gallery of Ireland, 1327

Pluralities Bill (*Mr. Acland, Mr. Edward Howard, Sir John Kennaway, Lord Edward Cavendish*)
c. Lord Edward Cavendish and Mr. Cropper nominated other Members of the Select Committee *July* 9, 238
Moved, "That Sir Richard Cross be one other Member of the said Committee" (*Mr. Acland*); Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Illingworth*); Question put; A. 9, N. 45; M. 36 (D. L. 219)
Original Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That Mr. Beresford Hope be one other Member of the said Committee;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Illingworth*); after short debate, Question put, and negatived
Original Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That Viscount Emlyn be one other Member of the said Committee;" Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That Mr. Stafford Howard be one other Member of the said Committee;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; other Members nominated
July 13, Mr. Morgan Lloyd, Mr. Salt *added*
July 21, Mr. Caine, Mr. Atkinson *added*
Report of Select Comm. *July* 22 [No. 283]
Committee (*on re-comm.*)—R.P. *July* 23, 1734
Committee (*on re-comm.*); Report *July* 24, 1869 [Bill 22]

Poisons Bill
Poisonous Patent Medicines, Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 13, 428

Polehampton Estates Bill (*Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Attorney General*)
c. Read 1° * *July* 8 [Bill 216]
Read 2° *July* 13, 548
Committee *; Report; read 3° *July* 14
l. Read 1ª * (*E. of Iddesleigh*) *July* 16 (No. 183)
Read 2ª * *July* 24

Police Bill (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Bill withdrawn, after short debate *July* 9, 223 [Bill 113]

Police Enfranchisement Extension Bill (*Mr. Coleridge Kennard, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Mr. Cowen, Lord Claud John Hamilton, Mr. Robert Fowler, Mr. Reid, Mr. Houldsworth, Mr. George Elliot*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 8 [Bill 219]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 23, 1731; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Thorold Rogers*); after short debate, Question put; A. 59, N. 48; M. 11 (D. L. 245)
Debate resumed *July* 24, 1865; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Morgan Lloyd*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Original Question again proposed; Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Ramsay*); Question proposed, "That 'now' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)
Pauper Lunatics—Transference from Asylums to Workhouses, Question, Mr. Brinton; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 9, 122
Recipients of Medical Relief only, Questions, Mr. Salt, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 653
Removal of Paupers from Scotland to Ireland—Cases of Ann Magee and Thomas Carlin, Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, The Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Dalrymple) *July* 21, 1399

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill (*The Lord Carlingford*)
l. Committee, after debate *July* 13, 391 (No. 131)
Report *July* 20, 1160 (No. 176)
Read 3ª * *July* 21 (No. 195)

Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) Bill (*Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)
c. Read 1° * *July* 8 [Bill 214]
Read 2° * *July* 15
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair"

[*cont.*

Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) Bill—cont.
July 16, 1013; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Sexton*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P.
Committee—R.P. *July* 20, 1334
Committee; Report *July* 24, 1857

Portugal—Seizure of the "Erma" at Funchal
Questions, Mr. Wills; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 20, 1191

POSTMASTER GENERAL (*see* MANNERS, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R.)

POST OFFICE (*Miscellaneous Questions*)
North American Postal Service, Question, Mr. Giles; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord John Manners) *July* 9, 122
Postal Orders, Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord John Manners) *July* 13, 415
Savings Banks—Limitation of Deposits, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord John Manners) *July* 10, 277
The Committee on Postage Stamps, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord John Manners) *July* 16, 905
The Irish Mail Service between Dublin and the West, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord John Manners) *July* 16, 919

Post Office Sites Bill
(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Committee * (*on re-comm*); Report *July* 13
Read 3° * *July* 14 [Bill 193]
l. Read 1ª * (*E. of Iddesleigh*) *July* 16 (No. 181)
Read 2ª * *July* 24

POWER, Mr. J. O'Connor, *Mayo*
Police Enfranchisement Extension, 2R. 1868

POWER, Mr. P. J., *Waterford Co.*
Army—South Wales Borderers—Disturbances at Waterford, 923
Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Riot at Waterford, 436
Ireland—Land Law Act, 1881—Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole, Res. 1797
Supply—Irish Land Commission, 1580, 1581
Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland, 1534, 1547, 1574
Public Buildings, Ireland, 1239
Royal Irish Constabulary — Explosives Acts—Appointment of Inspectors, 1055

POWER, Mr. R., *Waterford City*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The Militia, 1622

POWIS, Earl of
Housing of the Working Classes (England), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1177
Land Purchase (Ireland), 3R. 1775

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882 *—Resident Magistrates*
Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir W. Hart Dyke) *July* 13, 427

Prevention of Crimes Amendment Bill
[H.L.] (*Mr. Tomlinson*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 24 [Bill 93]

PRICE, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
Navy—Torpedo Boats, 1188
Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 29, 36
Dockyards, &c. 45
New Works, Buildings, &c. 77

PRIME MINISTER (*see* SALISBURY, Marquess of)

Prince Henry of Battenberg's Naturalization Bill [*Lords*]
l. Presented (on petition); read 1ª * *July* 13

Public Health
International Sanitary Conference at Rome, Question, Mr. Sutherland; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 9, 113
Small-Pox—The "Castalia" Hospital Ship—Vaccination of an Infant at Birth, and again three days after, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 20, 1185

Public Health (Members and Officers) Bill (*Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Long, Mr. Cowen*)
c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 9, 232
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Biggar*); after short debate, Question put; A. 12, N. 80; M. 68 (D. L. 217)
Original Question again proposed; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P. [Bill 114]
Committee; Report *July* 14, 788
Considered *; read 3° *July* 20
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Brownlow*) *July* 21 (No. 194)
Read 2ª * *July* 24

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order Bill (*Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Committee * *July* 13 (No. 148)
Report * *July* 14
Read 3ª * *July* 16

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Report * *July* 14 [Bill 207]
Considered * *July* 15
Read 3° * *July* 16
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Beauchamp*) *July* 17 (No. 188)

Public Health (Ships, &c.) Bill (*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 10 [Bill 230]
Read 2° * *July* 13
Committee *; Report; read 3° *July* 16
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Brownlow*) *July* 17 (No. 186)
Read 2ª * *July* 23
Committee *; Report *July* 24

Puleston, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
Africa (West Coast) — Cable Communication, 916
Asia (Central)—Afghanistan—Reported Russian Advance, 928
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1501, 1506
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Dockyards, &c. 60
Half-Pay, Reserved, &c. Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines, 70
New Works, Buildings, &c. 77

Raikes, Right Hon. H. C., *Cambridge University*
General Gordon, 1395

Railways
Railway Commission—Differential Rates on English as against Foreign Agricultural Products, Question, Mr. Atkinson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 17, 1056
Railway Couplings — Accidents to Railway Servants, Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 13, 409
The Accident on the Furness Railway, Question, Mr. T. C. Thompson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 9, 126

Ramsay, Mr. J., *Falkirk, &c.*
Crofters' Holdings (Scotland), 2R. 570
Heriot's Hospital Scheme, Motion for an Address, 1750
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. 1464; *cl.* 2, 1484, 1485; Consid. *add. cl.* Amendt. 1657, 1659
Navy Estimates—Half-Pay, Reserved, &c. Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines, 217, 218
Parliament—Business of the House, 433
Police Enfranchisement Extension, 2R. Amendt. 1867, 1869

Rankin, Mr. J., *Leominster*
Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 327
Inland Revenue — Income Tax — Married Women's Property Act, 1882, 414
Post Office—Postal Orders, 415
Supply—Public Education, 733

Rathbone, Mr. W., *Carnarvonshire*
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. 1424, 1426; *cl.* 2, 1478

Rathmines and Rathgar Township Bill [Lords] (by Order)
c. Considered *July* 14, 635
Read 3°, after short debate *July* 17, 1053

Ravensworth, Earl of
Defences of the Empire—Defence of Commercial Ports and Seaside Towns, 1036
Vote of Credit — Naval Administration of the late Government, 633

Read, Mr. C. S., *Norfolk, W.*
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Swine Fever—Order in Council, 922
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2)—Brewing Licences, 660
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 21, 1716
Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 326
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Motion for Leave, 583; 2R. 972; Comm. 1420, 1459; *add. cl.* 1510

Real Property Registration Bill [H.L.] (*The Duke of Marlborough*)
l. Bill withdrawn, after short debate *July* 9, 102 (No. 132)

Redesdale, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)
Giants' Causeway, Portrush, and Bush Valley Railway and Tramway, 3R. 1759, 1763
Land Purchase (Ireland), Comm. 1362
Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2), Res. 387
Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), Comm. 887, 889; Report, 1051, 1052; 3R. Amendt. 1370
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Redmond, Mr. J. E., *New Ross*
Royal Irish Constabulary—Case of District Inspector Murphy, 340
Supply—Constabulary, Ireland, 1829, 1831
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Redmond, Mr. W. H. K., *Wexford*
Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Case of District Inspector Murphy, 365
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Redmond, Mr. W. H. K.—*cont.*
  Ireland — Maamtrasna, &c. Murders, Res. 1090
  Supply—National Gallery of Ireland, 1328
    Public Buildings, Ireland, 1230, 1242, 1261

Reed, Sir E. J., *Cardiff*
  Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 8
    Dockyards, &c. 52
    Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c. 75

Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway Bill
l. Moved, "That Standing Order No. 93. be considered in order to its being dispensed with in respect of a Petition of the Metropolitan Railway Company praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill" (*The Lord Balfour*) *July* 10, 244; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Leave given to present the said Petition

Registration Act, 1843 — *Appointment of Revising Barristers*
  Question, Mr. J. W. Lowther; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *July* 21, 1402

Representation of the People Act, 1884
  Disfranchisement of the Carrickfergus Freemen, Question, Mr. Sinclair; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) *July* 17, 1058
  Election Expenses, Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 20, 1207
  Undergraduate Occupiers, Question, Mr. Marum; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 14, 654

Revising Barristers Bill (*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir R. Assheton Cross*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 21 [Bill 237]
  Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 23, 1730
  Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Morgan Lloyd*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
  Original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

Richmond and Gordon, Duke of (President of the Board of Trade)
  Harbour Accommodation, 1609
  Housing of the Working Classes (England), 3R. 1771
  Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway, Res. 245
  River Thames (No. 2), 2R. 1599
  Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 4, 1168
  Submarine Telegraph Cables, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1602, 1603; *add. cl.* 1604, 1605; Report, Amendt. 1774
  Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1764

Ritchie, Mr. C. T. (Secretary to the Admiralty), *Tower Hamlets*
  Madagascar—Protection to Person and Property of British Subjects, 279
  Navy—Questions
    Collision with H.M.S. "Hecla," 1517
    Naval Accountant and Engineer Officers, 1403
    Rank of Chief Engineers, 1056
    Royal Marines and the Commissariat Staff, 653
    Shipbuilding Contracts—Time Allowed for Completion, 1187
  Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 17
    Dockyards, &c. 57
    Half-Pay, Reserved, &c. Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines, 218
  Supply—Irish Land Commission, 1591

River Thames (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Story-Maskelyne, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Elton, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Sellar, Colonel Makins, Mr. Molloy*)
c. Consideration deferred, after short debate *July* 8, 84 [Bill 203]
  Considered; read 3° *July* 9, 238
l. Read 1ª (*Lord Mount-Temple*) *July* 10 (No. 171)
  Read 2ª, after short debate *July* 23, 1597

Rogers, Mr. J. E. Thorold, *Southwark*
  Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1502
  Police Enfranchisement Extension, 2R. 1731

Rosebery, Earl of
  Secretary for Scotland, 2R. 86, 99, 102; Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 586; *cl.* 4, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 5, Amendt, 587; *add. cl. ib.* 590, 591, 593, 600, 602, 605, 607; Report, 899; 3R. 1371, 1373, 1376, 1379, 1380
  The Executive Government—Change of Administration, 264

Ross, Mr. C., *St. Ives*
  Harbour Accommodation—National Harbours of Refuge, 1620

Rosse, Earl of
  Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2), Comm. 887

Russell, Mr. T., *Glasgow*
  Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 10, Amendt. 1709, 1710, 1711

Ruston, Mr. J., *Lincoln City*
  Egypt—International Financial Agreement—The Loan of £9,000,000, 918, 1060, 1631

Rylands, Mr. P., *Burnley*
  Army (Supplementary) Estimate — Land Forces, Amendt. 452
  Navy (Shipbuilding)—Naval Expenditure (Vote of Credit), 421
  Supply—Houses of Parliament, 864, 865, 866
    Report, 560

Sale of Food and Drugs Act — Oleomargarine
Question, Mr. Duckham ; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 9, 114

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) Bill (*Mr. Theodore Fry, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Dodds, Mr. Thomas Richardson, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Thomas Thompson*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 8 [Bill 29]

SALISBURY, Marquess of (Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs)
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Housing of the Working Classes (England), 2R. 889 ; Comm. 1171 ; *cl.* 3, 1173, 1175, 1176, 1177 ; *cl.* 4, *ib.* ; Report, Amendt. 1339, 1340, 1341 ; 3R. 1770
Land Purchase (Ireland), Comm. 1351
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Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), Report, 1052

SALT, Mr. T., *Stafford*
Asia (Central)—Afghanistan—Reported Russian Advance, 1064
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. *cl.* 1, 228
Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 211
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), 2R. 950
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Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 321
Poor Law (England and Wales)—Recipients of Medical Relief only, 653
Supply—Land Registry, 750

SAMUELSON, Sir B., *Banbury*
Parliamentary Elections—Fixing of Polling Places, 434

School Boards Bill
(*Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Arthur Balfour*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *July* 15 [Bill 235]
Read 2° * *July* 20
Committee * ; Report *July* 21
Read 3° * *July* 22
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *July* 23 (No. 200)
Read 2ª * *July* 24

SCLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G., *Hants, N.*
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), 2R. 939
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SCOTLAND
Housing of the Working Classes, Question, Mr. C. S. Parker ; Answers, The Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Dalrymple), The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 23, 1626

SCOTLAND—*cont.*
The Castle Rock, Edinburgh, Question, Observations, Lord Balfour ; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Viscount Bury) ; short debate thereon *July* 13, 398

Law and Justice (*Scotland*)
Administration of Justice in the Highlands and Islands, Observations, Dr. Cameron ; short debate thereon *July* 10, 328
Procurators Fiscal, Observations, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. J. B. Balfour ; Reply, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) *July* 24, 1800

Scotland—Educational Endowment Commission—Heriot's Hospital
Questions, Mr. Buchanan ; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 16, 915
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her consent to the Scheme of the Educational Endowment (Scotland) Commission now lying upon the Table of the House, for the management of the Endowments of Heriot's Hospital" (*Mr. Buchanan*) *July* 23, 1734 ; after debate, Question put ; A. 15, N. 49 ; M. 34 (D. L. 246)

Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment Bill
[H.L.] (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Committee *July* 20, 1164 (No. 102)
Report * *July* 21 (No. 192)
Read 3ª * *July* 23
c. Read 1° * *July* 24 [Bill 250]

Secretary for Scotland Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Rosebery*)
l. Read 2ª, after debate *July* 9, 86 (No. 117)
Committee *July* 14, 586
Report, after short debate *July* 16, 897
Read 3ª *July* 21, 1371 (No. 178)
On Question, "That the Bill do pass ?"
Amendt. in Title, page 1, leave out ("Vice") before ("President") (*The Earl of Minto*); after debate, Amendt. withdrawn ; Bill passed
c. Read 1° * (*Sir R. A. Cross*) *July* 22 [Bill 242]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 24, 1860 ; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Lyon Playfair*) ; after short debate, Motion withdrawn ; original Question put, and agreed to ; Bill read 2°

SEELY, Colonel C., *Nottingham*
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 484, 489, 495

SELBORNE, Earl of
Marriages (Saint John, Cowley), 3R. 1342
Real Property Registration, 2R. 106
Submarine Telegraph Cables, Report, 1774
Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2), Res. 389
Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), Comm. 887, 888 ; 3R. 1370
Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment, Res. 407 ; Comm. *cl.* 1, 1766, 1768

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Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J., *Essex, W.*
- Police Enfranchisement Extension, 2R. 1733

Sexton, Mr. T., *Sligo*
- Admiralty (Expenditure and Liabilities), Motion for a Select Committee, 881
- County Officers and Courts (Ireland) (Pensions) 2R. 1511
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  - Board of Works—Sligo Harbour Board—Repayment of Loan, 657
  - Collector Generalship of Rates, Dublin, 410
  - Crime and Outrage—Murder of Mrs. Nolan, 921
  - Failure of the Munster Bank, 1210, 1211
  - Fisheries—Deep Sea Trawling, 655, 656
  - Fishery Act, 1842—Obstruction of Fisheries, 1779
  - Fishery Piers and Harbours — Piers at Balderrig, Killerduff, and Pul-na-Muck, Co. Mayo, 1781
  - Industrial Schools, 1057
  - Land Law Act, 1881—Duke of Abercorn's Estate—Bryan Molloy, 1780
  - Law and Police—Detention of Intoxicated Persons, 1209
  - Magistracy—Stipendiary Magistrates, 922
  - Mr. C. H. James, Official Assignee in Bankruptcy—Investigation of Accounts, 656
  - Post Office—General Post Office, Dublin—Substitution of Gas Engines for Steam, 278 ;—Mail Service between Dublin and the West, 428, 919
  - Prevention of Crime Act, 1882 — Resident Magistrates, 427, 428
  - Prisons—Salaries of Prison Warders, 278, 279
  - Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin, 904
  - Tramways, 1623
- Ireland—Law and Justice—Questions
  - Custody of Prisoners in Ireland, 1808
  - Expenses of Witnesses — Mrs. Margaret Raftery, 1621
  - Maamtrasna Murders, 921
  - Mr. O'Brien, M.P. 1401
- Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Questions
  - Case of District Inspector Murphy, 348, 356, 377
  - Death of Peter O'Gara in a Police Cell at Sligo, 422
  - Distribution, 1516
  - District Inspector Gibbons, 1629
- Ireland — Land Law Act, 1881 — Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole, Res. 1799
- Ireland—Maamtrasna, &c. Murders, Res. 1090, 1110, 1116
- Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland), Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1014, 1015 ; Motion for reporting Progress, 1334, 1336 ; *cl.* 1, 1857, 1859
- Supply, Comm. 382
  - Constabulary, Ireland, 1842, 1855
  - County Court Officers, Ireland, 1814, 1822, 1825, 1826, 1827
  - Court of Bankruptcy, Ireland, 1318
  - Irish Land Commission, 1593
  - Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland, 1518, 1544, 1545, 1548, 1568, 1570
  - Local Government Board, Ireland, 1264
  - Public Buildings, Ireland, 1225, 1229, 1258, 1259, 1263

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Sexton, Mr. T.—*cont.*
  - Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Ireland, 1855
  - Report, 1332
  - Royal Irish Academy, 1331, 1332
  - Superannuation and Retired Allowances, &c. 767, 768 ; Motion for reporting Progress, 773, 774, 775
  - Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland, 1324

Shannon Navigation Bill

(*Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)
- *c.* Considered * ; read 3^{o} *July* 9 [Bill 171]
- *l.* Read 1^{a}* (*E. of Iddesleigh*) *July* 10 (No. 172)
  - Read 2^{a}* *July* 20
  - Report * *July* 23

Sheil, Mr. E., *Meath Co.*
- Ireland—Landlord and Tenant—Miss Kieran, Tenant of the Earl of Howth, 118

Shield, Mr. H., *Cambridge*
- Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), 2R. 951 ; Comm. 1690, 1692 ; *cl.* 10, Amendt. 1700, 1703, 1705

Sidmouth, Viscount
- Coast Defences and Naval Volunteer Corps, 1153
- Harbour Accommodation, 1608, 1609

Simon, Mr. Serjeant J., *Dewsbury*
- West Indian Colonies—Jamaica, 1197

Sinclair, Mr. W. P., *Antrim*
- Representation of the People Act, 1884—Disfranchisement of the Carrickfergus Freemen, 1058

Small, Mr. J. F., *Wexford Bo.*
- Ireland—Land Purchase Bill, 1624
  - Law and Police—Protection at Cladymore, 1064
- Supply — Local Government Board, Ireland, 1274

Smith, Right Hon. W. H. (Secretary of State for War), *Westminster*
- Army—Questions
  - Army Act—Enlistment of Foreigners, 916
  - Boxer Cartridge, 435
  - Military Expedition to Egypt — Military Chaplains, 660
  - South Wales Borderers — Disturbances at Waterford, 923
- Army (Auxiliary Forces) — Court Martial on Sergeant M'Bride, 655
  - Militia, 1622
- Army Estimates, 288
  - Army Reserve Force, 500
  - Commissariat, &c. Store Establishments, Wages, &c. 543, 545, 546
- Army (Supplementary) Estimates — Land Forces, 437, 441, 442, 478
- Egypt—Questions
  - Military Expedition—Sir Herbert Stewart's Force, 1405 ;—Suakin and Red Sea Force —The Indian Contingent, 1622

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Smith, Right Hon. W. H.—*cont.*
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Navy—Evolutionary Squadron, 124
Navy Estimates—Half-Pay, Reserved, &c. Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines, 216
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Smith, Mr. S., *Liverpool*
Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 208
Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 290, 327
Law and Police — "Pall Mall Gazette"—Objectionable Articles, 910
Supply—Houses of Parliament, 873
Trade and Commerce—Depression of Trade—Appreciation of Gold, 1805

Solicitor General, The (*see* Gorst, Sir J. E.)

Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill [Lords]
c. Moved, "That, in the case of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill [*Lords*], Standing Order 235 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read a second time" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *July* 21, 1381 ; after debate, Question put ; A. 71, N. 119 ; M. 48 (D. L. 235)
Moved, "That, in the case of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill [*Lords*], Standing Order 204 be dispensed with" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *July* 23, 1610 ; after short debate, Question put ; A. 76, N. 53 ; M. 23 (D. L. 240)

Speaker, The (Right Hon. Arthur Wellesley Peel), *Warwick*
Copyhold Enfranchisement, 3R. 1020
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Ireland — Land Law Act, 1881 — Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole, Res. 1792
Ireland—Maamtrasna, &c. Murders, Res. 1110
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. 1426 ; Consid. *add. cl.* 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659 ; 3R. 1673
Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. 213
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Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2), Res. 384
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Stanhope, Right Hon. E. (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Lincolnshire, Mid*
Allotments Extension Act, 1882—Charity Lands in the Isle of Ely, 1784
Charity Commissioners — Medley's Charity, 1407
Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 323
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Appointment of a Schoolmistress at Ashbocking, Suffolk, 1398
Croydon and West Bromwich School Boards, 279
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School Board Elections, 1406
Heriot's Hospital Scheme, Motion for an Address, 1752
Law and Justice—Court of Bankruptcy, Newcastle-on-Tyne—The Vicar of St. Mark's, South Shields, 1203, 1629
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Police Enfranchisement Extension, 1731, 1733
Supply—Public Education, 665, 687, 709
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Stanley, Right Hon. Colonel F. A. (Secretary of State for the Colonies), *Lancashire, N.*
Africa (South)—Bechuanaland, 118, 1400 ;—Methuen's Horse, 1398
West Coast—Cable Communication, 917
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Cyprus—Report of the High Commissioner, 121
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Stanley, Hon. E. L., *Oldham*
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 10, 1705, 1710, 1711 ; Amendt. 1713
Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 305
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices), Comm. 237
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Stationery Office, The
Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 16, 906

STORER, Mr. G., *Nottinghamshire, S.*
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. *add. cl.* 1728
Depression of Trade and Agriculture—The Royal Commission, 1787, 1788
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STUART, Mr. J., *Hackney*
Destitute Children (Compulsory Industrial Training), Res. 300
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Submarine Telegraph Cables Bill
(*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Committee, after debate *July* 23, 1600 (No. 104)
Report, after debate *July* 24, 1774 (No. 203)

Suez Canal—The Conference
Question, Mr. Charles Palmer; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 9, 112

SULLIVAN, Mr. T. D., *Westmeath*
Ireland—Land Law Act, 1881—Mr. Sub-Commissioner Walpole, Res. 1796
Ireland—Maamtrasna, &c. Murders, Res. 1117, 1130
Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland), Comm. 1336
Supply—Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland, 1531

Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) Bill (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Read 2°, after debate *July* 10, 382 [Bill 180]
Order for Committee read *July* 13, 572
Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to insert an Amendment directing prisoners who propose to apply for a certiorari to be admitted to bail pending the decision of the High Court" (*Mr. Healy*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P.
Committee *—R.P. *July* 14
Committee; Report *July* 17, 1150
Considered; read 3° *July* 21, 1512 [Bill 236]
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Beauchamp*) *July* 23 (No. 202)

SUPPLY
Army Estimates, Questions, Observations, Sir Arthur Hayter; Reply, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 10, 287

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Grants in Aid of Local Taxation, Personal Explanation, Mr. Cochran-Patrick *July* 20, 1212

SUPPLY
Considered in Committee *July* 8, 4—NAVY ESTIMATES—Votes 3 to 17 inclusive
Resolutions reported *July* 9, 211
Res. 1 to 3 agreed to
(4.) £1,639,300 (DOCKYARDS AND NAVAL YARDS AT HOME AND ABROAD); after short debate, Res. agreed to
Res. 5 to 13, inclusive, agreed to
(14.) £830,400 (HALF-PAY, RESERVED, AND RETIRED PAY TO OFFICERS OF THE NAVY AND MARINES), 213; Res. read a second time
Amendt. to leave out "£830,400," insert "£830,120" (*Sir George Campbell*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That '£830,400' &c.;" after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Courtney*); after further short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned
Subsequent Resolutions agreed to
Debate resumed *July* 13, 548; after debate, Question put; A. 107, N. 55; M. 52 (D. L. 222)
Moved, "That the House do agree with the Committee in the said Resolution;" after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Causton*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Sir Henry Holland*) *July* 10, 381; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Considered in Committee *July* 13, 437—ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY); ARMY ESTIMATES—Votes 7 to 9
Resolutions reported *July* 14
Considered in Committee *July* 14, 665—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 1, 2, 11; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 5 to 16, 18 to 20; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES; Vote 1
Resolutions reported *July* 15, 879
First Eighteen Res. agreed to; Nineteenth Res. postponed
Postponed Res. considered, and, after short debate, agreed to *July* 20, 1332
Considered in Committee *July* 15, 799—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS, Vote 4; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES, Votes 2 to 4, 7 & 8; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 4 to 9
Resolutions reported *July* 16
Considered in Committee *July* 20, 1214—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS, Vote 22; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 38, 39; CLASS III.—LAW AND

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SUPPLY—*cont.*
JUSTICE, Votes 21 to 25, 28, 32; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 15 to 17 & 19
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Considered in Committee *July* 22, 1518—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 21 & 27; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Vote 10
Resolutions reported *July* 24
Considered in Committee *July* 24, 1814—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 28, 30, & 32; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES, Votes 5, 6, & 9; CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS
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Suspension of Evictions (Scotland) Bill
Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 20, 1191

SUTHERLAND, Mr. T., *Greenock*
China—Navigation of the Shanghai River, 1627
Egypt—International Sanitary Council—Quarantine, 113
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TALBOT, Mr. J. G., *Oxford University*
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Motion for Leave, 579, 584, 665; 2R. 1008; Comm. 1441; *cl.* 2, 1496, 1499; 3R. 1673
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Supply—Public Education, 695

THOMASSON, Mr. J. P., *Bolton*
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1475; *cl.* 2, 1488; Consid. *add. cl.* 1638; *cl.* 2, 1664

THOMPSON, Mr. T. C., *Durham*
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Tithe Rent Charge Redemption Bill
(*Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Monk, Mr. Vivian*)
c. Committee*; Report; read 3° *July* 8 [Bill 181]
l. Read 1ª* (*Lord Henniker*) *July* 9 (No. 165)
Read 2ª* *July* 14
Committee* *July* 16
Report* *July* 17
Read 3ª* *July* 20
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 32]

TOMLINSON, Mr. W. E. M., *Preston*
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Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. 1691
Navy Estimates—Half-Pay, &c. to Officers of the Navy and Marines, 217
Supply—Superannuation and Retired Allowances, &c. 769

Trade and Commerce—Depression of Trade —The Appreciation of Gold
Observations, Mr. Samuel Smith *July* 24, 1805

Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill, *afterwards* **Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) Bill**
(*The Lord FitzGerald*)
l. Moved, "That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the Whole House;" *July* 13, 384; after short debate, on Question? Cont. 95, Not-Cont. 20; M. 75; resolved in the affirmative
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee" *July* 16, 883
Amendt. to leave out all after ("That") insert ("the Order of Monday last for committing the Bill to a Committee of the Whole House be discharged") (*The Earl of Limerick*); after short debate, on Question, "That the words, &c?" resolved in the affirmative; Committee, 888 (No. 65)
Report *July* 17, 1051
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª" *July* 21, 1370; Amendt. to leave out ("now") add ("this day three months") (*The Earl of Redesdale*); on Question, That ("now") &c? Cont. 29, Not-Cont. 17: M. 12; resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 3ª
c. Read 1°, after debate *July* 22, 1593 [Bill 243]

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill
(*Earl Beauchamp*)
l. Read 3ª* *July* 9 (No. 149)
Royal Assent *July* 16 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxvi]

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill
(*Earl Beauchamp*)
l. Read 2ª* *July* 9 (No. 156)
Committee* *July* 13
Report* *July* 14
Read 3ª* *July* 16
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. cii]

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill
(*Earl Beauchamp*)
l. Read 2ª* *July* 9 (No. 157)
Committee* *July* 13
Report* *July* 14
Read 3ª* *July* 16
Royal Assent *July* 22 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. ciii]

TREASURY—First Lord (*see* IDDESLEIGH, Earl of)

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Treasury—Lord of (*see* Dalrymple, Mr. C.)

Treasury — Financial Secretary (*see* Holland, Sir H. T.)

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Truro, Lord
The Executive Government—Change of Administration, 270
Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1767

Trustees Relief Bill
(*Mr. Ince, Mr. Whitley*)
c. Committee *—R.P. *July* 15 [Bill 83]

Turkey
The Black Sea, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 14, 658
The Liquor Trade at Constantinople, Question, Mr. Whitworth; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) *July* 14, 654

Turnpike Acts Continuance Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*)
c. Read 1° * *July* 8 [Bill 218]
Read 2° * *July* 9
Committee *; Report; read 3° *July* 10
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Brownlow*) *July* 13 (No. 174)
Read 2ª * *July* 23
Committee *; Report *July* 24

Tweeddale, Marquess of
Submarine Telegraph Cables, Comm. 1600; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1601; *cl.* 3, 1602, 1603; *add. cl.* 1604, 1605, 1606

Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation Bill (*Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 20 [Bill 53]

United States, The — Bounty on Sugar Exportation
Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 23, 1619

Vacating of Seats Bill (*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Grantham, Mr. Puleston, Mr. John Corbett*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 8 [Bill 221]

Valuation of Lands (Scotland) (Appeals) Bill (*Mr. Henderson, Mr. Buchanan, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Stewart Clark*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 20 [Bill 191]

Ventry, Lord
Giants' Causeway, Portrush, and Bush Valley Railway and Tramway, 3R. Amendt. 1758, 1763

Verney, Right Hon. Sir H., *Buckingham*
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Walker, Mr. S., *Londonderry Co.*
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Walter, Mr. J., *Berkshire*
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Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1477, 1480; Consid. *add. cl.* 1656, 1657, 1658; *cl.* 2, 1673
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Waterlow, Sir S. H., *Gravesend*
Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), Comm. 1692; *cl.* 10, 1704, 1706, 1707; *cl.* 25, Amendt. 1720
Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1492, 1507; 3R. 1676

Water Provisional Orders Bill
(*Lord Sudeley*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 9 (No. 137)
Royal Assent *July* 16 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. lxv]

Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment Bill (*Viscount Enfield*)
- *l.* Select Committee nominated *July* 10 ; List of the Committee, 275
  - *July* 13, The Lord Saint Oswald *added*
  - Moved, "That the Petition of the several Water Companies who supply the Metropolis with water (the new River Company and others), presented on Friday last, be referred to the Select Committee, with leave to the Petitioners to be heard against the Bill as desired" (*The Lord Bramwell*) *July* 13, 404 ; after short debate, resolved in the negative
  - Report of Select Comm. *July* 16 [No. 179]
  - Bill reported * *July* 16
  - Committee ; Report *July* 24, 1763

WATKIN, Sir E. W., *Hythe*
- Harbours—Dover Harbour, 1203, 1204

WAUGH, Mr. E., *Cockermouth*
- Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. *cl.* 1, 224, 228, 231 ; *cl.* 50, 232
- Supply—Public Buildings, Ireland, 1217

WAYS AND MEANS
- *Inland Revenue*
  - *The Income Tax — The Married Women's Property Act,* 1882, Question, Mr. Rankin ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 13, 414
  - *Surcharge on the London Assurance Corporation,* Question, Mr. M'Laren ; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 16, 924

WAYS AND MEANS
- Considered in Committee *July* 9, 127
- Moved, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise any sum not exceeding Four Million Pounds by an issue of Exchequer Bills or Treasury Bills" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) ; after long debate, Resolution agreed to
- 1st, 5th, 6th, 12th, and 14th Resolutions [1st May] read [See title *Exchequer and Treasury Bills Bill*]

WEBSTER, Sir R. E. (Attorney General), *Launceston*
- Civil Servants as Election Agents, 910
- Copyhold Enfranchisement, 3R. 1018, 1019
- Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 210
- Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1495, 1497
- Parliamentary Elections—Fixing of Polling Places, 434
  - Returning Officers, 1628
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1337
- Public Health (Members and Officers), Comm. *cl.* 2, 793 ; *cl.* 3, 797
- Registration Act, 1843—Appointment of Revising Barristers, 1402

WEBSTER, Mr. J., *Aberdeen*
- Medical Relief Disqualification Removal, Consid. *cl.* 2, 1664
- Parliament—Business of the House, 927
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Wellington Statue, The—Re-erection at Aldershot
- Questions, Observations, Viscount Enfield, Lord de Ros, The Earl of Longford ; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Viscount Bury) *July* 14, 608

WEMYSS, Earl of
- Defences of the Empire—Defence of Commercial Ports and Seaside Towns, 1039
- Earldom of Mar Restitution, Nomination of Select Committee, 634
- Housing of the Working Classes (England), Comm. 1169 ; *cl.* 3, 1175, 1176, 1177 ; Report, 1341 ; 3R. 1769
- Land Purchase (Ireland), 3R. 1775
- Scotland—The Castle Rock, Edinburgh, 401
- Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 4, 1167
- Secretary for Scotland, 2R. 102 ; 3R. 1371, 1376, 1377, 1379
- Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1765

West Indian Colonies, The—Jamaica
- Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Colonel Stanley) *July* 20, 1197

WHITLEY, Mr. E., *Liverpool*
- Bankruptcy (Office Accommodation), Comm. 1011
- Customs and Inland Revenue (No. 2), 2R. 951
- Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers), Comm. *cl.* 2, 777

WHITWORTH, Mr. B., *Drogheda*
- Turkey—Liquor Trade at Constantinople, 654

WILLIAMS, Major-General Owen, *Great Marlow*
- Egypt (Military Expedition) — Sir Herbert Stewart's Force, 1404

WILLIAMSON, Mr. S., *St. Andrews, &c.*
- Trade and Commerce—Depression of Trade—Royal Commission, 908

WILLS, Mr. W. H., *Coventry*
- Portugal—Seizure of the "Erma" at Funchal, 1191

WOLFF, Right Hon. Sir H. D., *Portsmouth*
- Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. 60

WORKS—First Commissioner (*see* PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. R.)

Woods and Forests, The Commissioners of —Sale of Land to Occupiers
Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 13, 409

Worcester Extension Bill
l. Read 3ª *July* 23, 1595; after short debate, Bill passed

Wortley, Mr. C. B. Stuart-, (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Sheffield*
Factory Acts (Extension to Shops), 2R. 235
Lunacy Reports (England and Scotland), 1619
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers), Comm. *cl.* 2, 776
Pluralities, Comm. *cl.* 14, Amendt. 1870
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Wortley, Mr. C. B. Stuart-—*cont.*
Police Enfranchisement Extension, 2R. 1868
Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment), Comm. 573; *add. cl.* 1151

Yorke, Mr. J. R., *Gloucestershire, E.*
Representation of the People Act, 1884—Election Expenses, 1207

Yorkshire Registries Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 2° * *July* 9 [Bill 211]
Committee *; Report; read 3° *July* 10
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 26]

Young Girls, Protection of — A Royal Commission
Question, Observations, Lord Mount-Temple; Reply, The Paymaster General (Earl Beauchamp) *July* 20, 1161

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